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ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

edited by

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Rūpaṃ jīrati maccānaṃ

Nāma-gottaṃ na jīrati



IT is with profound regret that we announce with the publication of this fascicle the demise of Professor G. P. Malalasekara, Editor-in-Chief of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism from its inception in 1955 till his death on the 23rd. April 1973. He died at the age of 73, and it must be recorded that till the last he maintained his unflagging interest in the work of the Encyclopaedia.

Professor Malalasekera was a man of many parts, the hall-mark of his life being his versatility. He was the doyen of Orientalists in his own land and an internationally celebrated authority on Buddhism. Yet his achievements were not confined to 'the grove of Academe', for his career was distinguished in several other notable aspects, as educationist, religious and social leader and even diplomat. His death deprives the editorial staff of the Encyclopaedia of a humane administrator and able organizer. The project will now be bereft of his brilliant leadership.

As the father of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism Professor Malalasekera will be ever remembered by his staff, collaborators and colleagues who deeply mourn his passing away.

O. H. de A. Wijesekera
Editor-in-Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Aṅguttara Nikāya, I–VI, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1885–1910
AA.	Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā, (Manorathapūraṇī), I–V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp, *PTS.* 1924–56
AAWG.	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
AbhK.	Abhidharmakośa (Nāgari characters), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930
AbhKbh.	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky, *BB.* XX, 1930
AbhKk.	Abhidharmakośakārikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris, 1931
AbhKvy.	Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932–36
Abhs.	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1884, 1–48
Abhsy.	Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. P. Pradhan, *VBS.* 12, 1950
Abhvt.	Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* 1, 1915
ABIA.	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Kern Institute
ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona)
AbsPuś.	Abhisamayālaṃkāraprajñāpāramitā-upadeśaśāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *BB.* XXIII, 1929
AbsPvy.	Abhisamayālaṃkārālokaprajñāpāramitāvyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932–35
AdśP.	Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg, 1912
Akanuma 1	Akanuma, C.: Indo-Bukkyō, Koyūmeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931
Akanuma 2	Akanuma, C. : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Goshōroku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas), Nagoya, 1929
AKM.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft
AM.	Asia Minor
AMG.	Annales du Musée Guimet
Anāgv.	Anāgatavaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1886, 33 ff.
Anesaki.	Anesaki, M. : The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, 1908
AO	Archiv Orientální : Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute
Ap.	Apadāna, I–II, ed. M. E. Lilley, *PTS.* 1925–27
ApA.	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsinī), ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1954
ArtA.	Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland)
Arvś.	Arthaviniścaya, ed. A. Ferrari, Rome, 1944
AS.	Aluvihāra Series (Colombo)
ASCAR.	Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report
ASCI.	Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Inscription
ASCMem.	Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Memoir
ASIAR.	Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASIMem.	Archæological Survey of India, Memoir
AsP.	Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1888
ASWI.	Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India
Āṭā.	Āṭānāṭikasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra), *KlTurf.* V, 1939
Avk.	Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das, *BI.* 1888–96
Avś.	Avadānaśataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 19, 1958
BASR.	Bulletin de l' Académie des Sciences de Russie
BB.	Bibliotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)
Bbh.	Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36
Bc.	Bodhicaryāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Calcutta, 1901–14
Bcp.	Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, 1902
BD.	Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo, 1956
Beal	Beal, S.: The Buddhist Tripiṭaka, 1876
BEFEO.	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient (Hanoi)
Bendall	Bendall, C. : Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883
Bhkāv.	Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. d Oldenbourg, 1884
BHS.	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, ed. F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

[illegible] . Bhavasamkrāntisūtra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri. Adyar, 1938

BI. .. Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB. .. Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMFO. .. Bolletino dell' Instituto Indiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome)

BM. .. Buddhadatta's Manuals. I–II, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. .. Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

BnīPrāt. .. Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa), *KlTurf.* III, 1926

BOH. .. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. .. Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ.* 7, 1931, 259 ff.

BS. .. Buddhistic Studies, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931

BSOAS. .. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London Institution

BSS. .. Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. .. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. .. Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935

Bup. .. Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1892

Buv. .. Buddhavaṃsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1882

BuvA. .. Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā (Madhuratthavilāsinī), ed. I. B. Horner, *PTS.* 1946

Cabaton .. Cabaton, A.: Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pāli, Paris, 1907

Catuś. .. Catuḥśataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1931

CHJ. .. The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. .. The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. .. Ceylon Journal of Science—Section G

[illegible] .. Chakesadhātuvaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1885, 5–16

Cordier .. Cordier, P.: Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, II–III, 1909–15

Cp. .. Cariyāpiṭaka, ed. B. C. Law, *PTS.* Lahore, 1924

CpA. .. Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. D. L. Barua, *PTS.* 1939

CPD. .. A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1925–65

Cviśp. .. Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. .. Dīgha Nikāya, I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS.* 1890–1911

DA. .. Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī), I–III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede, *PTS.* 1886–1932

Dāthv. .. Dāṭhāvaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law, *PSS.* 7, 1925

Dbhg. .. Daśabhūmika sūtra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa. Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V, No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. .. Daśabhūmika-sūtra, ed. J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926

DCBT. .. Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, ed. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. .. de Silva, W. A.: Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts, I, *MCM.* series A, No. 4, 1938

DeZ. .. de Zoysa, Louis: A Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. .. Dhātukathā (with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS.* 1892

Dhmpr. .. Dharmottarapradīpa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. .. Dhammapada, ed. S. Sumangala, *PTS.* 1914

DhpA. .. Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, I–V ed. H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S. Tailang, *PTS.* 1906–15

Dhpr. .. Dharmapradīpikā(va), ed. Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmārāma (sixth edition), Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon, 1951

Dhs. .. Dhammasaṅgaṇī, ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1885

DhsA. .. Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā (Atthasālinī), ed. E. Müller, *PTS.* 1897

Dhscy. .. Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li-Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. .. Dharmasaṃgraha, ed. F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885

Divy. .. Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Camebrige, 1886

DPPN.	..	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I-II, by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960
Dpv.	..	Dīpavaṃsa, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879
Dpv. 2.	..	The Dīpavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law, *CHJ.* VIII, Nos. 1-4, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1959
Dukap.	..	Dukapaṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1906
EI.	..	Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press)
EncyBsm.	..	Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon
ERE.	..	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I-XIII, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburg, 1908-26
EW.	..	East and West (Rome)
EWA.	..	Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGraw-Hill
EZ.	..	Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press)
Gg.	..	Gaṇḍīstotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Staël-Holstein, *BB.* XV, 1913
GM.	..	Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta, 1939-50
GOS.	..	Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda)
Gst.	..	Guhyasamājatantra, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931
Gv.	..	Gandhavaṃsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1886, 54-80
Gvyū.	..	Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, I-IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949
Hatthv.	..	Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa, ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS.* 1957
Hbg.	..	Hôbôgirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme, ed. P. Demiéville, Tokyo, 1929-37
Hetub.	..	Hetubinduṭikā (with sub-commentary), ed. S. Sanghavi and M. S. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949
HJAS.	..	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HOS.	..	Harvard Oriental Series
Hvp.	..	Hastavālaprakaraṇa(reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267ff.
IA.	..	Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
IAL.	..	Indian Art and Letters (London)
IBK.	..	Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies)
IC.	..	Indian Culture (Calcutta)
IHQ.	..	The Indian Historical Quarterly
It.	..	Itivuttaka, ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889
ItA.	..	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī, I-II, ed. M. M Bose, *PTS.* 1934-36
J.	..	Jātaka (with commentary), I-VI, ed. V. Fausböll, *PTS.* 1962
JAOS.	..	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAs.	..	Journal Asiatique
JASB.	..	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBHU.	..	Journal of the Benares Hindu University
JBORS.	..	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBRAS.	..	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBRS.	..	Journal of the Burma Research Society
JBTS.	..	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society
JCBRAS.	..	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JDLC.	..	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta
JGIS.	..	Journal of the Greater India Society
JIH.	..	Journal of Indian History
Jinac.	..	Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS.* 1904-5, 1-165
Jinak.	..	Jinakālamālī, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1962
Jināl.	..	Jinālaṃkāra (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1894
Jm.	..	Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern, *HOS.* 1, Boston, 1891
JOR.	..	Journal of Oriental Research
JPTS.	..	Journal of the Pali Text Society
JRAS.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland
JSS.	..	Journal of the Siam Society
Keith.	..	Keith, A. B.: Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1905
Khp.	..	Khuddakapāṭha, ed. H. Smith, *PTS.* 1915
KhpA.	..	Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā I), ed. H. Smith, *PTS.* 1915
Khs.	..	Khuddasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS.* 1883, 88-121
KhT.	..	Khotanese Texts, I-II, ed. H. W. Bailey, Cambridge, 1946-54
Klpm.	..	Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, ed. H. Lüders (Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā), *KlTurf.* II, 1926

KlTurf. .. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Königliche Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen

Kp. .. Karunāpuṇḍarika, ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1898

Kśyp. .. Kāśyapaparivarta, ed. H. Staël-Holstein, 1926

Kr. .. Karatalaratna (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938

Kvbh. .. (Karmavibhaṅga): Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahākarmavibhaṅga), ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932

Kvit. .. Kaṅkhāvitaranī, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956

Kvu. .. Kathāvatthu, I–II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS.* 1894–95

KvuA. .. Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1889, 1–222

Kvyū. .. (Avalokiteśvaraguṇa) Kāraṇḍavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873

Lal. .. Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 1, 1958

Laṅk. .. Laṅkāvatārasūtra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923

Ligeti. .. Ligeti, Louis: Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol, I. *BOH.* III, 1942–44

Lś. .. Lokeśvaraśataka, ed. Suzanne Karpelès, *JAs.* 1919, 5. 11, XIV, 357–465

M. .. Majjhima Nikāya, I–IV, ed. V Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1888–1925

MA. .. Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papañcasūdanı), I–V, ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner, *PTS.* 1922–38

MBT. .. Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR.* IX, Part I, 1956

MCM. .. Memoir of the Colombo Museum

Mdhvṛ. .. Madhyamakavṛtti, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *BB.* IV, 1902–13

Mdhav. .. Madhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Valée Poussin, *BB.* IX

Mgh. .. Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS.* 1880, 288 ff.

Mhbv. .. Mahābodhivaṃsa, ed. S.A. Strong, *PTS.* 1891

Mhm. .. Mahāmāyūrī, ed. Oldenburg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Russk. Archeol. Obschestva, XI, 1899

Mhps. .. Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie, Berlin, 1950–51

Mhs. .. Mahāsamājasūtra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras, I) *KlTurf.* IV, 1932

Mhsmg. .. Mahāyānasaṃgraha, I–II, ed. E. Lamotte (La Somme du Grand Véhicule d'Asaṅga), Louvain, 1938

Mhv. .. Mahāvaṃsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i–xxxvii), *PTS.* 1908; Cūlavaṃsa, ed. W. Geiger, I–II, (chapters xxxviii–lxxii and lxxiii–ci), *PTS.* 1925–27

MhvA. .. Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā (Vaṃsatthappakāsinī = Mahāvaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā), I–II, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *PTS.* 1935

MhvE. .. Extended Mahāvaṃsa, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, *AS.* III, 1937

Mhvu. .. Mahāvastu, I–III, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882–97

Mhvyut. .. Mahāvyutpatti, ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto, 1916

Miln. .. Milindapañha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS.* 1962

Mmk. .. (Ārya) Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. T. G. Sastri, *TSS.* 1920–25

Moc. .. Mochizuki, S: Bukkyō-dai-jiten, 1–8, Tokyo, 1933–57

Mūls. .. Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Müller, *JPTS.* 1883, 122–32

Mvibh. .. Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamaguchi, Nagoya, 1934

Mvyk. .. Maitreyavyākaraṇa, ed. S. Lévi, Mélanges Linossier, Paris, 1933, 381–90

Nanjio .. Nanjio, B.: Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Oxford, 1883

Nd. I .. Mahāniddesa, I–II, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS.* 1916–17

Nd. II .. Cullaniddesa, I–III, ed. W. Stede, *PTS.* 1918

NdA. I .. Niddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā = Mahāniddesa Aṭṭhakathā), I–III, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1931–41

NdA. II .. Niddesavaṇṇanā (Saddhammapajjotikā = Cullaniddesa Aṭṭhakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Siri Revata, *SHB.* XIV, 1923

Nett. .. Nettippakaraṇa, ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1902

NettA. .. Nettippakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB.* IX, 1921

NIA.	New Indian Antiquary
NR.	Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyū Ronshū (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University)
Nrp.	Nāmarūpaparicchheda, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS.* 1913–14
Nrs.	Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS.* 1915–16
Nyāb.	Nyāyabindu, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky (Nyāyabindu, Nyāyabinduṭikā), I–II, *BB.* VIII, 1904 ; III, 1929
Nyāp.	Nyāyapraveśa (with commentary), ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS.* 38, 1930
ŌM.	Ōtani Daigaku Toshokan-zō Tibet Daizōkyō Kanjur Kandō Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930–32
Pañcag.	Pañcagatidīpanī, ed. L. Feer, *JPTS.* 1884, 152–61
PB.	Prabuddha Bhārata
PBO.	Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies, Varsovie)
PED.	Pali-English Dictionary, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *PTS.*
Peṭ.	Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PTS.* 1949
Phṛd.	Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1884
Pjm.	Pajjamadhu, ed. E. R. Goonératne, *JPTS.* 1887, 1–16
PMG.	Publications du Musée Guimet
PpA.	Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī). Part I, ed. Rerukāne Ariyañāṇa, *SHB,* XXXVIII, 1936 ; Part II, ed. Rerukāne Candavimala, *SHB.* XL, 1938
Ppiṇḍ.	Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha, I–II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā), *JRAS.* 1947
Prāt.	Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. Finot (Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins) with a French translation of the Chinese version by Ed. Huber, *JAs.* XI, 2 (1913), 473 ff.
Prgsg.	Prajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasañcayagāthā, ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937
Prvār.	Pramāṇavārttikaṃ (with commentary and sub-commentary), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Allahabad, 1949
Ps.	Paṭisambhidāmagga, I–II, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS.* 1905–07
PsA.	Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammappakāsinī), I–III, ed. C. V. Joshi, *PTS.* 1933–47
PSS.	Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore)
PTC.	Pāli Tipiṭakaṁ Concordance, *PTS.*
PTS.	Pali Text Society (edition)
Pug.	Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS.* 1883
PugA.	Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā, ed. G. Landsberg and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1913–14, pp. 170–254
PvśP.	Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934
Pvu.	Petavatthu, with commentary: Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1894
Ratgot.	Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottaratantraśāstra, ed. E. H. Johnston, Patna, 1950
Rkāv.	Koruka Avadāna (I : Tibetischer Text und Dt. Übersetzung; II : Wörterbuch), ed. J. Nobel, 1954
Rpp.	Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, ed. L. Finot, St. Petersburg, 1901
Rsv.	Rasavāhinī, ed. Ñāṇavimala Mahā thera, Colombo, 1961
Rvibh.	Rūpārūpavibhāga, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* I, 1915
S.	Saṃyutta Nikāya, I–VI, ed. L. Féer and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1884–1904
SA.	Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī), I–III, ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1929–37
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WZKM.	..	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Yam.	..	Yamaka, I–II, ed. Caroline Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1911–13
YamA.	..	Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910–12, 51–107
ZDMG.	..	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Cross-references of Special Titles to Abbreviations

Atthasālinī	..	.. Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*DhsA.*)
Madhuratthavilāsinī	..	.. Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*BuvA.*)
Manorathapūraṇī	..	.. Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*AA.*)
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	..	.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*NdA. I, II*)
Papañcasūdanī	..	.. Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*MA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*CpA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*ItA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*PpA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*PvuA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*ThagA.*)
Paramatthadīpanī	..	.. Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*ThīgA.*)
Paramatthajotikā I	..	.. Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*KhpA.*)
Paramatthajotikā II	..	.. Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*SnA.*)
Paramatthamañjūsā	..	.. Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*VismA.*)
Saddhammapajjotikā I II,		.. Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*NdA. I, II*)
Saddhammappakāsinī	..	.. Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*PsA.*)
Samantapāsādikā	..	.. Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*VinA.*)
Sammohavinodanī	..	.. Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*VbhA.*)
Sāratthappakāsinī	..	.. Saṃyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*SA.*)
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī	..	.. Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*DA.*)
Visuddhajanavilāsinī	..	.. Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	.. (*ApA.*)

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ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF
BUDDHISM

VOLUME III

BHĀRINI-DEVA, son of Siri, whose gift of a railing to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscription on that railing (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, p. 142).

BHARTṚHARI, a Sanskrit poet who lived in India in the 7th century A.C. About his life and times very little is still known. Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, New York, 1966, Vol. II, p. 465) refers to Bhartṛhari as a famous logician and a grammarian. Two of Bhartṛhari's works on grammar are known : (i) the *Vākyapadīya* (ed. K. V. Abhayankar and V. P. Limaye, University of Poona Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. II, Poona, 1965) and (ii) *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*. Max Müller (*India—What Can It Teach Us*, Oxford, 1883, p. 348) refers to the latter as *Mahābhāṣya-Vyākhyā* and the work exists in Deccan, and fragments at Berlin.

Indian tradition attributes to Bhartṛhari the authorship of a rich collection of Sanskrit lyric and gnomic poetry—*The Śatakatrayam*[1], i.e., the *Nītiśataka* dealing with worldly wisdom, the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* evoking erotic moods and describing the nature of passion, and the *Vairāgyaśataka* reflections on disillusionment and thoughts on renunciation. Bhartṛhari was the author of yet another book which, according to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing (*A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and Malay Archipelago*, trsl. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 180), 'fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth and treats of the philosophy of man.' I-tsing calls it *Pia-na* (probably Skt. *Beḍa* or *Veda*). G. Bühler has pointed out (I-tsing, op. cit. p. 225) that a work bearing the similar name *Beḍāvṛtti* is found in S.K. Bhandarkar's *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Deccan College*, Bombay, 1888, p. 146, No. 381; and in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 198, under *Janmāmbhodhi* (' the ocean of birth') and the commentary is, appropriately called *Beḍā-vṛtti*, i.e., ' the boat commentary', to cross the ocean. According to some scholars (Max Müller, op. cit. pp. 349–50) Bhartṛhari was also the author of *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (or *Rāvaṇavadha*).

In 1651 A.C. Abraham Roger, the first Dutch chaplain at Pulicat, translated into Dutch the maxims of Bhartṛhari, and published them in his work under the title *De open Deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom* (Leyden, 1651). This was the first time that a Sanskrit text was translated into any European language and it opened the door of the treasure house of Indian wisdom ; thus Bhartṛhari was the first to attract western scholarship on eastern thought.

Bhartṛhari was famous as a poet, logician, philosopher and also as a person who vacillated between the life of a Buddhist monk and the life of secular pleasure ; he is a historical phantom. The details which one needs for the usual type of literary history are lacking. "We have not enough to furnish a single paragraph of trustwrothy biography for Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, or Bhartṛhari, " says D. D. Kosambi (*HOS*. Vol. 42, p. 40). "And the normal alternative would be to winnow an occasional grain of doubtful fact from the scattered chaff of obscure, ambiguous and semi-legendary references."

In popular Indian tradition Bhartṛhari is identified as a king who renounced worldly life since he was disgusted with the behaviour of womenfolk. The legend is recorded in the *Vikramacarita* (trsl. *HOS*. Vol. 26, 'King Bhartṛhari and the Fruit that gave Immortality', pp. 5–14). " He was not a king," says Keith, " we may suppose that he was once a courtier " (Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, p. 176). Bhartṛhari's reflections on the miseries of serving the great as found in his *śatakas* suggest that he was a court-poet who later became a Buddhist monk.

1 D. D. Kosambi has published a critical edition of '*Epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari*'. under the title *Bhartṛhariviracitaḥ śatakatrayādi-subhāṣita-saṃgrahaḥ*, (Singhi-Jain Series, No. 23, Bombay, 1948). See also *Bhartṛhari : Poems* ed. Barbara Stoler Miller, Columbia, 1967 ; *The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*, Photolithographic edition to 1955, London, 1965, Vol. 16, columns 1125–27.

I-tsing, who visited India in the latter part of the 7th century A.C., records in his account on Bhartṛhari that it was forty years after his death (op. cit. p. 180). Max Müller (op. cit. p. 348), basing his arguments on I-tsing's account, postulates that Bhartṛhari died in 650 A.C. His fame remained in the memory of the people, to be recorded forty years later. Bhartṛhari was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the teacher of Śīlabhadra, who was an old man when he received the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang at Nālandā in 633 A.C. (Max Müller, op. cit. p. 348). As found in the account given by I-tsing (op. cit. pp. 178-79), Bhartṛhari was intimately acquainted with the doctrine of 'sole-knowledge' (*vidyāmātra*), and has skilfully discussed *hetu* and *udāharaṇa* (the cause and example of logic). This author, Bhartṛhari was very famous throughout the five parts of India, and his, excellences were known everywhere. He believed deeply in the Three Jewels (i.e. *Ratnatraya*) and diligently meditated on the 'twofold nothingness' (*śūnya*). Having desired '*to embrace*' the Excellent Law, he became a homeless priest, but overcome by worldly desires, he returned again to the laity. In the same manner he became seven times a priest and seven times returned to the laity. Unless one believes well in the truth of cause and effect, one cannot act strenuously like him. He wrote the following verse full of self-reproach :

"Through the enticement of the world
I returned to the laity.
Being free from secular pleasures
Again I wear the priestly cloak.
How do these two impulses
Play with me as if a child ?"

I-tsing records another story about Bhartṛhari (I-tsing, op. cit. pp. 179-80). The account given here well suits Bhartṛhari, the literary personality as found in the *śatakas*. 'Once when (Bhartṛhari) was a priest (living) in the monastery (he was) being harassed by worldly desires, he was disposed to return to the laity. He remained, however, firm, and asked a student to get a carriage (ready) outside the monastery. On being asked the cause, he replied: "It is the place where one performs meritorious actions, and it is designed for the dwelling of those who keep the moral precepts (*śīla*). Now passion already predominates within me, and I am incapable of adhering to the Excellent Law. Such a man as myself should not intrude into an assembly of priests come here from every quarter." Then he returned to the position of a lay-devotee (*upāsaka*) and wearing a white garment, continued to exalt and promote the true religion, being still in the monastery.' Radhakrishnan (op. cit. p. 465) comments thus, 'his teachings are not inconsistent with this story. His insistence on the phenomenality of the world and detachment from things is strongly Buddhistic in tone.' All things are attended with fear to men ; detachment alone is safe. (*Sarvaṃ vastu bhayānvitaṃ bhuvi nṛṇām, vairāgyam evābhayam : Vairāgyaśataka* ed. Kṛṣṇaśāstri, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1924, p. 54, v. 116).

For Bhartṛhari, the world, with all its distinctions, is imagined (*kālpanikam*). Things of the world are soulless (*nairātmya*) though words give them individuality. Max Müller (op. cit. p. 349) says, 'That there was a Buddhistic flavour about Bhartṛhari's *śatakas* has long been perceived.'

Bhartṛhari's great philosophical work is the *Vākyapadīya* 'which is more or less Buddhistic in its tendencies' (Radhakrishnan, op. cit. p. 465). The work has three chapters of which the first deals with philosophy in general and the philosophy of grammar in particular. The title of the chapter, '*Āgamasamuccaya*,' is very appropriate as in that chapter Bhartṛhari 'summarises the philosophical views scattered in works of traditional lore mainly concerned with the philosophy of grammar' (Śānti Bhikṣu Śāstri, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität*, Leipzig, 1963, pp. 192-228).

The importance of Bhartṛhari and his *Vākyapadīya* lies in the fact that he exercised great influence on the thinking of later generations.

M. KR.

BHARU JĀTAKA, related by the Buddha in connection with the king of Kosala (*J.*II, pp. 169 ff.). At that time, while the Buddha and his followers were enjoying great respect and honour, the heretics received no attention from the public. Thereupon, one of the heretics suggested that the former received all that attention, because they lived in the most important place in India. Thus they built a monastery (*ārāma*) behind the Jetavana monastery.

They thought that the Buddha and the bhikkhus might prevent them from building the monastery and gave a bribe of a hundred thousand pieces to king Pasenadi, informing him of their intention.

They also told him that he should not give heed to any protest made by the bhikkhus against their plan.

Having found an architect, the heretics proceeded with the task of building the monastery. When there was a great deal of disturbance, the Buddha came to know from Ānanda that a monastery of the heretics was coming up in the neighbourhood. The Buddha then sent the bhikkhus to the king in order to inform him about it. When the king saw the bhikkhus approaching the palace, he ordered the attendants to say that he was away. The bhikkhus returned to the Buddha and informed him accordingly. The Buddha at once guessed that the king had taken a bribe from the heretics. Then, he sent his two chief disciples, who also returned with the same answer. When, on the following forenoon, the Buddha went to the palace with five hundred bhikkhus, the king attended on them and offered alms. Then the Buddha began an exposition, saying that there had been kings in the past who had accepted bribes (*lañcaṃ*) and they, having encouraged virtuous people to fight, lost their kingdoms and came to destruction. Then the Buddha related this story of the past by way of illustration.

Once the bodhisatta was leader of a band of five hundred ascetics in Himālaya. One day they came to the city of Bharu for salt and vinegar and took up their residence under a banyan tree to the north of the city. A similar group remained under a tree to the south. Next year, the tree to the south of the city was found to have withered away, and the group who had lived there, having arrived first, took possession of the other tree to the north. This led to a dispute between the two groups, and they sought the intervention of Bharu, king of the Bharu country. He decided in favour of one group, but being bribed by the other, he changed his mind. Later, the ascetics repented of their greed and hastened back to Himālaya. The gods, angry with the king, submerged the whole of Bharu, three hundred leagues in extent, under the sea.

I. K.

BHARUKA, a yakṣa, resident of Bharukaccha, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, 17 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHARUKACCHA (1), a nāga mentioned in a list of *nāgarājas* in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mhvyut.* No. 3318). The name occurs as the 9th in a list of 56 names, beginning with Indrasena. This, together with the preceding chapter, is entitled *Nāgarājanāmāni*.

BHARUKACCHA (2), an important sea-port of ancient India from which trade-routes went westward and eastward, the latter one touching the island of Ceylon. Known today as Broach, it appears as Bhṛgukaccha in Sanskrit, as the Barygadza of Ptolemy (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*), P'o-lu-ka-ch'ê of Hsüan-tsang, and in several variations of the Pali and Sanskrit forms as well.

The *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy.* p. 576) says the city was founded by Bhiru, one of the three people who escaped from the Kingdom of Śikhaṇḍi, the parricide ruler of Sauvīra, when this was destroyed by a heavy fall of sand, following on the murder of Rudrāyaṇa, king of Rauruka. Bharukaccha is, according to this account, a corruption of Bhirukaccha (Marsh of Bhiru). But the tradition among the brahmans ascribed its foundation to the sage Bhṛgu.

The port was close to the mouth of the river Nammadā (Narmadā); it was two hundred miles south-west of the well-known city of Ujjeni of Buddhist writings, by the central route of olden days. In the sixth century A.C. the region in which it was situated was settled by a tribe of Gurjars who were related to the Huns. The district of Bharukaccha is mentioned in an inscription of one of their kings (Jayabhaṭṭa III, 736 A.C.).

It was from here that Vijaya, the traditional founder of the line of Sinhalese kings, is reputed to have arrived in Ceylon. The port is also mentioned in the *Sussondī* and *Suppāraka Jātakas*.

Hsüan-tsang has given the size as about 2,500 *li* in circuit. He noted that there were over ten vihāras with some three hundred bhikkhus who belonged to the Sthavira fraternity. There were also temples of gods (brahmanical) in which there were sectaries of various kinds.

Two people of the city are mentioned in the *Theragāthā* (*vv.* 335-39) as having joined the Saṅgha. They were Vaḍḍha and his mother; both of them ultimately became arahants. Mahitavambha thera also lived there.

Near this town also lived a monk who dreamt one night that he indulged in sexual intercourse with his former wife. He was remorseful over this matter as he thought he was guilty of an offence the punishment for which is expulsion from the order (*pārājika*). On his way to Bharukaccha

where he thought he could discard the robes and return to lay life, he met Upāli and told him about his decision. Upāli pronounced him innocent of that offence since the act in question took place in dream (*Vin.* III, p. 39). The Buddha was pleased when he came to know how skilfully Upāli had pronounced judgment over this matter, and placed Upāli foremost among those who studied the Vinaya (*VinA.* I, p. 283).

D. T. D.

BHĀSKARADEVA, a bodhisattva given in a list of bodhisattvas with Maitreya at their head (*Gvyū.* p. 442).

BHĀSKARAPRADĪPA, second of the five hundred Buddhas who appeared in the world in the age (kalpa) called Devaśiri (*Gvyū.* p. 256).

BHASMEŚVARA, name of a future Buddha, mentioned in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (*BHS.* s.v).

BHĀTĀ SUTTA, the sixteenth discourse of the *Anamatagga-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* II, p. 189), preached at Sāvatthi by the Buddha to the monks along with many other similar suttas. The beginning of saṃsāra is incalculable, for it is cloaked in ignorance and tied by craving. It is not easy to find one who has not been a brother in this long faring-on. It is in connection with the above statement, that the sutta is named *Bhātā*, which means brother.

H.R.P.

BHAṬIDEVĀ, a queen named in a Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa inscription (circa 2nd–3rd cent. A.C.) as having erected a monastery and gifted it with requisites to the Bahussutīya sect (*EI.* XX, p. 1 ff.).

BHĀTIKA ABHAYA, also called Bhātika or Bhātiya, a king of Ceylon who for twenty-eight years (B.C. 22—7 A.C.) ruled at Anuradhapura. He succeeded his father Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa. Since he was the elder brother of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga, he was known by the name Bhātikarāja.

The king was very pious and in his piety did much service to Buddhism. He carried out the work of repairing the Lohapāsāda and built two *vedikās* for the Mahāthūpa and an *uposatha* house in the Thūpārāma vihāra. Over a yojana round the city of Anuradhapura, he planted two kinds of jasmine known as *sumana* and *ujjuka*.

Most of his religious activities were connected with the Mahāthūpa. He once commanded that the Mahāthūpa, from the *vedikā* at the foot to the parasol on the top, be plastered with sandalwood paste four fingers thick in which were embedded sweet-smelling flowers. A second time he gave a plastering to the thickness of eight fingers and yet another time he commanded that the cetiya be strewn with flowers from the steps to the parasol on the top.[1] Then he raised water from the Abhaya-tank by means of machines and had it poured over the thūpa. On another occasion he covered the Mahāthūpa with a plaster made of a mixture of pearls and oil. He also had a net of coral prepared and cast it over the cetiya and in the meshes thereof large lotus flowers made of gold were hung, clusters of pearls hanging on them.

The king went twice a day to worship the cetiya. One day when he went to worship in the evening, he heard the voice of arahants chanting in chorus inside the relic chamber. He resolved then to lie down, fasting, near the thūpa till he had seen them. The monks created a door for him and brought him into the relic chamber. He was so delighted at the magnificence of the relic chamber that he made an offering of figures modelled with clay in close likeness to those within (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *vv.* 37 ff.). Furthermore, the king made models of what he saw inside the chamber and exhibited them in the courtyard. This was done annually.

One day he assembled the monks in the Lohapāsāda and described to them during the whole night what he had seen in the relic chamber and being asked in the morning whether the description was over he told them that what he had described was not even one tenth of what he had seen (*MhvA.* pp. 553 ff.). Subsequently, he ordered a great festival for the renewing of the plaster work of the Mahāthūpa to be held annually (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *v.* 58).

S. Paranavitana (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1959, Vol.I, part i., p.248) observes that ritual dancing, and perhaps dramatical performances, as well as music, which formed a prominent feature of the worship of gods were incorporated into stūpa worship in the reign of Bhātika Abhaya, for, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*

1 *Mahāvaṃsa* (trsl. Geiger, p. 241, n. 3) says that the steps form the ascent from the 'elephant-path' to the great terrace, on which the cetiya stands.

(*Mhv.* xxxiv, *vv.* 58 ff.), he held a festival for watering the great bodhi-tree, twenty-eight great Vesākha festivals, eighty-four thousand lesser festivals, diverse mimic dances and concerts, with the playing of all kinds of musical instruments in honour of the Mahāthūpa, in addition to the festivals mentioned above.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *vv.* 62 ff.) records that the king distributed alms and other necessary things such as oil and garments among the Saṅgha. At the vihāra of the Cetiya-pabbata, he constantly gave alms to a thousand monks by tickets, and at five other centres, namely, Citta, Maṇi, Mucala, Padumaghara and Chatta-pāsāda, he provided hospitality to monks. Moreover, he bestowed land for the monasteries so that they might be kept in repair. This statement in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is supported by a rock inscription at Molāhiṭiya-velēgala (*EZ.* III, p. 154) which records certain grants to a monastery by Bhātika Abhaya.

The *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA.* II, p. 307) refers to an incident which led to the king appointing Ābhidhammika Godatta thera to settle all disputes. He had heard of a skilful judgement of this monk and had it proclaimed that he would punish anyone who, in any matter of dispute, would not abide by the decision of the monk. On another occasion the king appointed a brahman minister, Dīghakārāyaṇa, versed in many languages, to settle a controversy between the monks of Abhayagiri and those of the Mahāvihāra (*VinA.* III, p. 582 f.), probably over the interpretation of a text. Commenting on this incident, E. W. Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953, p.88) says that though the *Mahāvaṃsa* is silent on this incident, it throws considerable light on the events of this period.

Beef-eating[1] seems to have been a punishable offence in the days of Bhātika Abhaya, for he once punished some people who were unable to pay the fine imposed upon them for eating beef by employing them as scavengers in the palace premises. But later, the king fell in love with the daughter of one of these men and made her one of his queens, subsequently releasing her kinsmen (*VbhA.* p. 440).

The *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* V, p. 5) describes an interesting experiment which Bhātika Abhaya tried at the Mahācetiya to verify a statement of the Buddha that the perfume of the jasmine surpasses all other perfumes (*A.* V, p. 22). He filled a room with four kinds of perfume and then placed in it handfuls of various kinds of flowers, including jasmine. After a while he entered the room, and the smell that he perceived first was that of the jasmine flowers. Convinced of the truth of the statement of the Buddha, he fell prostrate in worship. Once the king asked a reciter to tell him of an auspicious (*jayamaṅgala*) stanza which refers to all the Three Gems. The reciter uttered the stanza, beginning *divā tapati ādicco ratti ābhāti candimā*, of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* II, p. 284) and the king in delight gave him a thousand pieces (*SA.* II, p. 247).

Paranavitana (op. cit. Vol. I, part i, p.225) observes that Bhātika Abhaya had trade relations with Rome. Referring to the net of coral with which the king covered the Mahāthūpa, mentioned above, the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary (*MhvA.* p. 630) says that the king sent envoys to the Romanukkha country and obtained red coral for the purpose. Pliny (VI, pp. 84–91 ; see also Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge University Press, 1928, p. 43), on the other hand, has recorded that four envoys were sent by the Sinhalese king of the day to the emperor Claudius in the company of a freedman, Annius Plocamus, who, being caught by the north winds while sailing round Arabia, drifted to a sea-port in Ceylon and was treated with consideration when brought before the Sinhalese king. Paranavitana (loc. cit.) believes that Pliny refers to the envoys of Bhātika Abhaya and that Romanukkha is none other than Rome.

The reign of the king seems to have been a period of peace and prosperity, as has been observed by E.W. Adikaram (op. cit. p. 86) and S. Paranavitana (op. cit. p. 173). The education of monks had reached a high standard and there is specific mention of bhikkhus engaged in *gantha-dhura*, 'occupation of books', that is, study (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *v.* 66).

The weathere statue in the round near the southern gate of the Mahāthūpa, now too weather-worn for aesthetic appreciation, is popularly believed to be a representation of Bhātika Abhaya (Paranavitana, op. cit. p. 266). He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *v.* 68).

H. R. P.

BHĀTIKA TISSA (var. B-Tissaka, Bhātu-Tissa), son of king Mahallanāga. He was king of Ceylon for twenty-four years (143-67 A. C.) after the death of

1 *Gomaṃsa-khādake* (*VbhA.* p. 440). Malalasekara interprets as 'butchers' (*DPPN.* II, p. 371) whereas Rāhula interprets as 'beef-eaters' (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 231).

his father. He built a wall round the Mahāvihāra (round the Mahāmeghavana according to the *Dpv.* xxii, *vv.* 18-19), the Gavaratissa vihāra and also a tank for it, called the Mahāmaṇi (Gāmaṇi) tank, the Bhātikatissa-vihāra, an *ārāma* called Vara, an uposathāgāra in the Thūpārāma and the Randhakaṇḍaka tank. The king is said to have been very kind and zealous and to have supplied alms lavishly to both monks and nuns (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *vv.* 1-5; *Dpv.* xxii, *vv.* 18-22, 30, 31). S. Paranavitana (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1959, Vol. I, part i, p. 187) is of opinion that Sirināga I (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *v.* 21) was Bhātika Tissa's son. Bhātika Tissa, at his death, was succeeded by his younger brother Kaniṭṭha Tissa (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *v.* 6).

H. R. P.

BHĀTIVAṄKA-VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon which existed in the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161 B.C.—137 B.C.). A monk named Mahāsiva dwelt there. One night Mahāsiva went to pay homage to the Mahāthūpa and saw two beautiful maidens offering flowers at the cetiya. Having inquired about their marvellous splendour he learnt that in their previous birth they had worked for hire in the construction of the cetiya and as a result of that meritorious act were born in heaven (*Mhv.* xxx, *vv.* 46 ff.).

In the reign of king Saddhātissa (137 B.C.—119 B.C.), brother of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, a thera named Mahānāga dwelt in a monastery called Bhātiyavaṅka (*MhvA.* p. 606) which is probably identical with Bhātivaṅka. But its identification with the Bhātikatissa-vihāra (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *v.* 3) suggested by C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS.* New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 189) seems to be incorrect, for the latter was constructed much later, in the reign of king Bhātikatissa (143-67 A.C.). Bhātivaṅka-vihāra has not been identified and its builder is not known, but the monastery was probably in the Dakkhiṇa-desa of Rajaraṭa (*JCBRAS.* loc. cit.).

H.R.P.

BHATTABHATIKA, a labourer who was so named because he worked for food for the banker Gandha. He set out from his village with a cart filled with fire-wood, etc., and while spending the night at a friend's place, the latter suggested that they should go and see the splendour in which Gandha took his meals. When he went there, he smelt the flavour of the food and developed a desire to eat from Gandha's bowl. He spoke about this to his friend saying that if he failed to satisfy his wish, he would die. His friend mentioned this to Gandha, who said that if Bhattabhatika worked for him for three years his wish would be fulfilled.

Bhattabhatika agreed and performed all his duties faithfully. When his term of work was over, Gandha gave him two thousand pieces of money for his evening meal and one thousand pieces of money for his morning meal. Then he ordered the members of his household to treat Bhattabhatika in the same manner as they treated him.

When he had obtained the bowl of rice for which he had worked, a pacceka-buddha from the Gandhamādana mountain appeared before him and he offered him the food, without even taking a grain of rice for himself. Then he worshipped the pacceka-buddha and made a wish to the effect that he may realize the same Truth as the pacceka-buddha.

When Gandha came to know of this incident, he was so pleased that he divided all his possessions into two parts and gave Bhattabhatika one. The king, too, having heard about this incident bestowed on him great treasures and gave him the post of seṭṭhi. Later, he and Gandha became great friends.

In a subsequent life he was reborn in the deva world and lived there during a period of two Buddhas until in the dispensation of the present Buddha he was born in Sāvatthi in the house of a supporter of Sāriputta (*DhpA.* III, pp. 88-95).

I. K.

BHATTANĀVĀ, a Pali word, which occurs in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, to mean a 'canoe for gifts of rice' (*Mhv.* xlii, *v.* 67 and trsl.). It is mentioned along with the alms-hall known as Mahāpāḷi (in Anuradhapura) where, in the seventh century, king Aggabodhi II set up a 'canoe' for the purpose so indicated. Mahāpāḷi is considered to have been a refectory or kitchen (*EZ.* III, p. 134) and, although authorities regard the particular building as having been in Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon, there was a Mahāpāḷi at least in another city.

Fa-hsien who visted the island (*circa* 410-12 A.C.) mentions that the Saṅgha were fed from viands in the palace kitchen. Hsüan-tsang, upon information gathered in India from some Ceylon

bhikkhus, wrote that food for eight thousand members of the Saṅgha used to be daily measured out from a large kitchen by the side of the king's palace in Anuradhapura. This Mahāpāḷi has been identified within the ancient inner city, only a few yards away from the palace. Among several nearby ruins is a large 'stone canoe', upon one face of which are two short inscriptions in tenth century Sinhalese script in which occur the words '*Mahapeḷa*' (Mahāpāḷi) and '*gal näva*' (stone ship).

'Canoes' which served as receptacles for rice, boiled and unboiled, have been found both in Anuradhapura and Mihintale; they are invariably in residential areas reserved for the Saṅgha. All the extant examples are in stone, but metal (whether bronze or copper) was also used (*Mhv.* lxii, *v.* 33), and probably even wood. Some of the surviving 'canoes' are of great size, the cavity itself exceeding forty feet in length.

Two examples from Mihintale fairly suggest their nature. The smaller one was used for cleaning unwashed rice, much in the same way as is done today. It was constructed of eleven slabs, five laid together to form the bottom. The middle slab of this latter group was scarred with twenty grooves to enable (according to the archaeologist H. C. P. Bell in *ASCAR.* 1910–11, p. 23) the rice to be rubbed or rolled in order to separate the grains from sand, grit and other extraneous matter. The larger vessel, the *bhattanāvā* proper, was to contain the boiled rice. All the available examples have been given the realistic appearance of a long, dug-out canoe.

The *Mhv.* seems to be the only Pali work where the word *bhattanāvā* occurs; the *PED.* has lost sight of this term (cp. *bhattammaṇa*, food trough, in *J.* VI, p. 381). It is, therefore, of some interest to find a plausible reason for the use of the Pali word *nāvā* (ship) in describing a receptacle which can by no means be likened to a ship. The portion of the *Mhv.* here was written by Dharmakīrti thera in Polonnaruwa in the 13th cent., when Anuradhapura had ceased to be the capital city. But he obtained his material from records kept in the other city (G. C. Mendis, *The Early History of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1946, Appendix I). It is known that these original records were in Sinhalese and that the *Mhv.* merely renderd them into Pali. As noted above, the Sinhalese word *näva* (ship) had already been applied to a receptacle, for whatever reason, three centuries before Dharmakīrti, who would, naturally enough, render it literally in Pali as *nāvā*.

The vessels have been found, as far as we know, in no other Buddhist country than Ceylon. Even in Ceylon they are known only in mediaeval times (See Pl. I, Fig. A)

D. T. D.

BHAṬṬĀRAKA-MAHĀKĀRUṆIKA-STOTRA, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of *Tengyur* under the title *Rje-btsun thugs-rje-chen-po-la-bstod-pa* (*TM.* No. 2740). The work is attributed to Dpal-mo. This text is not included in the Peking edition.

The title of the work suggests that its contents form an eulogy of a most compassionate (*mahā kāruṇika*) Lord (*Bhaṭṭāraka*).

I. K.

BHAṬṬĀRAKA - MAÑJUŚRĪ - PARAMĀRTHA - STUTI-NĀMA, a Sanskrit work preserved in its Tibetan translation under the title *Ḥphags-pa rje-btsun ḥjam-dpal-gyi don-dam-paḥi-bstod-pa śes-bya-ba.* The author is Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub) and the translators are Tilaka and Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags (Sūryakīrti). This work is included in the *Bstod Tshogs* (*stotra*) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 1131; *Cordier*, II, p.6; *TT* Vol. 46, No. 2022).

It is a song of praise for Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta (Ḥjam-dpal gshon nur gyur-pa), a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. The author begins the text with a salutation to Mañjuśrī. He is referred to as immeasurable (in size) and incomparable, a non-returner (anāgāmin, Tib. *ma-byon-pa*), who has completely passed away from this world. He is said to have put an end to the cycle of existence by his thorough perception of the doctrine.

I. K.

BHAṬṬĀRAKA-MAÑJUŚRĪYAMĀRI-PŪJĀ-KRAMA-VIDHI-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Rje-btsun ḥjam-dpal gśin-rje-gśed mchod-paḥi rim-pa śes-bya-ba,* occurring in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section according to the Peking edition, and in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section according to the *sde-dge* edition, included in the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2810; *TM.* No. 1945). The authorship of the work is credited to Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍit and the translator is named as Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.

The text expounds a series of methods of worshipping the god Mañjuśrīyamāntaka (Tib. *Ḥjam-dpal-gśin-rje-gśed mchod-pa*). To (be possessed of grace, glory and wealth) author declares that these methods of worship should be followed by every one, day and night, in thought, deed and word. Further, it is mentioned that this kind of worship would bring about happiness by destroying the darkness of misery (Tib. *ñon-moṅs-pa*) and the moral defilements (Tib. *sgrib-pa*). The work begins with a salutation to all learned lamas.

I. K.

BHAṬṬĀRAKĀRYAIKADAŚAMUKHĀVALOKITEŚVARA-SĀDHANA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Rje-btsun ḥphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs dban-phyug shal bcu-gcig-paḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TM.* No. 2737 ; *TT.* Vol. 79, No. 3557). The authorship of this work is credited to Dpal-mo (Lakṣmī) whose name occurs at the end of the text. The translators are given as Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po.

The work, as it occurs in the Peking edition begins with a salutation addressed to Avalokiteśvara. The work itself deals with the procedure of worship of the god Ekadaśamukhāvalokiteśvara (Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces). In the first part of this work, the author instructs the meditator how a maṇḍala should be drawn and what magical formulas should be uttered at the ceremony. Among the three formulas mentioned, there occurs a formula which is common to some of the other sādhanas as well, namely, *Oṃ śūnyatājñāna vajra svabhāva....*

After the preparation of the maṇḍala, the meditator is asked to visualize in it this eleven faced god whose description is given in detail.

I. K.

BHAṬṬĀRAKĀRYA-JAMBHALA-JALENDRA-SĀDHANA, a sādhana text extant only in its Tibetan translation entitled the *Rje-btsun ḥphags-pa gnod-ḥdsin chu dbaṅ-gi sgrub-paḥi thabs*, which is included in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 1861 ; *Cordier*, II, p. 148 ; *TT.* Vol. 65, No. 2724). The authorship of the work is credited to Mi-bskyod rdo-rje saṅs-rgyas ye-śes (Akṣobhyavajra Buddhajñāna) and its translators are named as Śraddhākarabhadra and Chos-kyi śes-rab (Dharmaprajñā).

This sādhana deals with the procedure of worship of the god of waters, Jambhala-Jalendra (who is referred to elsewhere as the god of wealth: B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 178). The worshipper is asked to meditate on *śūnyatā* (the voidness of all phenomena) and the like, and then contemplate on Jambhala-Jalendra whose form is described.

There are five magical formulas included in the sādhana, the first of which is to be repeated one hundred times. The work begins with a salutation to the Dhyānibuddha Ratnasambhava (Tib. Rin-chen-ḥbyuṅ-ldan).

I. K.

BHAṬṬĀRIKĀRYA-TĀRĀ-SĀDHANA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Rje-btsun-ma ḥphags-ma sgrol-maḥi sgrub-thabs*, incorporated in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur*. Kamalaśrī, whose name is mentioned at the end of the text, is said to have composed this work (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3166). According to the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* No. 2327), this text belongs to the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* and its author is given as Kamalaśīla. Perhaps both forms of the name refer to one individual. The name of the translator is not mentioned in either edition.

This work gives the procedure of worship of Tārā, whose form is described. The description is similar to that of the Khadiravāṇi Tārā, one of the forms of green Tārā (B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 307).

After drawing a maṇḍala (magic circle) the meditator is instructed to chant the *Svabhāvaśuddha* mantra and meditate upon the voidness (*śūnyatā*) of all phenomena. He is then asked to contemplate on Tārā and inaugurate the ceremony with his mind full of faith. During the ceremony he has to chant three magic formulas. In the body of the text, Tārā is saluted repeatedly after each description of her qualities.

I. K.

BHATTA SUTTA, the eighth sutta in the *Dīgha-cārika-vagga* of the *Pañcaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* III, p. 260). It enumerates

five disadvantages that come to a family who eat when the sun is high up. They do not honour in time their honoured guests, nor the devas receiving oblations nor recluses and brahmans. Their servants and slaves work in disgust. Eating unseasonably, they do not get the best nutriment from their food. The opposite are the five advantages in a family who eat at the proper time.

L. R. G.

BHAṬṬIPRŌḶU, a small Indian village 2 miles west of Villatūr on the Krishna river, in the Rēpelle sub-division (*taluk*) of Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. It is best known for one of the earliest types of Buddhist stūpas discovered in this part of the country.

About the first known British record of it was by Boswell in 1870 (*IA.* I, pp. 153, 346 ff.). Much of the material of this hoary monument had been utilized for the mundane purpose of road-making; because marble was found here the sad fate continued its course for several years more. By the time A. Rea of the Archaeological Survey came to excavate the ruin in 1892, he saw a mound of only some 14 ft. high from an estimated[1] original height of 66 ft.

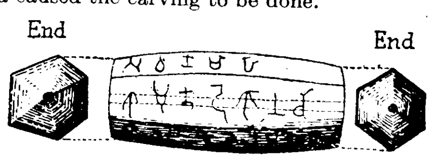
Local stories connected the mound with a whimsical situation, for it was known as the 'courtesan's mound' (*lañja dibba*); close by, a lesser mound bore a like name—so did, in fact, many another stūpa mound in other parts of the country (*IA.* I, p.152 f.). Rea excavated the remains and assessed the area as 1,700 square yards, the diameter of the dome as 132 ft., and of the base (with the paved path) as 148 ft. (*South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894, pp. 9 ff.). Thus, as far as the size went, it was nearly as big as the Amarāvatī stūpa, the largest of all south Indian Buddhist stūpas.

Bhaṭṭiprōḷu is one of the earliest Indian stūpas of the class in which sculptural work had been done on the slabs encasing the projections at its cardinal points. Solid brickwork had been used for the stūpa. These bricks were of great size, measuring 2 ft. by 1½ft. on the surface; they were of clay mixed with straw and were well fired.

The excavations brought to light a number of interesting objects; the work on stone showed the excellence of the stone-cutter's craftsmanship. Among the objects discovered, mention must be made of three votive caskets with inscriptions and each with stone and a crystal reliquary. These inscriptions, in a language of the type of Pali, ten in number, were edited by G. Bühler (*EI.* II, pp.323–9). Two of them (Nos. I & IV) mention body relics of the Buddha as deposits. Inside the caskets were "pearls, precious stones, gold flowers, jewels, beads, *triśūlas* and 24 small coins (with the *triśūla* and the sacred *pāda* encircled by a nāga engraved on them)." The caskets and crystal beads are inscribed in Brāhmī characters, the variations in some of which indicate a south Indian type of the script used in Asoka's inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds the finds are dated in the period of Asoka (3rd cent. B.C.).

Each of the three stone caskets consists of two parts, the lid and the lower part. An inscription on the rim of the lower part of one casket reveals that the casket was prepared and given, along with a crystal casket to hold a few relics of the Buddha, by Kura, the son of Banava, and Utare, the son of Pigaha. An inscription on the lid of another casket states that there was a committee consisting of Miranavagha, Vugalaka and others. In another inscription near it the relics of the Buddha are also mentioned. The inscriptions on the rim read, "Kuba, the ascetic of the committee" and "Būba, the son of the village headman, Hiraṇakāra." An inscription on the rim of the lower part of the same casket reads, "By the sons of the Shāgathi, *nigama* (guild of town), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka, the son of Sha-i the chief of the Shīha (Siṃha) committee—by stone."

The third stone casket also carries inscriptions on the lid and the lower part; the inscription on the lid says that the members of the guild are Vachha, Chagha, and others, while the inscription on the lower part of the casket reads, "By the committee of the venerable Brahadina (was given) a casket and a box. The work (is) by him, by whom King Kubinaka caused the carving to be done."



The inscription on a hexagonal crystal piece, (Fig. above[2]) now kept in the Reserve Collection of the Madras Museum reads, ". . . . gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Srāmaṇeras from Suvaṇamāha, in the *Ayasakasathi goli* of Gilānakera (?)." (See Pl. II.)

R. Ng.

1 W. R. Norris, for whose note see *IA*, III, p. 124.
2 Reproduced from A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XV, Madras, 1894.

BHATTUDDESAKA SUTTA. Three suttas by this title occur in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* II, p. 19; III, p. 274). In all of them it is stated that a monk, designated as a meal-distributor (*bhattuddesaka*), who is led by passion (*chanda*), hatred (*dosa*), fear (*bhaya*) and ignorance (*moha*) is sure to be born in hell, while one who is led by the opposites of these qualities is sure to be born in heaven.

W. G. W.

BHAUMADEVA-LIPI, one of the sixty-four scripts that should be learnt by a bodhisattva, listed in the *Lalitavistara* in the chapter dealing with the 'writing school' (*lipiśālā* : *Lal.* p. 88). But none of the Chinese texts agrees with the *Lalitavistara* either in name or in order.

In Tibetan, the *Bhaumadeva* script is known as *sa blaḥi lhaḥi yi ge.*

I. K.

BHAUTIKA, a term used to denote the five objects of sense. According to the theory of the elements (see BHŪTA) the entire objective world is built up of the four (sometimes five or six) elements and this external world contains everything that becomes the objects of the five sense-organs. Hence the term *bhautika*, which is a secondary derivative of the term *bhūta*, means collectively the external world that contains all that become the objects of the five sense faculties. It is in this sense that the various objects of sense are designated as *bhautika*. Thus, in the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (*Dhsmg.* p.40) the five sense objects are referred to as the five *bhautikas* (*pañca-bhautikāni*).

B. H. Hodgson (*Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, Trübner, 1874, p. 80.) in a discussion of this topic gives six elements and classifies each of them in relation to the six sense-organs in the following manner :—

bhūta	*indriya*	*āyatana*
earth	skin	tangible properties
water	palate	savours
fire	nose	odours
air	ear	sounds
ākāśa (atmosphere)	eye	colours, forms
manas (mind)	perception	the sum of all phenomena which are homogeneous and result from *manas*.

It is interesting that in the same work (p. 77) the author identifies, according to the Aiśvarika doctrine, each of the first five of these with the five Dhyānibuddhas. Thus, from Vairocana proceeds the element of space, the organ of sight and colours ; from Akṣobhya, the element of air, the organ of hearing and all sounds ; from Ratnasambhava the element of fire, the organ of smell and all odours ; from Amitābha, the element of water, the organ of taste and all savours ; and from Amoghasiddhi, the element of earth, the organ of touch and all the sense objects depending on touch.

However, the author does not discuss how these are inter-related. (For a discussion of the sense-organs and their relations with the external world, see ĀYATANA, BHŪTA and DHĀTU).

According to H. T. Colebrooke, (*Miscellaneous Essays*, edited by E. B. Cowell, London, 1873, pp. 416–7), the Sautrāntikas and the Vaibhāṣikas accept two categories of objects as external and internal and they include both the elements and the sense-organs in the former category. As the sense-organs appertain to the elements, they are designated *bhautika*. It should be noted that here only the four elements of earth, water, fire and air are mentioned. As all the material things are composed of the elements and as the objects that come under the elements have to be recognised by the sense faculties, the sense-organs are intimately related to their objects. If not for the sense-organs, the material world cannot be apprehended. Further, not only is this world composed of atomic conjuncts of the elements, but the sense-organs themselves are so.

A. G. S. K.

BHAVA (1), becoming, is the process of change, of development, of evolution, of growth. It is never existence in the sense of finality, of being, of essence, of substance.

It is culture in training : It is thus that monks should train themselves : Having pursued the powers of confidence, conscientiousness, discretion, energy and wisdom, we will become thus (*saddhābalena, hiribalena, ottappabalena, viriyabalena, paññābalena samannāgatā bhavissāma sekhabalena* : *A.* III, pp. 1–3). It is not as if the disciple obtains virtue, but he becomes virtue. The commentary to *A.* III, p. 75 explains *bhavissanti* not as a mere future of existence, but as *vuḍḍhissanti*, will grow, will flourish, in the same way as the king's greeting to Jotipāla (*D.* II, p. 231 : *Mahā Govinda Suttanta*) is explained as, 'May there be increase or success,' the commentary equating *bhava* with *vuddhi*. Also we find references to the mind in training not becoming upset or perverted (*M.* I, p. 123 : *na c'eva me cittaṃ vipariṇataṃ bhavissati*), where "the future is viewed not so much as an impending change ......

but rather as a change in a man's life for the better or the worse, for growth or decline" (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *To become or Not to become*, London, 1937, p. 106). Again, the question is *not* 'which one' (*katama*), but 'how' (*kathaṃ*) to become. "How do wrongs and failures arise ?" (*kathañca bhikkhave micchattaṃ āgamma virādhanā hoti* : *A.* V, p. 211). "From wrong views come wrong intentions" (*micchādiṭṭhikassa bhikkhave micchāsaṅkappo hoti* : ibid.). The Noble Eightfold Path does not lead to a goal to be achieved as a crowning glory, but is a method leading to cessation of conflict (*dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā*) ; and the highest 'achievement' is the cessation of becoming (*bhava-nirodho nibbānaṃ*).

Thus, *bhava* is development through action (*kammabhava*), and in so far as action leads to reaction (*vipāka*) growth is also a kind of birth and rebirth (*uppatti-bhava*), but always as a process of becoming, of change, of evolution, never as transmigration of an entity or soul.

In the chain of twelve links in the doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*, q.v.) there are two links which are identical apart from the time-element. There are the karma-formations (*saṅkhārā*) conditioned by ignorance (*avijjā*) in the past, which are the past causes of five results in the present, namely, relinking consciousness (*paṭi-sandhi-viññāṇa*), the corporeality—mentality group (*nāma-rūpa*), the six bases of sense (*saḷāyatana*), contact (*phassa*) and sensation (*vedanā*). These five constitute the rebirth-process(*uppatti-bhava*) in the present, as the result of past action. This present process, if cultured and developed, will further evolve and become an active process with craving (*taṇhā*), clinging (*upādāna*) and new karma (*kamma-bhava*). This becoming of karma in the present is a repetition of the formation of karma (*saṅkhāra*) in the past, and it will produce similar fruits in the future, such as birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*) and death (*maraṇa*), which is the subsequent process of rebirth (*uppatti-bhava*).

There is, however, a great difference in views between the Upaniṣadic aspect of becoming and the Buddha's. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* (I, 5, 20) makes 'becoming' culminate in the Self (*sarveṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ ātmā bhavati*), which is the goal. The Buddha's doctrine of becoming remains that of a process which has to cease. It is the craving for becoming (*bhava-taṇhā*) which causes the continued rolling on of the wheel of saṃsāra through repeated births and deaths. It does not make any essential difference whether this craving for becoming is of the gross sensuous type (*kāma-taṇhā*), of a more aesthetic and intellectual type of form and beauty (*rūpa-taṇhā*) or of the most subtle spiritual type (*arūpa-taṇhā*) ; for the process of becoming continues. And continuation of the process of becoming is birth and conflict and death, i.e., saṃsāra, whereas the cessation of this process of becoming is also the cessation of all conflict (*dukkha-nirodha*).

The causative of 'to become' (*bhavati*) is 'making become' (*bhāveti*), which is the precise meaning required instead of a mere future. Thus practice, culture, growth, evolution have that little extra which cannot be found in a mere 'shall be.' Hence in meditation one should cultivate thoughts of loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity, and make them grow till they pervade the entire universe.

See also BECOMING.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAVA (2), a monk mentioned as a disciple of the Buddha's teaching in an inscription at Bodh-gayā, ascribed to Mahānāma (588 A.C.). He is said "to have roamed over the stainless country at the feet of the mountains of Laṅkā" (Ceylon). He is spoken of as a *śramaṇa* whose spiritual progress was due to his culture of abstract meditation, whereby he was able to discriminate between good and evil, and to destroy wrong views. He possessed an unequalled wealth of religious truth (*CII*. III, p. 276 f.).

BHAVA (3), a rich householder who lived in the city of Sūrpāraka, at the time when the Buddha was residing in Jetavanārāma. He is referred to as the father of Pūrṇa (*Divy*. p. 24. 10).

BHĀVA, condition of existence. It is rarely found by itself and mostly in the meaning of *attabhāva*, personality, individuality, character. It may refer to a state of mind or even to a social status, e.g., recluseship (*samaṇa-bhāva*) or some similar abstract concept as loneliness (*eki-bhāva*). As a mental condition of mind-culture, the term *bhāvanā* (q.v.) is preferred.

Essentially, it merely indicates that something has become ; and its negative form, *abhāva*, refers to the absence thereof.

BHĀVĀBHĀVA-SAMAYA-VAJRA, one of the Mahāyāna samādhis. It is mentioned in the 14th chapter of an esoteric sūtra, entitled the *Fu-shuo-i-ch'ieh-ju-lai-chin-kang-san-yeh-tsui-shang-pi-mi-ta-chiao-wang-ching* (the Chinese translation of the *Śrī-sarvatathāgata-kāyavākcitta-rahasyātirahasyasamāja mahāguhya-tantra-rāja* (*Taishō*, No. 885, Vol. 18, p. 488 b ; *Nanjio*, No. 1027)

S. Mo.

BHAVACAKRA, (Pali, *bhavacakka*), also called *saṃsāracakka*, literally means the wheel (*cakra*) of becoming (*bhava*).

The early Buddhists conceived becoming (*bhava, saṃsāra*) to be of unknown beginning and end (*anamataggo'yaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro pubbā koṭi na paññāyati* : *S*. II, pp. 178 ff.). The law that governs this becoming is known as dependent origination (Pali, *paticcasamuppāda*, Skt. *pratītya-samutpāda*). The realisation of this law, which is the truth of the universe, results in freedom from becoming, Nirvāṇa.

This law is found illustrated by a twelve-linked (*dvādasa-nidāna*) formula, called the causal formula in the Pāli nikāyas. This causal formula does not appear to have been, at first, conceived as a circle or wheel but as a line in the series of transmigrations of unknown beginning. But, in course of time, it lent itself to such an interpretation. Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* and the *Vibhaṅga* commentary speaks of a round of rebirths (*saṃsāracakka* : *Vism*. pp. 163, 165) and of a wheel of becoming (*bhavacakka* : *Vism*. pp. 451, 493, 494 ; *VbhA*. pp. 138, 194). Compare also the Sanskrit phrase *anādibhavacakrake* (*Mmk*. p. 434).

While philosophers like Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva interpreted this law to mean the middle path (*madhyamā pratipadā*), which is identical with voidness (*śūnyatā*), it found its artistic representation in the drawing of an actual wheel. The earliest reference to such a drawing is found in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy*. p. 300).

The Buddha is said to have ordered the five-spoked wheel to be inscribed over the gateway of the Veḷuvana monastery at Rājagṛha. He describes how it is to be made. The five-spoked wheel is to be made with the five destinies (*gati*), namely, hells, animals, ghosts (*pretas*), gods and human beings. Therein the hells are to be made at the bottom, the animals and ghosts above that, then gods and human beings ; the four continents : Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya, Uttarakuru and Jambudvīpa. In the middle (the nave) are to be represented passion, hatred and stupidity : passion in the form of a dove, hatred in the form of a snake and stupidity in the form of a pig. An image of the Buddha is to be made pointing out the escape (Nirvāṇa) from the wheel of rebirth (*bhava*). Apparitional beings are to be represented by means of a windlass as passing away and being reborn. All round is to be represented the twelve-fold causal origination in direct and reverse order. The whole is to be represented as swallowed by impermanence (*anityatā*) and two verses are to be written :

Ārabhadhvam niṣkrāmata
Yujyadhvam Buddhaśāsane
Dhunīta mṛtyunaḥ sainyam
Naḍāgāramiva kuñjaraḥ
Yo hyasmin dharmavinaye
Apramattaścariṣyati
Prahāya jātisaṃsāram
Duḥkhasyāntaṅ kariṣyati

(*Divy*. p. 300)

These two verses are to be found in the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, too :

Ārabhatha nikkhamatha
Yuñjatha Buddhasāsane
Dhunātha maccuno senaṃ
Naḷāgāraṃ'va kuñjaro
Yo imasmiṃ dhammavinaye
Appamatto vihessati
Pahāya jātisaṃsāraṃ
Dukkhassantaṃ karissati

(*S*. I, p. 157)

Make a beginning ; renounce your home ; apply yourself to the teaching of the Buddha ; smite away the army of Death, as an elephant smashes a house of reeds. Who in this Doctrine and Discipline shall vigilantly lead his life abandoning the round of births shall verily make an end of pain.'

The earliest painting of a *bhavacakra* discovered to date is the one that L. A. Waddell found in one of the Buddhist caves in Ajaṇṭā in central India. This painting has six spokes, in spite of the fact that the wheel described in the *Divyāvadāna* has only five spokes corresponding to the five destinies. The five destinies have been increased to six by making the rebel gods (*asura*) a separate destiny. This painting from Ajaṇṭā is attributed to the sixth century A.C., while the Tibetan picture is alleged to be a copy of one brought to Tibet by the Indian monk named Bande Yeshe in the eighth century A.C. The picture is to be found in practically every temple in Tibet. The Tibetan form of the wheel is of two styles : the 'old' and the 'new'. The new style differs from the old only in the introduction of a figure of Avalokiteśvara into each of the six realms and in one or two different pictorial symbols for the causes of rebirth.

The wheel symbolises the endless cycle of life (*saṃsāra*) of which each rebirth is a revolution. It is held in the clutches of a monster which represents the hideousness of clinging to life. Outside the

wheel is a figure of the Buddha showing that he has escaped from the wheel and pointing out to others the way of escape.

The wheel proper consists of three parts : the rim, the nave and the part between the two divided by six spokes. The rim is occupied by the twelve *nidānas*, the nave by the three unwholesome roots (*akuśalamūla*) and the middle by the six destinies (*gati*).

The twelve *nidānas* running along the rim in direct order (clockwise direction) beginning from the top are represented by twelve pictures : *avidyā* (ignorance) represented by a blind man with a stick ; *saṃskāra* (karma-formations) by a potter with his wheel and pots ; *vijñāna* (rebirth-consciousness) by a monkey climbing a tree with flowers ; *nāmarūpa* (name and form or mind and body) by a ship, (i.e., body) with four passengers (i.e., mind) representing the four immaterial *skandhas* ; *ṣaḍāyatana* (six sense-organs) by an empty house ; *sparśa* (contact) by a man and woman embracing each other ; *vedanā* (feeling) by a man with an arrow in his eye ; *tṛṣṇā* (craving) by a woman offering drinks to a seated man : *upādāna* (grasping) by a man gathering fruits from a tree ; *bhava* (becoming, i.e., conception) by a woman with child ; *jāti* (birth) by a woman in childbirth ; and *jarāmaraṇa* (decay and death) by a man carrying a corpse to the cemetery.

The figures are merely illustrations of states in each stage, and sometimes only allegorical representations, as in the case of the potter and the ship. They do not throw much light on the theory of the wheel, but they show an interpretation which agrees in general with the view that it represents different stages in the faring-on (saṃsāra) of the individual.

The nave is occupied by the three roots of unwholesome states (*akuśalamūla*), namely, passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and stupidity (*moha*) figured as dove, serpent and pig, and appropriately coloured red, green and black, respectively.

The various regions of rebirth or ways of life (*gati*) occupy the middle section of the wheel. They are given as six (or as five with the early Buddhists when the asuras were not separately represented), and are enumerated in the order of their superiority : The gods (*sura* and *deva*), titans (*asura*), man (*nara*), beast (*tīryak*), tantalised ghosts (*preta*) and hell (*naraka*). Burnouf, writing from Chinese and Tibetan sources, classes man above the titans (*Lotus de la bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852, p. 377) but the order given here is that adopted by the lamas (Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1860, p. 37).

Existence in the first three worlds is considered superior to the last three which are inferior. The worlds mentioned are shown in this relation in the picture, the highest being heaven and the lowest hell.

The six regions are demarcated from each other by rainbow-coloured cordons representing the atmospheric zones that separate the different worlds. No place is allotted to the everlasting existence in the western paradise of Sukhāvatī and of celestial Buddhas.

A reference to the Buddhist conception of the state of being a man or a beast is essential to understand the picture of the *bhavacakra*. A pessimistic view is taken of human life. It is made to be of almost unallayed misery which is classed into eight sections, namely, the miseries of birth, old age, sickness, death, ungratified wishes, struggle for existence, misfortunes, and punishments for law-breaking, separation from relatives and cherished objects and association with offensive objects and sensations.

In the picture the following phases of life are depicted : (i) birth in a cottage, (ii) children at play, (iii) manhood : village scenes, people drinking wine in the shade of a tree, a man playing a flute, woman spinning and weaving, a borrower, two traders and a drunken man ; (iv) labour, by the sweat of one's brow : men tilling a field, gathering fuel in a forest and carrying a heavy load ; (v) accident : a man and horse falling into a river ; (vi) crime : two men fighting, one under trial before the judge, and one undergoing corporal punishment ; (vii) temporal government : the king and his ministers ; (viii) old-age : decrepit old people ; (ix) disease : a physician feeling the pulse of a patient ; (x) death : a corpse with a lama feeling whether breath is extinct, and a lama at the head, doing worship, and a woman and other relatives weeping ; (xi) funeral ceremonies : a corpse being carried off to the funeral pyre on the top of a hill, preceded by a lama blowing a thigh-bone trumpet and rattling a hand drum ; he also holds the end of a white scarf which is affixed to the corpse, the purpose being to guide the 'soul' by the white path to the pyre so that it may be disposed of in the orthodox manner, and have the best chance of a good rebirth without straying and getting caught by outside demons ; behind the corpse bearer is a porter with food and drink offerings and, last of all, a mourning relative ; (xii) religion is represented by a temple placed above all other habitations with lamas performing

worship ; and a hermit in his cell with bell, sceptre (*vajra*) and thigh-bone trumpet ; and a stūpa circumambulated by a devotee.

The state of the beasts is one of greater misery even than that of human beings. In the picture are shown land and aquatic animals of various kinds devouring one another, the larger preying on the smaller ; and the small ones combining themselves to catch and kill the larger ones. Human hunters also are setting nets for and are shooting at them. Domestic animals are shown laden with burdens, or ploughing and being goaded ; some are being milked and shorn of their wool ; others are being castrated or having their nostrils bored ; others killed for their flesh or skin, etc. All are suffering great misery through the anxiety and pains of preying or being preyed upon. In the water is shown a nāga or merman's house with its inmates in grief at being preyed upon by the *garuḍa*, a monster bird.

The upper sector represents the gods who at the right are seen fighting under Indra (Sakka) against the asuras who are attacking them in the next sector. To the left other heavens are visible. The seated figure is Mahābrahmā of whose four faces three can be seen.

In the next sector are the asuras ; and at the foot of mount Meru is the wishing tree, Cittapāṭalī, which here extends into Indra's heaven of the thirty-three gods. In Indra's heaven is said to be the Pārijātaka tree, and Indra's heaven is situated on the top of mount Meru.

In the lowest sector are the hells. In its upper part, Yama is judging the sinners, and in the lower part are the hot hells on the left, and the cold hells on the right.

The next is the realm of the pretas, beings with large bellies and very small mouths, always tortured with hunger and thirst.

In each sector is a figure of Avalokiteśvara who visits all realms in fulfilment of his vow to save the world. He carries in his hands the symbol of his special message according to the nature of the particular realm.

In the realm of the devas he appears with the lute in order to rouse the gods with the sound of the Dharma. In the realm of the asuras he appears with a flaming sword, because the beings of this realm understand only the language of force and strife. In the animal world he appears with a book in his hands because animals lack the faculty of articulate speech and reflective thought which could liberate them from the darkness, subconscious drives and the sluggishness and dumbness of an undeveloped mind. In the realm of men he appears as Buddha Śākyamuni with the almsbowl and the staff of an ascetic in order to point out the way to liberation to those whose eyes are covered only with little dust. In the realm of the pretas he appears as the Buddha carrying in his hands a receptacle with heavenly treasures, beside which objects of worldly desire appear paltry, and which thus liberate suffering beings from the tortures of unquenchable desire. He descends into the deepest hells as Yama, the judge and king of the law, who, moved by infinite compassion and through the power of the mirror of knowledge, transforms suffering into a cleansing fire so that beings are purified and can rise to better states of existence. In order to make this clear, Avalokiteśvara has been represented once more in his Buddha-form (besides his terrifying appearance as Yama). And from his hands emerges the purifying flame. (See Pl. III).

U. K.

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BHAVADEVA, a king of the city of Nandivardhana. He was instructed in the four noble truths by Śākyamuni Tathāgata (*GM.* III, pt. i, p. xviii).

BHAVADEVAGUPTA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 140).

BHAVĀGRA, (Pali, *bhavagga*), the highest point, the uppermost limit (*agga*) of the universe (*bhava*), as opposed to *avīci*, the lowest (*Vbh.* p. 426 ; *Miln.* p. 336 ; *J.* IV, p. 182 ; VI, p. 354 ; *SnA.* pp. 17, 41 ; *KhpA.* pp. 179, 249 ; *Lal.* pp. 82, 272 ; *Mhvu.* II, pp. 302, 312, 350 ; *Sdmp.* p. 313 ; *Bbh.* p. 277 ; *Dbhs.* p. 25). The beings in the *bhavagga* have consciousness as their food (*viññāṇāhārasevino* : *SnA.* p. 507).

It also means the end (*agga*) of becoming (*bhava*). " Bhavagga is the life in which a man attains arahantship " (*A.* II, p. 79 ; *AA.* III, p. 107).

U. K.

BHAVAKETU, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 140).

BHĀVANĀ, derived from the causative verb *bhāveti*, causing to become, producing, cultivating, has the pregnant meaning of mind-culture in Pali

as well as in Sanskrit literature. It is the most general term, usually translated by meditation, embracing the various methods of mind-culture (*kammaṭṭhāna*) or instruments of meditation, and the two types of meditation which lead either to the quietude (*samatha*) of heart and mind, experience in the states of mental absorption (*jhāna*), or to insight (*vipassanā*), which is the inward vision into the true nature of all phenomena as impermanent, causing conflict and being without substance (*anicca, dukkha, anatta*).

Various ways are indicated as so many methods to be adopted by different temperaments to suit their individual needs. But although the methods may differ, the object of this mind-culture is the same throughout: to learn to see things as they are. External suggestions and influences will always be manifold, and a total exclusion thereof not always be practicable. And even if one were to succeed in completely isolating the mind, the mental process would continue to feed on its impressions, assimilations, ideations and concepts.

Mental culture, therefore, while excluding the incursions of detrimental distractions, such as diversions, amusements, excitement, intoxication, argumentation, search for the pleasurable, etc., will not exclude mental reactions as they arise. It is rather in understanding and comprehending such reactions, their causes, their dependence on other factors, that is revealed the true state of mind at the moment, which is the object of mind-culture.

The cultivation of loving kindness by a mind which is inflamed by passion and anger might suppress and even sublimate such unbecoming feelings, but would not alter the structure of one's character which is inclined to passion. Similarly, the concentration on sublime spheres may temporarily work as an escape from mundane conflicts without, however, providing a solution.

But as all things are made by the mind (*Dhp. v.* 1) all problems can also be solved in the mind. And to attempt a solution without understanding the problem can never lead to anything but to greater conflict and confusion. Thus, the first step in mind-culture is the understanding of what is. This is not a method of cultivation which is artificial, but it is mindfulness and awareness of conditions which influence the mental process.

These influences may be physical conditions; and awareness is, therefore, focussed on physical actions ((*kāyagatā-sati*) and reactions, both physical and mental (*vedanānupassanā*). Mental conditioning through memory and attachment is watched (*cittānupassanā*) as well as mental objects (*dhammānupassanā*) which constitute the process as aggregates (*khandha*) or hinder the process in its natural course (*nīvaraṇa*).

When such hindrances have been noticed, several methods are shown to overcome the obstacles. Thus, the five states of mental absorption (*jhāna*) are the antidotes to the five hindrances (*pañcanīvaraṇa*). Still, that is not the goal of mind-culture. For, even the tranquillity (*samatha*), produced by these states of absorption, excluding in their various degrees all discursive thinking (*vitakka-vicāra*), spiritual joy (*pīti*) and satisfaction (*sukha*), is not lasting and does not give to the mind more than the rest given to the body by sleep.

The aim is insight, which cannot be pursued as a goal, but which arises by itself when the conditions are favourable as the maturing of a fruit. "It will come in the degree in which, through sharpened awareness, features of the observed processes appear which were hitherto unnoticed" (Nyanaponika thera, *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation*, Rider & Co., 1962, p. 94).

The culture of meditation (*bhāvanā*) is, therefore, the bringing into being of such conditions as are favourable for the maturing of the mind.

See MEDITATION.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHĀVANĀDṚṢṬICARYĀ-PHALADOHA-GĪTIKĀ NĀMA, (var. *Bhāvanā....caryāphala....ṭikā*; °*Phaladohakoṣagītikā-nāma*), the restored title of the Tibetan text *Lta bsgom spyod-pa ḥbras-buḥi do-haḥi glu śes-bya-ba*, incorporated in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 2345; *Cordier.* II, p. 231). In the Peking edition this work is included in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3173). It is attributed to Saraha-pa (Sarahapāda), but the translator is unknown.

The text contains a short song (Skt. *gītikā*; Tib. *glu*), which explains the benefits of meditation. The author begins the text with a salutation to Mañjuśrī (Tib. *ḥjam-dpal*), the third dhyāni-bodhisattva.

I. K.

BHĀVANĀ-KRAMA, the title of four different texts, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*

under the title *Bsgom-paḥi rim-pa*, according to the *sde-dge* edition (*TM*. Nos. 3908, 3915, 3916, 3917). Three texts under the same title occur in the Peking edition in the same section of the *Tengyur* (*TT*. Vol. 102, Nos. 5304, 5310, 5311). *Cordier* (III, pp. 316–18) also mentions three texts under this title which are included in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section. While the authorship of the first text of all the three editions is credited to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), Kamalaśīla is said to have compiled the other two texts. The translators of the first text are named as Lota and Śākya ḥod (Śākyaprabha). Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes sde are said to have translated the other two texts.

Out of the three texts mentioned in the Peking edition, the first one is very much shorter than the latter two. All the three texts begin with a salutation to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta (Tib. Ḥjam-dpal gshon-nur gyur-pa), a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. These texts deal with in detail the various methods of meditation.

According to the author of the first text, the Buddha has declared that the person who wishes to participate in meditation should at first be happy, bright, prudent and should attain to the third stage of the bodhisattva perfection. In the latter two texts it is mentioned that the Buddha has declared, in order to overcome one's afflictions (Tib. *sdug-bsṅal*), these methods of meditation should be practised, after grasping the Buddha's doctrine. At the beginning of these two texts, the author mentions that both belong to the *sūtrānta* section of the Mahāyāna school.

I. K.

BHĀVANĀKRAMAṢAṬKA (var. *Bhāvanā-kramaṣaṭa*), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Bsgom rim drug-pa śes-bya-ba*, in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* (*TM*. No. 2299; *Cordier*, II, p. 226; *TT*. Vol. 69, No. 3148). The authorship of the work is credited to Vajrapāṇi and the translators are named as Vajrapāṇi and Nag-tsho.

It is a short text expounding six stages of meditation. The meditator is instructed to bear in mind the religious way of a lama as the first stage of his meditation. He is also asked to contemplate on the intrinsic nature of the intense contemplation. The author begins the work with a salutation to all the lamas.

I. K.

BHĀVANĀKRAMASŪTRASAMUCCAYA, the reconstructed name of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Bsgom-paḥi rim-pa mdo kun-las btus-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 102, No. 5329).

As the title indicates, the text elucidates various methods of meditation. The main topics dealt with are the doctrine of voidness (*śūnyatā*), mindfulness (*anusmṛti*), impermanence (*anityatā*), resolution (*cittotpāda*; Tib. *yid ḥbyuṅ-ba*), the Noble Truths (*ārya-satya*), the wheel (of the doctrine) of not being liable to turn back, *avivartya-(dharma-) cakra*; the three circles or states of existence (*cakratraya*); and the state of complete purity (Tib. *yais-su dag-pa*).

These topics are discussed in four chapters: (1) *Mṅon-par mtho-baḥi leḥu*, the chapter dealing with the exalted themes, discusses the first form of topics; (2) the Noble Truths are discussed in the second chapter called *Ḥphags-paḥi bden-pa*; (3) Avivartya cakra is the theme of the third chapter being the same name, viz., *Phyir mi-ldog-pa ḥkhor-la* and (4) the last chapter is called *Ḥkhor-gsum yoṅ-su dag-pa* after the two topics discussed in it.

R. H.

BHĀVANĀ-MĀRGA, the way of meditation, the sixth of the seven preliminary stages of a disciple training his faculties in his endeavour to become a future Buddha. It is followed by the path of insight (*darśana-mārga*), on completion of the various stages belonging to the penetration of the Truths (*nirvedhabhāgīya*). Such is the exposition of the Vaibhāṣikas according to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (chap. vi, §70). In this path of meditation are included the factors of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*) as this way is approaching enlightenment (*bodhyāsanna*). See further MĀRGA.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAVANANDĪ, third son of Bhava and half-brother of the arahant Pūrṇa. He was also known by his nickname of Trapukarṇi (*Divy*. pp. 24 ff.). See PŪRṆA.

BHĀVANĀ SUTTA. There are several suttas of this name, both in the *Aṅguttara* and in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The sutta in the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Sattaka-nipāta* (*A*. IV, pp. 125 ff.) speaks of the lack of application (*ananuyutta*) in respect of culture (*bhāvanā*) of the 37 contributory factors

that lead to Enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiya-dhammā*, q.v.). It is made clear that mere aspiration (*icchā*) does not lead to freedom of the mind; the four methods of mindfulness, the four right kinds of effort, the four bases of psychic power, the five controlling faculties, the five kinds of spiritual strength, the seven factors of enlightenment and the Noble Eightfold Path, all have to be cultivated, made to develop, just as a hen has to sit on and warm her eggs fully to make it possible for the chicks to break the shells and hatch out safely.

Having cultivated (*bhāvitā*) and developed (*bahulīkatā*) the four applications of mindfulness, one will be able to attain that state where there is neither a hither shore nor a beyond (*aparāparaṃgamana*), i.e., a state where there is no more crossing of saṃsāra (*S.* V, pp. 180, 182).

Another sutta of the same name in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is sometimes called also the *Desanā Sutta* in certain Sinhalese manuscripts. This deals with the culture (*bhāvanā*) and the practice that lead to the development of psychic power (*iddhipāda-bhāvanā-gāminī paṭipadā*: ibid. p. 276). This culture is said to consist of desire (*chanda*), energy (*viriya*), thought (*citta*) and investigation (*vīmaṃsā*), each one combined with concentration (*samādhi*) and striving (*padhāna*). This culture is best practised on the Noble Eightfold Path.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHĀVANĀ-YOGĀVATĀRA, the name of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs twice in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Rnal-ḥbyor bsgem-pa-la ḥjug-pa*. The author's name is given as Kamala (Kamalaśīla) and the translators are Prajñāvarma (Prajñāvarman) and Ye-śes-sde (*TT.* Vol. 102, No. 5313; Vol. 103, No. 5451).

The text describes forms of meditation that should be practised by those desirous of getting rid of defilements. Cultivation of the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicittotpāda*, Tib. *byaṅ-chub- sems bskyed-pa*), practising a state of tranquility of mind (*śamatha-bhāvanā*, Tib. *zi-gnas*) and correct insight (*vipaśyanā*, Tib. *lhag mthoṅ*) are the main themes discussed.

R. H.

BHAVANETTI SUTTA, the third sutta of the *Rādha-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* III, pp. 190–91).

The Buddha, while residing in Sāvatthi, preached this discourse to Rādha, who asked him about the cause of rebirth (*bhavanetti*) and the ceasing of it (*bhavanettinirodha*).

The Buddha's answer was that desire, lust, pleasure and greed for the body, for sensations, etc., lead to rebirth. It is by destroying those qualities that one could put an end to rebirth.

I. K.

BHAVAṄGA, the foundation or condition (*aṅga*) of existence (*bhava*), the *sine qua non* of life, having the nature of a process or a stream; the life-principle by which might be explained the faculty of memory, survival and identity of the individual through innumerable lives in saṃsāra.

The term *bhavaṅga* first appears in the *Paṭṭhāna-pakaraṇa* of the Pali *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. There, *bhavaṅga* precedes reflection (*āvajjana*) in the process of perception (*Paṭṭhāna*, *PTS.* II, pp. 34, 159, 160, 169). This is the only occurrence of the word *bhavaṅga* as far as the Pali canon is concerned. The use of the word in these particular contexts suggests, though not directly, that *bhavaṅga* is that from which all thought processes emerge when necessary conditions are present. The word is widely used in the post-canonical literature, especially the *Milindapañha*, *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Abhidhamma* commentaries.

The Nikāyas are familiar with the words *bhava* and *bhavasota* which give expression to the Buddhist philosophical concept of flux, of life considered as a flowing stream, never the same for any two consecutive moments (*S.* I, p. 15; IV, p. 128). These expressions, generally applied to the whole of existence, whether subjective or objective, were never used in an exclusively psychological sense. The mind was conceived of as quickly changing, but the image of the stream was not applied to it till the need came later to explain the problem of personality and survival. One isolated expression, *viññāṇasota*, appears in the Nikāyas, used evidently in connection with the continuance of the individual in a series of births (*D.* III, p. 105).

From the time of the *Milindapañha* onwards the attempt was made to explain personality as a continuation of mental states, and an expression like *bhavaṅgasota* became part of the common phraseology of the *Abhidhamma*.

In the *Milindapañha* the notion of *bhavaṅga* appears in the chapter where king Milinda questions Nāgasena on the psychology of dreams and sleep.

Nāgasena says that when a man is in deep sleep his mind has ceased to function, although his body remains alive. Only psychological processes function. In this condition his mind is described as having 'gone into *bhavaṅga*' (*cittaṃ bhavaṅga-gataṃ : Miln.* p. 299).

This is the first attempt on the part of Theravāda Buddhism to face a problem that had been left unsolved in the earlier psychology, rich as it was in other respects. Early Buddhism spoke of mind as an epiphenomenon, a product of causes which could be removed by the individual himself without thereby putting an end to his existence. Mind was, therefore, not identified with life. But mind in this sense was only empirical consciousness. By putting an end to empirical consciousness, it was possible to develop a higher type of consciousness whereby the true nature of things could be realised. The relationship of this higher consciousness to ordinary empirical consciousness was never fully explained. In the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* details are given of the gradual stages by which empirical consciousness is eliminated in order that it may make way for intuition. The final stage of empirical consciousness is known as *saññagga*, the end of *saññā*. From this stage the yogi switches over to a new plane of understanding. But what of this intuitional faculty? Did it lie hidden within the individual in a potential and unmanifest condition? In what way did it differ from perceptual consciousness?

As far as the ordinary individual is concerned, there are times in which his perceptual activities are apparently completely still. Theoretically at least, the mind ceases to function in deep sleep. The question naturally arises as to whether this is equivalent to the state that the yogi attains by an elaborate process of meditation. Nāgasena explains to the king that in both conditions, that of deep sleep as well as that of deep trance, the mind does not function, although the body does (*Miln.* p. 300). But the explanation could not be regarded as satisfactory. Falling into a state of trance was obviously not the same as falling into deep sleep, even though it is true that the empirical mind does not function in either state.

Sometime earlier, too, the same question was raised in a slightly different form in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Mahākoṭṭhita asks Sāriputta what he thought was the difference between a man in deep trance and a man who was dead. A man in the condition of trance known as *nirodhasamāpatti* had neither empirical consciousness nor feelings and would appear to an ordinary observer as though he were in a state of coma, with all his senses dulled, and in a condition very similar to that of death. Sāriputta replies by saying that in deep trance there remained in the body life (*āyu*) and breath (*usmā*), both of which were absent in death (*M.* I, p. 296). It is said, a little earlier in the same connection, that where life, breath and consciousness (*viññāṇa*) leave the body, it lies rigid and motionless like a log of wood (ibid.).

Nāgasena's explanation is, therefore, in agreement with Sāriputta's view of trance. In it, only physiological processes function. Both in deep sleep and in trance, conscious activities cease, and there is no functioning of *viññāṇa*. Though Nāgasena is only repeating Sāriputta's view rather differently and in a negative form, the latter had actually asserted that only involuntary bodily activities continue to function in sound sleep and trance.

The questions of Mahākoṭṭhita and Milinda represent, perhaps, the attacks that were made by rival philosophies on the Buddhist theory of mind. How could states like deep sleep, trance and dream be explained without the assumption of a permanent, residing mind within the human body, manifesting itself at one time in mental activity, and lying potential and dormant at another? To say that there was nothing else besides empirical consciousness would be to expose Buddhism to the charge of materialism.

The rival Brāhmanical speculation had not only an answer to these questions, but it evolved its entire theory of mind from an investigation of the phenomena of sleep and dream. When a man is in deep sleep his soul goes back to its original condition, a state of pure consciousness, which could be identified with the essence of pure consciousness outside.

In order to meet the arguments of the rival schools, therefore, it was necessary for Buddhism to elaborate the metaphysical basis of its theory of mind. For the Buddha the matter was of no consequence. He was only intent upon showing that empirical consciousness was evil and could be stopped and that intuitional consciousness could be cultivated. He was not concerned with the problems of survival, and as far as it mattered to him, deep sleep might have been a mere physical state. But it was not possible for his adherents

to maintain silence in the face of persistent questioning, particularly when all other systems were developing an elaborate metaphysic of their own. Hence it is that Nāgasena hazards the suggestion of an anoetic consciousness to explain the state of sleep (*cittam bhavaṅgagataṃ*).

In course of time *bhavaṅga* began to be applied to *viññāṇa* as being the factor of existence par excellence. Thus *bhavaṅga* became a synonym for *viññāṇa*. In *bhavaṅgagata*, Nāgasena coined an expression analogous to that of the Vedānta philosophy, and meant that the mind when in deep sleep went into its original state, into the cause of existence, into a potential condition, in other words. The *Abhidhamma* scholiasts, too, gave the word *bhavaṅga* the same meaning of factor of existence (*Abhs*. p. 26).

In fact, the tradition of *bhavaṅga* as the cause of existence seems to have exerted so much influence that both Anuruddha and Sāriputta force into the word *aṅga* the meaning of cause and explain the word *bhavaṅga* as the cause of the unbroken continuity of the individual in various existences (*Abhs*. p. 26 ; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha Sanne* by Sāriputta, Balapitiya, 1960, p. 149).

Buddhaghosa probably knew the original meaning of the term *bhavaṅga*, for he calls it *bhavaṅga-viññāṇa* and equates it with *paṭisandhiviññāṇa*, the consciousness that functions at rebirth. He called mind in its passive condition *bhavaṅga* or *vīthimutta*, free from thought processes. *Vīthi* means a pathway or a process. Hence mind, when it is active, is known as *vīthicitta* as opposed to *vīthimutta*. The state of *bhavaṅga* or *vīthimutta* is referred to as the natural condition of the mind. In this condition, it is free from all moral impurities and shines in its own radiance. It is only as a result of external influence that it loses its natural lustre and becomes stained with impurities (*A*.I, p. [illegible]). The *Kathāvatthu* (*Kvu*. p. 615) calls it *pakati-[illegible]*, mind in its natural condition. The commentaries identify this lustrous (*pabbassara*) and natural (*pakati*) mind with *bhavaṅga-citta* (*AA*. I, [illegible]0 ; *DhsA*. p. 140 ; *KvuA*. p. 193). It is further [illegible] that the dying thoughts of a person as well as the first dawn of consciousness in his mind at birth are both a species of *bhavaṅga*. When a man is to be reborn, his consciousness at rebirth takes for its object one of the three dying thoughts, [illegible] begins to function in the new life. The consciousness of the new-born child is, therefore, the [illegible] of the consciousness of the dead man (*Vism*. [illegible]). The consciousness of the new-born child is essentially of the nature of *bhavaṅga*, and it is quickly followed upon by *bhavaṅga* proper. This *bhavaṅga* consciousness, too, is the effect of the same dying thought. Thereupon an innumerable series of *bhavaṅga* flows on undisturbed in an unbroken continuity, as long as there is no conscious thought to interfere with the course of the stream (ibid. p. 388).

The moment a conscious thought enters into the field, there is set up a thought process which flows on according to the law of psychological conditioning, each stage in the continuum being conditioned by the preceding one. This flow of the presentative continuum is interrupted only during the time of deep sleep, when *bhavaṅga* again begins to operate. There is thus an alternative flow of *bhavaṅga* and conscious processes in the individual mind, until there occurs an end of *bhavaṅga* in one birth (ibid. p. 389). The last *bhavaṅga* in a particular life is called death-consciousness (*cuti-viññāṇa*: ibid. p. 389 f.). After death, there begins again the eternal round of birth consciousness (*paṭisandhi-viññāṇa*), *bhavaṅga*, and conscious processes of beings wandering in saṃsāra, in the abodes of the duration of *bhavaṅga* until they reach the stage of arahantship, where they cease to exist with the ceasing of death-consciousness (ibid. p. 390). In explaining the phenomena of death, Buddhaghosa says that when an object appears before the senses of a dying man, at the end of the usual stages of perception proceeding as far as determination (*voṭṭhapana*), there arise five acts of cognition (*javana*) instead of seven, because his mind has been weakened by the approach of death and this is followed twice by the kind of consciousness taking as its object the object of *bhavaṅga*, and at the end of it there arises rebirth consciousness taking up the same object (*Vism*. p. 468 ; *VbhA*. p. 159).

The Ābhidhammikas were, however, anxious to avoid making of *bhavaṅga* an unrelated, anoetic consciousness. To regard mind as the source of consciousness would be alien to the spirit of early Buddhism. Mind was always a conditional relationship. There could be no such thing as unconditioned mind. Hence they postulated the last thought as the causal condition of *bhavaṅga-citta*. *Bhavaṅga* is not a self-conscious soul. Consciousness always involves reference to an object, and this object is the last thought at death.

In the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism, *bhavaṅga* meant the twelve links in the causal chain (*pratītya-samutpāda*). These twelve links, beginning with

ignorance (*avidyā*), were called the twelve factors of becoming (*dvādaśa bhavāṅgāni* : *Abhk.* III, p. 27).*

U. K.

BHAVANIMMITA, a previous birth, as a king, of Phalakadāyaka thera. See PHALAKADĀYAKA.

BHAVASAṂKRĀNTI, the name of several Sanskrit works extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations. One of them, the full title of which is *Ārya-Bhavasaṃkrānti-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde. The Tibetan translation bears the title *Ḥphags-pa srid-pa ḥpho-ba śes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* and is included in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the *Kangyur* (*TM.* No. 226). This work is also translated into Chinese and three translations are known, all of which are incorporated in the *Sūtra Piṭaka.* One of them, the *Fu-shuo-ta-ch'ĕng-liu-chvan-chu-yu-ching,* was the work of I-ching (701 A.C.) of the T'ang, dynasty (*Taishō,* No. 577 ; *Nanjio,* No. 526). The other two are the *Ta-fang-tĕng-hsiu-to-lo-wang-ching* by Bodhiruci of the Northern Wei dynasty, 386–535 A.C., (*Taishō,* No. 575 ; *Nanjio,* No. 285) and the *Fu-shuo-chuan-yu-ching* of Buddhaśānta (539 A.C.) of Eastern Wei dynasty (*Taishō,* No. 576 ; *Nanjio,* No. 284). There is a quotation from the original Sanskrit text in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Bbh.* p. 48).

Two more texts named *Bhavasaṃkrānti,* the Tibetan translation of which is *Srid-pa ḥpho-ba,* occur in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) and in the *Jo-boḥi chos chuṅ* (Atiśa's works) sections of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* Nos. 3840, 4558 ; *Cordier,* III, Nos. 295, 358). While the authorship of both these works is credited to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), the translators are named as Zla-ba gshon-nu (Candrakumāra) and Śrīratha and Grags-ḥbyor śes-rab, respectively. These two works also occur in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the *Tengyur,* according to the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 95, No. 5240 ; Vol. 103, No. 5472), but it does not mention the name of the translator of the first work. Nāgārjuna's name is confirmed at the end of the text as its author. There is still another work, the full title of which is *Bhavasaṃkrāntiparikathā,* also written by Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna) and translated by Śrīratha and Grags-ḥbyor śes-rab. The Tibetan translation of this text entitled *Srid-pa-las ḥdas paḥi gtam,* occurs in the *Spriṅ-yig* (Lekha) section of the *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 4162 ; *Cordier,* III, No. 423). The Chinese translation corresponding to these three Tibetan translations, the *Ta-ch'ĕng-p'o-yu-lun,* is incorporated in the *Abhidharma Piṭaka.* It was the work of Shih-hu (Dānapāla ?), 980–1000 A.C., of the later Sung-dynasty (*Taishō,* No. 1574 ; *Nanjio,* No. 1305). *Bhavasaṃkrānti* is mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, section 65, No. 54).

Bhavasaṃkrānti, as it occurs in the Peking edition, begins with a salutation addressed to Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta. It is a short text which discusses the impermanent nature of becoming. The author says that the transmigratory existence (Tib. *srid-pa*) is a delusion (Tib. *ḥkhrul-pa*), which could be compared to the heavenly flowers.

I. K.

BHAVASAṂKRĀNTI-ṬĪKĀ, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, the *Srid-pa ḥpho-baḥi ṭīka* in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur.* It is a work of Byams-pa mgon-po and it was translated into Tibetan by Zla-ba gshon-nu (*TM.* No. 3841 ; *TT.* Vol. 95, No. 5241). Cordier has identified Byams-pa mgon-po with Maitreyanātha and Zla-ba-gshon-nu with Candrakumāra and adds that the translation was undertaken at the request of the junior master of Gru (Gru-ston chuṅ) who was probably the Lo-tsā-ba of Cog-gru or Kluḥi rgyal-mtshan (Nāgadhvaja, *Cordier,* III, p. 295). The title suggests that the contents of this work form a commentary on *Bhavasaṃkrānti.*

L. R. G.

BHAVASAṂŚODHANA, a samādhi accomplished by Avalokiteśvara. This is found in the list of samādhis, which are said to have been entered into by Avalokiteśvara, enumerated by the Buddha at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (the text reads—nīvaraṇa—: *Kvyū.* p. 52).

S. K. N.

BHĀVA-SAÑCARA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur,* under the title *Dṅos-po spyod śes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 124). Ḥphags-pa Klu-sgrub (Ārya

* Material found in *The Buddhist Psychology of Perception* by Dr. E. R. Saratchandra. The Ceylon University Press., Colombo, 1958, has been utilised in this article.

Nāgārjuna) is said to be the author of the work while Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban Chos-ḥbar are said to be the translators.

The text, which holds the view that matter is real, asserts that there can be no arising or origination (Tib. *skye-ba*) of any phenomena in the absence of matter. Thus, it states that feeling (*vedanā*), consciousness (*saṃjñā*), predisposition (*saṃskāra*) and knowledge (*vijñāṇa*) cannot arise independent of form (*rūpa*).

Should one point out an incongruity by asking how matter itself originated, the writer says that this argument could be met with the proposition that there was no question of 'arising' in the beginning, as the universe came to be, through some miraculous power (*māyā*).

R.H.

BHAVA SUTTA. Four suttas are known by this name.

The first one is the Buddha's reply to Ānanda's question: To what extent is there becoming? (*kittāvatā bhavo hoti?*). In the lower worlds (*hīnāya dhātuyā*), i.e., in the spheres of sense-pleasures (*kāma*), consciousness as the seed is established in the field of action and made to grow by the moisture of craving in the world of sense-desire where action ripens accordingly. And that is repeated rebirth (*punabbhavābhinibbatti*), that is becoming (*bhava*). Similarly, there is becoming of form and beauty (*rūpabhava*) in the spheres of form (*rūpadhātu*), where consciousness is established in the intermediate worlds (*majjhimāya dhātuyā*). And again, there is becoming of the formless (*arūpabhava*) in the formless spheres (*arūpadhātu*), where consciousness is established with repeated rebirth in the more excellent worlds (*paṇītāya dhātuyā*). Yet all those beings are hindered by ignorance and fettered by craving (*A.* I, pp. 223–4).

Another sutta of the same name, also in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* III, p. 444), refers to the same three spheres of becoming, how they should be given up (*pahātabba*) and replaced by training in more perfect virtue (*adhisīla*), in purer thought (*adhicitta*) and in deeper insight (*adhipaññā*).

The same three spheres of rebirth in the world of sense-pleasures, in the world of form and in the formless world are discussed by Sāriputta (*S.* IV, pp. 258–9) who also shows the approach-road to the abandoning of these 'becomings', namely, the Noble Eightfold Path.

This theme is again encountered in *S.* V, p. 56, where the Noble Eightfold Path is said to be developed (*bhāvetabba*) for the purpose of the comprehending and laying waste of the same three spheres of becoming.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAVATRĀTA, second son of Bhava and half brother of the arahant Pūrṇa. He earned the nickname of Stavakarṇī (*Divy.* pp. 24 ff.). See PŪRṆA.

BHĀVAVIVEKA, also called Bhavya and Bhāviveka, was one of the thirty-eight Buddhist teachers listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 51). He was the founder of the Svatantra Mādhyamika school which had some following and which later on gave rise to a combination with the Sūtrāntika and Yogācāra schools. He developed his standpoint by writing a commentary on the *Mādhyamika-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, called the *Prajñāpradīpa*, which is lost in the original but is available in Tibetan[1]. He lived and worked in the fifth century A.C.

He seems to have held that the Mādhyamika could consistently advance an opposite view. In his *Karatalaratna*, Bhāvaviveka attempts to establish the basic Mādhyamika standpoint by syllogistic arguments. He formulates the syllogisms thus:

Conditioned things (*saṃskṛta*) are unreal (*śūnya*) from the standpoint of ultimate truth, because they are produced through conditions (*pratyayodbhava*), like things created by magic (*māyāvat*). The unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), such as space, Nirvāṇa, etc., are non-existent from the standpoint of ultimate truth, because they are non-originating (*anutpāda*), like the sky-lotus (*khapuṣpavat*: *Ktr.* p. 34).

The syllogisms are mainly intended to convince the Hīnayānist of the truth of void (*śūnyatā*). Bhāvaviveka defends his arguments against possible formal and material objections. He points out that he does not mean to deny the empirical validity of things (*saṃvṛtisat*), but only their ultimate reality (*paramārthasat*: ibid. p. 35). The argument, therefore, is not vitiated by the evidence of sense-perceptions, etc., as these acquaint us only with appearance (ibid. p. 40). Nor is it opposed to the testimony of the scriptures or even of common sense. It may be objected that

[1] *Dbu-maḥi rtsa-baḥi ḥgrel-pa śes-rub-sgron-ma*, translated by Jñānagarbha (*TM.* No. 3853).

for the Śūnyavādin there is no subject of negation, as he does not accept any entity. The objection is not valid, for it is not necessary that a thing must be accepted as real before we could negate it; it is enough that it is taken to be real in common parlance (ibid. p.42). Realists may advance the counter-argument that what is efficient, the sense-organs, for instance, is real (not unreal like the barren woman's son). This is clearly wrong, for efficiency is also possible in the case of apparitional things (ibid.p.43).

Another possible objection is that the argument that proves the voidness of all things is itself void, as it is itself subject to the same predicament, i.e., conditioned by causes (ibid. p.44). Far from being a defect, this only serves to bring out the universal applicability of the law, the proof that all things are *śūnya* is itself *śūnya*, within appearance.

Bhāvaviveka further clarifies his position by stating that *śūnyatā* does not mean the assertion of the non-existence of things, but only the denial of the dogmatic assertion of existence (ibid. pp. 49–51). He also distinguishes his standpoint from that of the Vijñānavādin (ibid. p. 56). He points out that *śūnyatā* does not nullify things or make them disappear; but shows their nature as devoid of essence (*niḥsvabhāva* : ibid. p. 62).

Bhāvaviveka was evidently a man of great scholarship; for his *Tarkajvālā*, a commentary on the *Mādhyamika-hṛdaya-kārikā*, gives full exposition of the views of the Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika and Vedānta systems, often quoting from the original texts.

In his *Mādhyamārtha-saṅgraha*, he accords to the absolutes of Hīnayāna and heretical systems the states of *paryāyaparamārtha*. This makes him out to be a liberal-minded Mādhyamika, unlike Candrakīrti. The *Madhyamārtha-saṅgraha* begins with the two truths, *paramārtha* and *saṃvṛti*, and proceeds to subdivide them. *Paramārtha* is *niṣprapañca* (non-phenomenal) and admits of two kinds (*Madhyamārtha-saṅgraha*, p. 2): *paryāya-paramārtha*, the absolute that is still capable of expression in words, and the *aparyāyaparamārtha*, that is beyond all expression (*paryāyarahita*), and totally free from any kind of empirical determination (*sarvaprapañcavarjita* : ibid. pp. 5, 6). The *aparyāya-paramārtha* corresponds to the *paramārtha* of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti. The *paryāyaparamārtha* is of two kinds: *jātiparyāyavastuparamārtha*, the absolute that can be understood as a kind of universal positive being, and *janmarodhaparamārtha*, the absolute which is the complete extinction of all manifestations (ibid. p. 34). As no light is thrown by the author on the former, he seems to have included in it the views of systems such as Sāṅkhya, etc. The Hīnayāna conception of Nirvāṇa as the extinction of all forces, all *saṃskāras* and entities seems to be meant by the *janmarodha-paramārtha*.

Saṃvṛti is divided by Bhāvaviveka into *tathyā-saṃvṛti* which is the empirically efficient, and the *mithyāsaṃvṛti*, that is not so efficient. The latter is of two kinds: one that involves ideation for its apprehension, like the illusion of rope-snake, and the other that is more or less mechanical like optical illusions, the double moon and the bent-stick in water (ibid. pp. 7, 8, 9).

The noteworthy feature in Bhāvaviveka's account is his liberal accommodation of the absolutes of the Brāhmanical and Hīnayānic systems as some kind of *paramārtha*, i.e., *paryāyaparamārtha*. Candrakīrti would not have accepted this.

Besides these works and the *Prajñāpradīpa*, the commentary on the *Mādhyamika-kārikā*, Bhāvaviveka has written two other works: the *Madhyamakāvatāra-pradīpa* and the *Mādhyamika-pratītya-samutpāda*.

He has also written a work on the history of the schools of Buddhism, called *Nikāyabheda-vibhaṅga-vyākhyāna*, in which the theories of the different schools are given in the same words as are given in Vasumitra's work, the *Samayabhedopacaraṇa-cakra*.

Bhāvaviveka who criticised his senior contemporary, Buddhapālita, for merely indulging in refutation without advancing a counter-position was in turn criticised by Candrakīrti for being inconsistent, although a Mādhayamika (*Mdhvṛ*. p. 25) in advancing independent arguments and for his fondness for exhibiting his skill as a logician (ibid. p. 36). He is even castigated for his inaccuracy in stating the opponent's position (ibid. p. 16). From another reference to Bhāvaviveka, it would appear that he held that the realisation of *śūnyatā* was not absolutely necessary for Nirvāṇa and that he conceded that the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas could also attain final release (ibid. pp. 351–3). This is certainly opposed to the *ekanayavāda* of Nāgārjuna (*Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* of Haribhadra, ed. G. Tucci, *GOS*. p. 120) according to which eventually the votaries of the other paths have to be initiated into the *śūnyatā* discipline for attaining final release.

U. K.

BHAVILA, eldest son of Bhava and half-brother of the arahant Pūrṇa. He was nicknamed Dārukarṇī (*Divy.* pp. 24 ff.). See PŪRṆA.

BHĀVITĀTMA(N), a former Buddha mentioned in the *Bahubuddha Sūtra* of the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* III, p. 236) in a list of names of Buddhas enumerated by Śākyamuni to Ānanda. Bhāvitātman belonged to the royal city of Devāpi, and was preceded by Tathāgata Candrima and succeded by Tathāgata Oghaja.

BHĀVITATTA (1), one of the two chief disciples of Buddha Sumana (*J.* I, p. 34; *Buv.* v. p. 26; *ApA.* p. 38). He was the son of the chaplain of the city and was one of those to whom Buddha Sumana preached his first sermon (*BuvA.* p. 154).

BHĀVITATTA (2), one of the five hundred pacceka-buddhas who were in ancient times living on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. He was seen by the people of that time entering the mountain range, but was never seen thereafter. Hence the people used to say that the mountain had swallowed up the sage (*isī gilatī'ti*) and named it Isigili. The names of these pacceka-buddhas are given by the Buddha in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, p. 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA.* IV, p. 217) relates how these sages had made their dwellings inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close like a folding door.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHĀVITATTA (3), a king in the time of Buddha Paduma. Having heard the Buddha preach, he entered the Saṅgha with his following of a hundred thousand crores (*BuvA.* p. 179).

BHAVOTTĀRAKARA, one of the many samādhis in which Avalokiteśvara is said to be very proficient. This occurs in the list of samādhis of Avalokiteśvara which were enumerated by the Buddha at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (the text reads—nīvaraṇa—) who desired to know the numerous samādhis accomplished by Avalokiteśvara (*Kvyū.* p. 52).

S. K. N.

BHAVYA, a Buddhist teacher. See BHĀVAVIVEKA

BHAYA, fear, although a fundamental psychological state, underlying practically all unskilful mental concomitants, is never mentioned even as a mental property (*cetasika*) or basic principle. It is found in many lengthy enumerations of objects causing fear, such as the fear of self-reproach (*attānuvāda-bhaya*) which is also called the sense of internal shame (*hiri*), the fear of others' reproach (*parānuvāda-bhaya*) which is synonymous with the sense of external blame (*ottappa*), the fear of punishment (*daṇḍa-bhaya*) and the fear of an evil destiny (*duggati-bhaya* : *A.* II, pp. 121–3). Sometimes these objects are physical only, as mentioned in the *Sāriputta Sutta*: mosquitoes, gadflies, snakes, assaults of men, and beasts (*Sn.v.*964), without touching on the psychological basis underlying this phenomenon.

In the *Bhayabherava Sutta* (*M.* I, pp. 16–24), however, many instances are given why certain recluses living in lonely places call upon themselves an 'unholy fear and dread' (*akusalaṃ bhayabheravaṃ avhayanti*). They live in fear, because they are not wholly pure in bodily actions, or in speech, or in thought, or in their mode of living; because they are covetous and passionate in their sensuous desires; because they are corrupt in heart, wicked in thought and purpose; because they are obsessed by sloth and torpor; because they are unbalanced and unallayed in mind; because they are full of doubt and perplexity; because they extol themselves and disparage others; because they strive after gain, honour and fame; because they are indolent and devoid of zeal; because they are muddled in mind and inattentive; because their thoughts are uncomposed and wandering; because they lack spiritual insight and are mentally deaf and dumb.

From this it is clear that fear arises in the deluded mind, experiencing a sense of insecurity. Thus, *bhayabherava* is to be understood as insecurity (*akkhematthena veditabba* : *MA.* I, p. 114), which view is further strengthened by the ultimate safety (*khema*) being shown as a synonym for Nibbāna which is entirely devoid of fear: The further shore, brethren, secure and safe from fears, that is a name for Nibbāna (*S.* IV, p. 175).

That the psychological basis of fear is the sense of insecurity is fully borne out by the explanations in the *Bhayabherava Sutta*; for, each one of the grounds given there is a concealed or overt self-assertion, an attempt to vindicate the imaginary rights of a deluded ego. Thus, as much as the erroneous view of separate individuality (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) is at the root of all acquisitiveness and assertion, whether it be greed or hate, so is fear at the

root of this view which cannot find stability and security in the universal stream of impermanence. The very clinging to this misconception of self brings with it the fear of losing this foothold, whereas the clear understanding of this erroneous view not only dissolves the possibility of craving, but also the fear connected therewith.

Fear, therefore, is not in itself an unskilful mental state (*akusala-citta*), but it constitutes a state of motivation, incr using the tendency to react, which is usually directed towards avoidance or escape, this being the only way towards relief, as seen at that moment. Hence, fear may create a sense of helplessness, implying perplexity, or even fright and panic.

Fear and the understanding of fear are so extremely important because fear forms the psychological basis of all conflict (*dukkha*). Conflict arises when a twofold approach is envisaged, e.g., when the fact or actuality of impermanence (*anicca*) is met with the ideal concept of individuality as a permanent substance or soul (*atta*). It is the fear of losing an ideal which causes a conflict by non-acceptance of the factual. Here, fear can be overcome by understanding the opposing factors in the conflict, by seeing night as night.

But there are certain phenomena which should be avoided, in which case fear becomes a 'holy fear.' Thus insight into what is to be feared (*bhaya-ñāṇa*) will see the danger of attachment to things which are subject to decay; and here the development of fear of such danger is reckoned as one of the ten modes to insight knowledge (*vipassanā ñāṇa*). Those who fear when they need not fear, and who do not fear when they ought to, they are the two people who are heading for an evil birth, for their views are wrong (*Dhp. v.* 317).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAYABHERAVA SUTTA, the fourth sutta in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M.* I, pp. 16–24).

Jāṇussoṇi, a brāhman by birth and a chaplain of the royal household, is impressed by the devotion (*saddhā*) of many sons of respectable families to their leader, the Buddha. But their living in seclusion seemed to him less of an aid to secure concentration than a mental distraction. And the Buddha agreed with him, for such a life is hard to put up with, as long as fear of insecurity obsesses the mind. Not all fear is undesirable; but such fear as is based on the sense of insecurity (*akkhema* : *MA.* I, p. 114), which is nothing but the erroneous view of a separate individuality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), is both unskilful (*akusala*) and blameworthy (*sāvajja*). And it is this kind of unholy fear which makes life in solitude difficult to delight in. But this fear and dread are produced by actions of body and mind which strengthen the I-concept in fear of psychological aloofness.

Then the Buddha relates how, before he had attained Enlightenment, such fear and dread used to come upon him, how he used to be on the look-out for them during his meditations without trying to escape even by altering his posture.

Already at that time the bodhisatta was accustomed to call a spade a spade, or to put it in his own words: I perceive the night as night and the day as day (*M.* I, p. 21). And by thus looking fear in its face, he discovered the insecurity of a misconceived self at its root; and thereby fear vanished. Thus was laid the foundation to the four stages of mental absorption (*jhāna*, q. v.).

If ever afterwards the Buddha frequented remote places in forest and wilderness, it was not to overcome in himself attachment, or aversion, or confusion, but to experience actual ease of mind and to show the way to his followers, out of compassion for them (ibid. p. 23).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAYAṄKARA, one of Māra's one thousand sons. They were divided in their father's struggle against the bodhisattva. Some took the side of the bodhisattva and stood at their father's right; others who remained faithful to their father stood at his left. Bhayaṅkara took his father's side, and standing at his left said: "You need not be afraid, father; you have your own army around you, whereas he (the bodhisattva) fights single-handed (*Lal.* p. 226).

U. K.

BHAYA SUTTA. There are several suttas in the Pali texts dealing with various types of fear (*bhaya*). On the occasion of a great fire or a mighty flood, or when people flee because of the threat of robbers, on such occasions a mother may become separated from her son, while they are unable to give one another their mutual protection. It is then that in the average worldling (*puthujjana*) fear arises. But there is a terror which is more real, because there is no possibility of escape; and that is when a mother begins to fear separation

from her son, because she is growing old or he is falling ill. It is the fear of the certainty of death. But all these fears can be put away in the practice of the Eightfold Path, which through right understanding, etc., leads to abandoning and passing beyond all fear (*A.* I, pp. 178–80).

Suttas Nos. 119 and 120 (*A.* II, p. 121) give mere enumerations of types of fear, fear of birth, of old age, of disease and of death, and of fire, of flood, of kings and of robbers.

Four other types of fear are explained in greater detail in the following sutta (*A.* II, pp. 121–3 ; see BHAYA) which, however, in the uddāna at the end of the chapter is called the *Attānuvāda Sutta*.

At *A.* III, p. 310, fear is said to be a synonym for sense desire because one who is bound by passionate desire is never free from fear, either in this world or in the next. But, this sutta concludes with a verse :

Those who see fear in clinging,
That source of birth and death,
Are freed without desire,
Destroyed are birth and death.

The relevant section of this sutta is repeated in *A.* IV, p. 289.

The *Bhaya Sutta* occurring at *S.* V, p. 389, is a repetition of the *Duvera Sutta*, on guilty dread, immediately preceding it. The five types of fear (*pañca-bhayāni*) which result from transgressions of the five rules of moral conduct (killing, etc.) are allayed in the noble disciple, possessed of the four qualities of one who has entered the stream of holiness (*sotāpattiyaṅga*), namely, perfect faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, and the unbroken virtues dear to the Noble Ones.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHAYA VAGGA, the thirteenth chapter in the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* II, pp. 121–33).

Although, according to the uddāna at the end of the chapter, none of the ten suttas bears the title *bhaya*, the chapter itself is thus named in agreement with the contents of the first two suttas, which are called *Attānuvāda* (self-reproach) and *Ūmi* or *Ummi* (wave), these being two causes of fear. Two suttas deal with different types of people (*nānā*) and are referred to as *Nānā Sutta*. Two suttas are called *Mettā Sutta*, as their subject is the four sublime states, the first of which is loving kindness (*mettā*). The final four suttas are called *Acchariyā-abbhuta-dhammā Sutta*, each one dealing with marvellous manifestations of the Tathāgata, of his teaching, of Ānanda and of a world-ruler, respectively.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHEDA SUTTA of the *Itivuttaka* (*It.* pp. 10–11) speaks of the worst that can befall the world of devas as well as of men, the cause of loss, of unhappiness, of woe and of misery ; and that is a schism (*bheda*) in the Order of monks. For, when the Order is divided there are quarrels, there is abuse, isolation and opposition (*parikkhepa*), and mutual betrayal. He who provokes a schism is doomed to agelong life in hell (sutta 18).

BHEṆṆĀKAṬA, a locality where Rujā lived as a castrated goat (*J.* VI, p. 237).

BHERAPĀSĀṆA VIHĀRA, a monastery that existed in early times in the Rohaṇa district in Ceylon. There is an interesting story of some young monks who played a practical joke on an idiot named Uttara living with them in this monastery. He once went with them into the forest to fetch grass for the fire-hall ; he had agreed to carry a certain load of grass, and they cheated him into taking a larger one (*AA.* II, p. 347). The Burmese manuscript of the *Manorathapūraṇī* reads Lohapāsāda instead of Bherapāsāṇa (ibid. footnote 6).

U. K.

BHERAVĀYA, a rock-cave, near Himalaya. Sambula-Kaccāna thera is said to have dwelt there in meditation (*ThagA.* II, p. 59).

BHERĪ, a female ascetic (*paribbājikā*) who was a regular visitor to the palace of king Cūlanī of Uttarapañcāla city and who constantly had her meals in the royal palace. She was wise and learned and although she had heard of the great wisdom of Mahosadha (a previous life of the Buddha) never had she seen him in person. At that time Mahosadha was a great favourite of king Cūlanī. Queen Nandā, who was under the impression that Mahosadha had separated her from her husband's love, thought of a plan to find out some fault in him and engaged five trustworthy women to be on the watch. One day when Bherī was returning after her meals, she met Mahosadha in the courtyard on his way to wait on the king.

With a view to test his wisdom she asked him a question by a gesture of the hand (*hatthamuddā*). At first she faced Mahosadha and opened her hand. Her question was, whether the king took good care of him. By way of reply, Mahosadha clenched his fist, giving her the idea that the king was not giving him anything. Bherī understood his answer, stretched out her hand and rubbed her head, as much as to say that if he was displeased, why should he not become an ascetic. At this Mahosadha stroked his stomach, giving her the idea that he found it difficult to do so, because he had to support many people. At the end of the conversation Bherī returned to her dwelling.

The women who were out to find a fault in Mahosadha witnessed this incident and reported it to the king, saying that Mahosadha was planning to kill him with the help of Bherī. Thereupon the king questioned the two of them separately and learnt that both were innocent. Later, he appointed Mahosadha as his commander-in-chief (*J.* VI, pp. 467–68). Bherī is identified with Uppalavaṇṇā (ibid. p. 478).

I. K.

BHERIVĀDA JĀTAKA (No. 59). The Buddha related this birth-story in Jetavana (*J.* I, pp. 283-84) concerning a self-willed bhikkhu.

Once, the bodhisatta was born as a drummer (*bherivādaka*). When he heard that there was going to be a festival in Bārāṇasī, he thought of earning money by playing his drum to the crowds of holiday-makers and went there with his son. He earned a great deal of money, and while returning home with his earnings, he had to pass through a forest inhabited by robbers. As his son kept on beating the drum, the bodhisatta tried to stop him, saying that he should beat it only now and again to give the robbers the impression that some lord was passing by. But the boy continued to beat the drum steadily, hoping to frighten away the robbers. The robbers, who were scared at first, later came back and robbed them of their money.

The Buddha identified the characters by saying that the self-willed bhikkhu was that son of the past and he himself was the father.

I. K.

BHERUṆḌA (1), a nāga-king, mentioned in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (*Mmk.* p. 18 ; *BHS.* p. 412 a).

BHERUṆḌA (2), double-headed bird motif found in mediaeval Sinhalese art. It is commonly known as Bheruṇḍa-pakṣiyā (the Bheruṇḍa-bird). It appears equally common in religious and lay art. In the mediaeval Sinhalese temple paintings the motif was designed as part of the chequered floral patterns to be interspersed with other motifs, like the *nārigīlata*, *gajalakṣmī*, the *haṃsa*, *palāpeti* etc. Next to its representation in temple paintings the bird motif has been the common selection for chain and pendant designs[1].

The bird-motif has appeared uninterrupted in Sinhalese temple art from the Kandyan period, from the late 17th century onwards, although a still earlier existence is not unlikely.



Bheruṇḍa-pakṣiyā [2]

Its character is well shown in a mediaeval provincial flag in Ceylon (the flag of the three Korales, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Fig. 18 A). The form also appears in wood and iron work and very commonly in modern brass trays and plates. (A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. p. 85, Plates XXIII, 6 ; XLVIII, 6).

Of all the available representations of the bird motif, the most interesting replicas are found in the Daḷadā Māligāva (the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha, Kandy, Ceylon). Here, in the original wooden temple, which is the oldest of the existing buildings of the Māligāva complex, the Bheruṇḍa motif is found among ceiling paintings. On the ceiling of the right-side aisle of the uppermost chamber of the temple, is still visible intact a well preserved mediaeval painting of the Bheruṇḍa-pakṣiyā. In the same premises it has obtained

1 For these motifs in mediaeval Sinhala Temple Art, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, New York, 1956.

2 Motif of the bheruṇḍa bird, example from a wooden door-frame at the Dippiṭiya vihāra, Ceylon (circa 16th century).

an unique place, being the design for the pendant of a gem-studded gold garland supposed to have been presented by king Kirtiśri Rājasinha of Kandy (18th century) to the main Karaňduva (the golden casket wherein are placed several other smaller caskets with the one enshrining the sacred Tooth Relic as the innermost).[1]

On either side of the door-frame of the Dipputiya Vihāra, at Araṇāyaka in the Kegalle District, the bird-motif is found elegantly carved. The same motif is found in the decorations of the door-frame of the Kelaniya Temple (near Colombo ; see C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Doorways*, Art Series 9, published by the Dept. of Archaeology, Ceylon, Plates 7, 18).

A. D. T. E. P.

BHERUVA, a city which was the residence of Asayhamahāseṭṭhi (*PvuA*. pp. 112, 118, 119).

BHESAJJA (Skt. *bhaiṣajya*), medicine, as referred to in Buddhist literature.

By the time the Buddha appeared in India, the practice of medicine had been developing in the country for a considerable length of time from the Vedic period onwards. As medical treatment is a basic need of any society, the Buddhist monks could not do without it. Consequently, rules and regulations regarding the use of medicine, in keeping with the monastic ideals, had to be framed by the Buddha as demanded by various occasions. Hence a whole section (*khandhaka*) of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (*Mahāvagga*, vi) is devoted to a discussion of medicines prescribed for the bhikkhus, the ailments from which they suffered and how those medicines should be used.

A group of five items is very commonly referred to as medicine (*pañcabhesajjāni*), which served both as medicine and food. These five were ghee (*sappi*), fresh butter (*navanīta*), oil (*tela*), honey (*madhu*) and treacle (*phāṇita* : *Vin.* I, p. 199 ; III, pp. 77, 250). At *Vin.* III, p. 251, each of these five items is described in detail. Thus fresh butter and ghee are obtained from the milk either of the cow, she buffalo or the she-goat. Oil is obtained from various kinds of nuts and seeds such as sesamum, mustard, castor or from the tallow of animals such as bears, alligators, pigs, donkeys or from fish. Oil from the tree called *madhuka* (*bassia latifolia*) is particularly referred to here. Honey is what is produced by bees and treacle is that produced from sugar-cane. As these five items constituted a balanced diet, they served as food and, if regularly taken, would keep monks free from many common ailments. Thus, they were not strictly regarded as medicine. Further, one or more of these items were taken as they were ingredients for various medicinal preparations. Because of their medicinal properties they were regarded as the five standard medicines (*pañcabhesajjāni*) and were also referred to as the requisites of an invalid (*gilānapaccaya* : *Vin.* IV, p. 154). At *Vin.* I, p. 199, when some monks suffered from an illness resulting from the heat of the autumn (*sāradikena ābādhena*, Skt. *śaradakena rogena*) the Buddha himself recommended these five medicaments, provided they were accepted and used at the correct time, i.e., in the forenoon, for, regarding these five items of food, the rule relating to the consumption of solid food is applied. The

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1 The so-called double-headed bird-motif, known to the mediaeval religious art of the Sinhalese (see *Sinhalese Art*), as ..eruṇḍa-pakṣiyā, could be traced back to a very remote antiquity. The possibility is that the bird-motif had migrated ..m N. W. India to Ceylon, as in the case of certain other beliefs and cults, of the Aryans of N. W. India, being transport- .. to Ceylon from very early times. See JUTINDHARA; HĀRĪTĪ and JUNAGĀRH, (note 5). Sir John Marshal .. observed a bird-motif of very similar pattern in Taxila while excavating the Sirkap stūpa base and his remarks on this are ..te opportune here; "The presence of the double-headed eagle motif on this stūpa at Taxila is interesting as supplying ..ther link in the long chain of its migrations. It may be noticed that it first makes its appearance among Hittite and ..ly Babylonian sculptures in Western Asia ; later it is found on an early ivory of the geometric period from Sparta ; still ..ter it seems to have been particularly associated with the Scythians and we may well believe that it was they—the Sakas .. introduced it at Taxila. From the Scythinans, too, it appears to have been adopted into the Imperial Arms of Russia .. Germany, while from Taxila it found its way southward through India to Ceylon, where it may still be seen on the ..ners of the Kandyan cheifs (Sir John Marshal, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, Vol. I, p. 164; III, Pls. 28, 30a ; see also .. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. p. 85 ; Goblet d' Alviella, *La Migration des Symbols*, pp. 21 f ; W. S. Cook, *Art Studies*, .. 58 ; Rudolp Wittkower, Eagle and Serpent, in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-9, p. 299, n. 10 ; Karl .. Der Adlar und die Weltkugel in *Jahrbücher für class. Phil.* Supplement, XIV, 1884, p. 11; *EWA*, Vol. XII, pl. .. M. the Picard Schmitter, Scenes Diapotheose surdes Soüies Provenant de Raiy, *ArtA*. XIV, pp, 306, ff.

illness referred to here, according to the description given in the text, seems to have been a severe case of indigestion due either to the change of seasons or to the humid heat of the autumn. Both the Pali (*Vin.* I, p. 199) and the Sanskrit texts (*GM.* III, pt. i, p. i), describe the illness as one which made the monks extremely weak, feeble and emaciated. One symptom, referred to only in the Pali text, is that the sick monks vomited whatever food they ate. This illness, as well as the humid heat after the monsoon rains (*śiradika-ātapaḥ*), is referred to at *Pāṇinī* (IV, iii, § 13).

Since monks would most willingly accept the offer of these articles of diet, it was the custom, specially during the time of the Buddha, for lay devotees to go to the temple in the evening with these things. Literary references show that this was a very popular practice. For instance, at *DhpA.*I, p. 5, it is said that both Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā went twice daily to the temple and that they used to take the *pañcabhesajjāni* with them. The bhikkhus seem to have received them in abundance as lay people offered them ungrudgingly for the acquisition of merit. Thus, at *Vin.* III, p. 250, Pilindavaccha thera received a large quantity of these five items and distributed them among his companions. They filled up every available vessel and hung them up all over their residences. Then these vessels started to leak, and the floor became untidy and was overrun by rats. When the Buddha was informed of all this by the lay devotees, he laid down a rule that those five kinds of food could be kept in store only for a period not exceeding seven days. In keeping with this Vinaya rule the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, a text of the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* Vol. III, part i, p. iii) which corresponds roughly to the *Khandaka* vi of the Pali *Vinaya*, refers to these five kinds of medicine, not as *pañcabhesajjāni* but as *saptāhikāni* (allowed for a period of seven days). It is interesting to note that instead of fresh butter (*navanīta*) of the Pali list, we have sugar molasses (*śarkarā*) in the Sanskrit text, in which *navanīta* is absent. The other four items are common to both lists.

At *Vin.* I, p. 200, these foods are allowed to be taken both at the correct time and at the wrong time (*kāle'pi vikāle'pi*), which is an exception to the rule referred to earlier at the same place. This relaxation was probably due to the fact that these items were to be treated more as medicine than as food, for both the Pali and the Sanskrit texts say that the Buddha first allowed these medicines only to be consumed in the forenoon, but as their illness did not subside, the rule was relaxed.

For common and minor ailments the Buddha prescribed a medicine which seems to have been widely used by bhikkhus. This was the staling urine of the cow (*pūtimuttabhesajja*, Skt. *pūtimukta*) either in itself or mixed with various other medicines. The most popular method seems to have been not to take raw urine but to put various medicines into it for some time and to take it for use once the urine was absorbed by the medicine, or else to drink the urine after allowing the medicine to remain in it for some time. The commonest of such medicines was the myrobalan fruit, both yellow and ordinary (*harītaka* and *āmalaka*), which was allowed to absorb the urine by being immersed in the liquid for a long time, after which both the liquid and the fruit were used as internal medicine for minor ailments and also as a preventive medicine. Thus at *M.* I, p. 316, such urine is recommended as a treatment for jaundice (*panduroga*). Here, it is also said that the colour, taste and the smell of the drink are not at all pleasant.

Sometimes, cow's urine was used by covering a pot filled with it and keeping it buried until all the liquid had disappeared. Then sediment was taken, made into small pills and used. Some of the forest-dwelling monks of Ceylon use it in this way even today. Once prepared in the form of pills it could be easily taken anywhere in person by the bhikkhus. It should also be remembered that often these pills, as well as raw urine and the myrobalan fruits, whether raw or infused with urine, were taken as ingredients in the preparation of other kinds of medicines. Even today the myrobalan fruit is an extremely common item in various Āyurvedic medicinal preparations. For certain ailments cow's urine is used in preparing decoctions.

At *Vin.* I, p. 200, since the sick monks who were permitted to use the five medicines (*pañcabhesajjāni*) could not get themselves cured, they wanted permission from the Buddha to use animal tallow (*vasā*) as medicine. The Buddha allowed its use, provided it was mixed with oil before use. The various animals from whom tallow is allowed are bears, alligators (*susuka*), swine (*sūkara*), donkeys (*gadrabha*), and also fish (*maccha*). Tallow is a greasy element found in the body of all living beings and seems to have been used as an unguent for various ailments. While tallow in itself was used externally, it was also used as an article of

diet after being boiled and the oil extracted from it. This edible animal fat constituted one kind of oil (*tela*) in the group of five medicines. In a corresponding passage in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM*. III, pt. i, p. v) also, five kinds of tallow are mentioned as allowed for bhikkhus. The list of animals allowed for obtaining tallow in the Pali text differs from that in the Sanskrit, in that instead of the donkey (*gadrabha*) of the Pali, we have the crocodile (*śuśumāra*) in the Sanskrit text. The oil extracted from the tallow was used both for medicinal and for culinary purposes. However, these things had to be accepted at the right time, i. e., in the afternoon, and had to be cooked and boiled before use. According to the Sanskrit text, tallow is allowed to be used only for a week. Both texts maintain that tallow should be used with oil.

Another medicine needed by the sick monks was roots (*mūla*). A list of roots is given which the Buddha allowed when he was informed of the need. They were used for preparing various decoctions and such other preparations as is done in Āyurveda. The first in the list is turmeric (*haliddā, haridrā : curcuma longa*) of which the dried root is powdered and used as medicine. Ginger (*iṅgivera : zingiber officinale*) is well-known as a medicinal root even today. Orris root, both yellow and white (*vaca : iridaceoe pseudacorus* or *acorus colamus*), which has aromatic and tuberous roots is also recommended. This is followed by garlic (*ativisā*) and black hellebore (*kaṭukarohiṇī*) regarded by the ancient Indians as a cure for insanity, and khus khus (*usīra*), which has a fragrant root. Settees and fans made from the leaves of this latter plant are also allowed (*Vin*. II, p. 130). Finally, in this list we find nut-grass (*bhaddamuttaka: cyperus rotundus*), a plant with edible roots.

After enumerating this list, the Buddha further permitted the use of any kind of root as medicine on condition that it does not serve as food, either soft or solid. This rule, as well as the one that permits their use as long as life lasts, is common to both Pali and Sanskrit texts. However, it was an offence to store them if there was no need.

Monks also needed the bark of the roots of various trees as medicine (*Vin*. I, p. 201). The Buddha allowed their use, and also allowed a grinding stone (*nisada*) and a pounder (*nisadapota*) to prepare them. When the monks sought permission to take astringent decoctions (*kasāva*) the Buddha allowed it ; and a few kinds of plants and creepers from which these decoctions were to be prepared are mentioned as examples. Such preparations were allowed only if they were really necessary as medicine and also if they did not serve as solid or soft foods. The violation of these two conditions constituted an offence.

Next, they wanted to use leaves as medicine and this, too, was allowed under the very same conditions as before.

When the monks were in need of fruits (*phala*) as medicine, permission was granted subject to the same conditions.

Resin (*jatūni bhesajjāni*) to be used in medicinal preparations, too, was allowed by the Buddha who himself has given as an example the tree called *hiṅgu* (*assafoetida*) of which both the resin and gum seem to have been popularly used in preparing medicines.

Salt (*loṇa : Vin*. I, p. 202) of five varieties is allowed by the Buddha : sea-salt (*sāmudda-loṇa*), black salt (*kālaloṇa*), a kind of rock-salt found in Sindhi (*sindhavaloṇa*), culinary salt (*ubbhidaloṇa*) and red salt (*bilaloṇa*) or any other kind of salt that could be used as medicine. In the Sanskrit text also five varieties of salt are mentioned (*GM*. Vol. III, pt. i, p.v) but the two varieties *kāla* and *ubbhida* of the Pali do not occur in the Sanskrit, which instead gives two varieties as *sauvarcala* and *romaka*. Of these, the former is explained by Monier-Williams, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, as sochal salt, which is prepared by boiling soda with emblic myrobalan, and *romaka* as a kind of saline earth and the salt extracted from it or the salt extracted from the lake Sambhar in Ajmere.

At *Vin*. I (pp. 204–5), Pilindavaccha thera is said to have had an affliction of wind (*vātābādha*) and the physicians wanted to give him a decoction of oil (*telapāka*), which was allowed by the Buddha. As this was an oil decoction mixed with alcoholic spirits, the Group of Six Monks (*chabbaggiyā*, q. v.) who symbolise the reactionary elements in the Saṅgha during the Buddha's time, abused the permission granted by the Buddha, mixed too much liquor into the decoction and got intoxicated by taking it. Hearing about this, the Buddha, in order to prevent the monks from taking liquor other than as medicine, formulated a rule to the effect that when liquor is mixed into a decoction as a medicine, the decoction should not have the colour, smell or the taste of liquor in it, thereby limiting the quantity of liquor to be mixed. (See also above where the Buddha has recommended tallow for a *vātabādhā* in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, GM*. Vol. III, part i, p. v.)

When a certain monk was bitten by a snake, the Buddha allowed him to be given a decoction prepared from the four "great filthy things" (*mahāvikaṭāni*), i.e., dung (*gūtha*), urine (*mutta*), ashes (*chārikā*) and clay (*mattikā* : *Vin*. I, p. 206). Although not specifically mentioned, the dung and the urine mentioned here must have been those of the cow, which discharges, along with ashes and clay, were regarded by the Indians as effective purifiers. Similarly, in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM*. Vol. III, part i, p. 286), too, these four filthy items are recommended for snake-bite. Here they are referred to as *vikṛtabhojana*. The Sanskrit text explains the four items further and says that both urine and dung should be of newly-born calves. Ashes should be from the wood of the five kinds of trees, which are named. Clay is explained as that taken from the earth after removing the surface layer for a depth of four inches (ibid. p. 256).

Similarly when a monk has drunk poison (*visa*), he was given a concoction of dung (*gūtha*); and so was treated another case of poisoning, said to have been due to drinking under the influence of an evil spirit (*gharadinnakābādha*, ibid.) during an act of exorcism (*VinA*. p. 1092). Here the patient was given a decoction prepared from the mud turned up by the plough when tilling the ground (*sītāloli*). There was also a case of constipation (*duṭṭhagahaṇika*, ibid.), for which the patient was asked to take raw lye (*āmisakhāra*) by the Buddha. For a patient suffering from jaundice (*paṇḍurogābādha*) the Buddha prescribed a compound of cow's urine and yellow myrobalan (*muttaharītaka*: ibid.). For a patient suffering from his body being full of bad humours (*abhisannakāya*) the Buddha's treatment was first a purgative (*virecana*), then clarified rice-gruel (*acchakañji*) which was followed by broth, referred to as *akaṭayūsa*, which the commentary (ibid.) describes as 'a beverage cooked with beans but not oily.' Next, he was given a broth called *kaṭākaṭa*, which differed from the former in that it was a little oily, and finally meat-gravy (*paṭicchādaniya*), which is explained as the essence of meat (*maṃsarasa* : ibid.). This was the series of treatment recommended by the Buddha himself (*Vin*. I, p. 206). At *Vin*. I, p. 210, there is the case of a monk who had an affliction of wind in the stomach (*udaravātābādha*) and who was cured by drinking salted sour gruel (*loṇasovīraka*). At *GM*. III, (pt. i, p. xiii), a physician recommended this same medicine for Sāriputra, whose illness is referred to as an affliction of the wind (*vāyvābādha*). When the Buddha himself got this same illness, Ānanda remembered how he was then cured by the gruel containing the three pungent ingredients (*tekaṭukayāgu*), sesamum (*tila*), rice-grain (*taṇḍula*) and kidney bean (*mugga*). Ānanda made this preparation by cleaning and cooking it indoors all by himself and offered it to the Buddha who soon recovered.

At *Vin*. I (p. 217), a monk who had taken a purgative wanted some meat-broth (*paṭicchādaniya*) which was allowed earlier too (*Vin*. I, p. 206). There are three verses at *Vin*. I (p. 221), attributed to the Buddha himself, in which gruel is recommended as a very good medicine possessing ten qualities, viz., that it confers long life, beauty, ease, strength, intelligence, checks hunger and thirst, regulates wind, cleanses the bladder and digests the food.

A patient ailing for a long time, but cured by Jīvaka, was king Pajjota of Ujjeni who had been suffering from jaundice. Many famous physicians had failed to cure him and finally Jīvaka brought him back to health by giving him a decoction prepared with ghee (*Vin*. I, pp. 276 ff.). Jīvaka, who had been entrusted with the medical treatment of the Buddha and his Order as well as of king Bimbisāra and the members of his royal household (*Vin*. I, p. 273), attended on the Buddha when the latter fell ill owing to a disturbance of the humours of his body (*kāyo dosābhisanno* : *Vin*. I, pp. 278–79), an illness frequently referred to in the *Vinaya* (e.g., *Vin*. I, p. 206 : II. p. 119). Desiring to take a purgative, the Buddha informed Ānanda who in turn asked Jīvaka to attend to it. Jīvaka first made Ānanda massage the Buddha's body with oil for a few days. As this was not effective Jīvaka found no alternative but to give the patient a purgative. As he considered it not becoming to give the Buddha a strong purgative, he hit upon an unusual method of purging him, which was to make him sniff up (*upasiṅghati*) thrice three handfuls of lotuses (*uppalahatthāni*) imbued with (*paribhāvetvā*) various drugs. Each time he sniffed them he was forced to purge ten times and thus he was to have thirty motions altogether. It is said that he first purged twenty-nine times, and he had the thirtieth motion only after he had a bath of warm water. Until the Buddha's body became normal, he was asked to confine himself to a liquid diet and in this way he regained his health (*Vin*. I, pp. 278–80).

A case is mentioned (*Vin*. I, pp. 202–3) of a monk who was possessed by a non-human being (*amanussikābādha*), and who recovered by eating raw flesh and drinking the raw blood of swine. When the Buddha was informed of this he allowed

the type of treatment meant for such ailments, for it was believed that it was not the monk who ate raw flesh and drank blood but the non-human being. In *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* Vol. III, part i, p. 9), there is a similar incident of raw meat being allowed by the Buddha for a monk. The monk had become insane (*unmattaḥ*) and was wandering about; he was asked by a physician to eat raw meat, if he were to be cured. The Buddha permitted him to eat raw flesh as a medicine. But the monk refused to eat it, whereupon the Buddha asked the monks to blindfold him and feed him the meat. They did so, but removed the covering as soon as he finished eating. When the monk saw blood on his hands he vomited what he had eaten, whereupon the Buddha remarked that before uncovering his eyes, his hands should be well washed so that no blood stains may remain there. They did accordingly and the monk recovered. The Buddha further laid it down that the consumption of raw flesh other than as medicine is an offence for a bhikkhu.

In the section dealing with medicine in the available *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* text (*GM.* III, pt. i, pp. i–xiv), there are some more medicines enumerated in addition to those so far discussed. According to the Sanskrit text, when the Buddha was informed of the autumnal illness (*śāradakena rogena*, see above), due to which the monks get indigestion, resulting in extreme physical weakness, he recommended four kinds of medicine, viz., *kālikāni*, *yāmikāni*, *sāptāhikāni* and *yāvajjīvikāni*. This classification is based on the duration of time allowed for the consumption of each kind of medicine. Thus, *kālikāni* are those medicines that have to be consumed within a short time; *yāmikāni* are those allowed for a duration of one watch (about 4 hours); *sāptāhikāni* are those allowed for one week and *yāvajjīvikāni* are those that could be used any time as long as life lasts.

In the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, p. 246), there are eight kinds of drinks permitted for the monks. although, unlike in the Sanskrit text, they are not mentioned here as medicine. Four of the eight drinks found in the Sanskrit list occur in this Pali list also. The four additional drinks referred to here are: *ambapāna*, a drink made from raw or cooked mangoes; *jambupāna*, a similar drink from the rose-apple (*eugenia jambu*); *madhupāna*, bees' honey; and *sālukapāna*, a drink made from the edible root of the water-lily. This *Mahāvagga* list of eight drinks is also found at *Nd.* (I, p. 372) and *Kvu.* (p. 552). Further at *Vin.* (I, p. 246), the Buddha has forbidden the monks the use of drinks prepared from certain kinds of fruits, leaves and vegetables. These preparations seem to have been varieties of liquor, and thus forbidden to monks for this reason.

In the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* III, part i, p. xiii), there is the story that Śāriputra was suffering from an affliction of the wind (*vāyvābādha*) and he was asked to take salted sour barley gruel by a physician. Although barley gruel was found, salt was not immediately available. Then Pilindavatsa volunteered to give salt, which he had kept in a horn, provided the Buddha gave permission. This incident resulted in the Buddha laying down some Vinaya rules regarding the use of the four kinds of medicine *kālika*, *yāmika*, *sāptāhika* and *yāvajjīvika* mentioned earlier.

When a certain monk was suffering from an ailment of the eyes (*cakkhurogābādha*), the Buddha himself prescribed certain medicines (*Vin.* I, p. 203). Unfortunately, the details of the prescription are not available. The prescription merely consists of various kinds of external applications in the form of collyrium (*añjana*).

Once these ointments were allowed, there arose the need for a vessel in which they could be kept; consequently the monks were allowed to use an ointment box (*añjanī*). But, when the monks began to use boxes made of gold, silver, etc., the Buddha found fault with that practice and laid down the material out of which boxes should be made, i.e., bone, ivory, horn, reed, bamboo, wood, lac, crystal, copper and conch-shell. The monks were also allowed to have a lid for the ointment box and to have it fixed around with thread. When they applied ointment to the eyes with their fingers, the eyes became painful, whereupon an ointment stick, made only of the material allowed for the ointment box, was allowed. They were also permitted to use a bag for the ointment boxes and a case for the sticks, together with a strap and a thread for tying these two together (*Vin.* I, pp. 203-4).

In the Sanskrit text (*GM.* III, part i, p. viii f.), five kinds of collyrium are allowed for monks. Instead of the rules regarding the use of ointment boxes, etc. discussed above as found in the Pali text, there are some other rules in the Sanskrit text as to where these ointments should be kept. Thus, first it is laid down that whatever excess ointments (*añjana*) there are, they should not be thrown away, but that they should be kept in a bowl or in a round box or wrapped in a piece of cloth and kept hanging from a peg fitted to the wall according to the kind of ointment used.

Monks were also permitted to carry boxes with compartments (*kacchapuṭa*) to take various medicines. According to the text, only those fruits that served as medicine (*phalabhaiṣajyāni*) could be taken in this kind of box. All the root-medicines were to be tied into a bundle and hung on a peg fitted to the wall (*nāgadantaka*). Further, the Buddha asked the monks to dry those medicines in a shady place (*chāyāyāṃ*) from time to time, a measure meant to preserve the medicine.

An observation that could be made about the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* text in comparison with the Pali *Vinaya* is that whereas in the Pali text the Buddha directly recommends the medicine, in the Sanskrit text it is the physician who first recommends the medicine, and the Buddha gives permission for its use. It is also interesting that in the Sanskrit text, when the medicine that was left over was thrown away by the monks, the Buddha spoke against this practice and said that such medicines should be made available to a monk in need of them, and, if such a one was not available immediately, such medicine should be kept in a dispensary (*glānakalpikaśālā*) so that it could be useful to some one. Although no further information is available about this *glānakalpikaśālā*, which literally means a hall suitable for the sick, its mention here shows the existence during the time of the Buddha of public places of medical treatment.

Coming back to the Pali *Vinaya* text, when (at *Vin.* I, p. 204) a monk had a headache, the Buddha prescribed for him a course of treatment. First, he was asked to apply some oil on his head. As there was no improvement, he prescribed that some medicine be administered through the nose (*natthukamma*), as at *Vin.* (III, p. 83) where the same treatment is given. There is the story of Jīvaka treating and curing a woman of an illness of the head from which she had been suffering for seven years, by administering through the nose, some medicine cooked with ghee. A kind of medical misadventure is reported (*Vin.* III, p. 83) where this treatment had resulted in the patient's death. At *D.* I (p. 12), this kind of medical practice is regarded as a low art for a monk to practise as a means of livelihood, for it was entirely wrong for any monk to do anything for payment. In the present instance the Buddha himself prescribes it, with all the details as how to do it. First he asked that oil be put into the nostrils. As this treatment could not cure the monk's illness, the Buddha prescribed another kind of treatment by asking him to inhale smoke, which was done by burning a wick after smearing it with drugs and the smoke being inhaled. As this method hurt the throat, the Buddha allowed the use of a tube (*dhūmanetta*) to inhale the smoke. He further allowed a lid for the tube, a double bag to carry the wick and the tube; and also a strap and a thread to tie the two bags together (*Vin.* I, p. 204).

Another method of treatment recommended by the Buddha was for rheumatism in the limbs (*aṅgavāta*). This was the sweating treatment (*sedakamma*), done in several ways (*Vin.* I, p. 205; see also *VinA.* p. 209). Various devices were employed to make the patient sweat, the last being to put him in a vat filled with hot water (*udakakoṭṭhaka*). Although the result is not specifically mentioned, one may assume that the patient was cured. In this connection it will be of interest to mention the troughs popularly called 'medicine boats' (see *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Plate XLII) which are made of stone and cut into the shape of a man, found at ancient sites in Ceylon. These were probably used for this type of sweating. After filling the trough with medicinal water or oil, the patient was made to lie in it. As the system of medicine in ancient Ceylon was based on that found in India, there was nothing unusual in this.* Further, the monks in ancient Ceylon followed the same Vinaya rules as in India. The system of medicine they practised was almost the same as that found in the *Vinaya* (see S. Paranavitana. 'Medicine and Hygiene as practised in ancient Ceylon,' *CHJ*. Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 123–35).

Another kind of treatment that the Buddha has recommended for rheumatism in the joints was letting blood out by using a knife or lance (*Vin.* I, p. 205). If this did not help the patient, he was asked to let out blood by means of cupping. It was done with a horn, cut smooth and even at the large end and with a small aperture at the narrow end (see *SBE*. XVII, p. 57, footnote 3), similar to the modern cupping-glass.

How a running sore was treated is given in the story of the monk the skin of whose feet was cracked (*Vin.* I, p. 205). First the Buddha prescribed an unguent, and then a foot salve (*pajja*). The Buddha's recommendation to a monk who had developed a boil was to undergo surgical treatment (*satthakamma*). When he needed astringent water (*kasāvodaka*) and sesamum paste (*tilakakka*) both these were allowed. Similarly he allowed the use of a compress (*kabalikā*) and a

* These "medicine boats" are not known from Buddhist sites other than in Ceylon — G. P. M.

piece of cloth for dressing the wound. When the sore itched, he was asked to sprinkle it with mustard powder (*sāsapakuṭṭa*). When the sore festered, the Buddha recommended medical fumigation. When the flesh round the sore suolled the Buddha asked him to cut the outgrown flesh with a piece of salt-crystal (*loṇasakkharikā*). Finally, in order to heal the sore, he recommended some oil to be applied, and also a light cotton bandage (*vikāsikā*) for dressing the wound (*Vin.* I, pp. 205–6).

At *Vin.* I, p. 214, there is an interesting report of Sāriputta thera's fever being abated by eating some lotus stalks brought by Moggallāna thera from the Mandākiṇi lotus tank in the Himalayas.

Jīvaka is said to have cured a fistula of king Bimbisāra by the application of a single ointment which he took under his nail (*Vin.* I, pp. 272–3). Jīvaka was the most distinguished medical authority, both in medicine and surgery, during the time of the Buddha, and it is said that when his teacher asked him to tour a yojana all round Takkasilā to find out if there was any plant or herb that could not be used as a medicine, he was unable to find a single plant or herb that would not be so used (*Vin.* I, p. 270). This fact shows not only the skill of Jīvaka as a medical man, but also the fact that according to the system of medicine he followed, every plant or herb could be used as a medicine in one form or other. (For Jīvaka's mastery in surgery, see SURGERY).

Medicines which make barren women fertile, fertile women barren and also which bring about abortion are referred to (*Vin.* III, pp. 83–4); but what these medicines were is not explained.

At *Vin.* IV, pp. 101–2, the bhikkus are allowed to accept medicine from Mahānāma, the Sākiyan, to be used as long as they lived. This was also one of the eight boons conferred on Visākha by the Buddha (*Vin.* I, p. 292). It is said that if a bhikkhu is invited to accept medicines and if he were to ask for anything more than that for which he was invited, he commits an offence (*Vin.* IV, p. 103). Similarly, when a particular item of medicine, e.g., ghee, is offered it is an offence to ask for some other medicine such as oil (*VinA.* p. 858). What all these regulations mean is that monks should accept whatever is offered and should not ask for this and that.

As it was necessary for the monks to keep in store various kinds of medicine to be used as the need arose, the Buddha allowed them to have a storehouse close to the vihāra. Permission for this was granted when the medicine supplied for Yasoja thera when he was ill was eaten by vermin and taken away by thieves for want of a proper storehouse (*Vin.* I, p. 239).

It is of interest to see how the cow was regarded as a source of medicine, both by ancient brāhmans and the Buddhists, for the Buddha himself says that the ancient brāhmans who were virtuous never slaughtered cows but treated them as their own kith and kin since cows provided them with medicines (*gāvo no paramā mittā—yāsu jāyanti osadhā : Sn. v.* 296). These medicines were nothing but the five products of the cow, milk (*khīra*), curd (*dadhi*), buttermilk (*takka*), fresh butter (*navanīta*) and ghee (*sappi*), which served as both food and medicine. It would also be noted that the last two items are included among the five standard medicines (*pañcabhesajjāni*).

Next to the canonical texts, from which information about medicine has so far been discussed, there is another Buddhist work which provided useful information in this connection. This is the Pali text, *Milindapañha*, written about the first century B.C. It gives some valuable information about the progress of medical science in those days, but not so much about medicine as such. There is a reference to snakes being made to suck back their poison by means of charms (*Miln.* pp.150, 152). There is another reference (ibid. p. 43) to five kinds of root medicines (*pañcamūlabhesajjāni*), which are not explained. The treatment of a serious wound is described (ibid. p. 112) and the treatment here is a combination of medicine and surgery. A similar treatment of a boil is referred to (ibid. p. 149). The Buddha is reported to have called himself a physician and surgeon (ibid. p. 215) which, of course, is a figurative description. The recitation of verses of protection (*paritta*, q.v.), which is a very popular Buddhist practice in many countries, is also mentioned (ibid. pp. 151–2). It is interesting that here *parittas* are referred to as medicine (*parittabhesajjāni*).

The *Jātakas* also provide some information about medicine. There is reference to the application of and rubbing with oil in the healing of bruises and swellings (*J.* I, p. 293). The treatment for dysentery (*lohitapakkhandikā*) was a broth made of millet (*sāmāka*, i.e., *panicum frumentaceum*) and wild rice (*nīvāra*) together with leaves (not named) sprinkled with water, without salt and spices (*J.* III, p. 144). There are references to physicians who cured snake-bites by means of charms and medicine and also to those who cured

diseases caused by evil spirits by means of *parittas* and medicine (*J.* II, p. 215). There are also references to making snakes suck back their poison and to other alternative antidotes (though their nature is not mentioned) to extracting the venom of snakes (*J.* I, p. 311). The brāhmans who practised medicine are described in a derogatory sense at *J.* IV (p. 361) when it is said that such brāhmans carry upon their backs sacks filled with medicinal roots and healing herbs and recite magic spells.

An interesting practice found in Tibet is the eating of the paper on which a particular charm is written. Thus the piece of paper on which various mystic signs are drawn and mantras written, which vary according to the particular illness, is referred to as *za-rfig*, 'edible letters', (L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 401).

There are some Buddhas and bodhisattvas, who are a class of supernatural medicine men, worshipped in Japan and Tibet (see BHAIṢAJYA-GURU). This cult has become a religion of healing in those countries. For instance, Bhaiṣajya-guru Tathāgata, the lord of the eastern paradise, is worshipped as the saviour of the sick.

The importance of nursing the sick is very often referred to in the Buddhist texts. There is the example of the Buddha himself attending upon a monk who was ill with dysentery (*Vin.* I, pp. 301–2). After setting this example the Buddha requested the brotherhood of monks to tend and nurse the sick whenever occasion demanded. The importance he attached to this precept is seen in his words when he said that whosoever would wait upon him, should wait upon the sick. Various instructions to be followed by the sick and the qualifications of the attendant are also given.

There is a Pali book called *Bhesajjamañjūsā* (q. v.), written by a Buddhist monk of Ceylon, in the 13th century A. C. It was written specially for Buddhist monks and accordingly it excludes charms, incantations and the diseases of children and women.

For operational methods of curing diseases see SURGERY.

A. G. S. K.

BHESAJJAMAÑJŪSĀ, the 'Casket of Medicine,' a medical treatise written in Pali stanzas[1] by a Sinhalese monk of the 13th century during the time of Parākramabāhu II, king of Ceylon. The author is generally referred to as the Pañcamūla-pariveṇa-adhipati, or the principal of the five colleges. However, a Sinhalese medical work, called *Yogaratnākara*, composed about the end of the 14th century, refers to the author of the *Mañjūsā* as Atthadassī thera (see ATTHADASSĪ, 3) which seems to have been his proper name.[2] The work is mentioned in a Burmese inscription in Pagan, which has been dated in 1442.[3]

As the book was composed for the use of the Buddhist monks it excludes charms, incantations, astrological calculations and the diseases of women and children. Copies of it are said to be in use in Buddhist countries like Cambodia, Burma and Siam, sometimes with translations into the language of those countries.[4] The author seems to have drawn much of his material from the standard Sanskrit medical works that were popular during this period, while adapting them to his purpose by using his own originality.

The work is divided into sixty sections which include various aspects of medical science such as diagnosis of diseases, properties of drugs, their actions on the human body in health and in disease, rules of health, of preparing food, of alchemy, poisons, etc.[5]

Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja of 18th century Ceylon made a Sinhalese translation of the text; it is called the *Bhesajjamañjūsā Sanne*.[6]

A. G. S. K.

BHEṢAJYAGURU-PŪRVAPRAṆIDHĀNA, a sūtra incorporated in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, known in Chinese as *Yao-shih-ju-lai-pên-yüan-ching* (*Bheṣajyaguru-tathāgata-pūrvapraṇidhāna sūtra*) and translated by Dharmagupta (615 A.C.) of the Sui dynasty 589-618 A.C.(*Nanjio*, No. 170; *Taishō*. No. 449).

S. K. N.

1 The complete text in Sinhalese characters, with a Sinhalese paraphrase, has been published (1962) by the Modern Book Company, Nugegoda, Maharagama, Ceylon.

2 G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, p. 215.

3 M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, London, 1909, p. 108.

4 *JCBRAS*. 1913-15, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 60–67, pp. 39–42.

5 For details see ibid.

6 For details see C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 332-3.

BHEṢAJYAGURU-VAIḌŪRYAPRABHĀSA-PŪRVAPRAṆIDHĀNA, a sūtra occurring in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, called the *Yao-shih-liu-li-kuang-ju-lai-pên-yüan-kung-tê-ching* (*Bheṣajyaguru - vaidūryaprabhāsa - tathāgata - pūrvapraṇidhāna-guṇa-sūtra*). This was translated in 650 A.C. by Hsüan-tsang of the T'ang dynasty 618–907 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 171 ; *Taishō*, No. 450).

S. K. N.

BHESAKALĀVANA, a grove in the Bhagga country in which were a deer park and a mountain called Suṃsumāragiri on which the Buddha stayed on various occasions. It is said that the parents of Nakula lived in the neighbourhood of this grove (*A*. II, p. 61 ; III, p. 295 ; *S*. III, p. 1 ; IV, p. 116). Once, when the Buddha was residing in the Bhesakalāvana, with his divine eye he saw Anuruddha, who was at that time in the Pācīnavaṃsadāya in the Ceti country, and appeared before him in order to encourage him in his meditation (*A*. IV, p. 228 ; *J*. III, p. 157).

The palace Kokanada of prince Bodhi is said to have been built near this grove (*Vin*. II, p. 127 ; *DhpA*. III, p. 134). It was while dwelling in Bhesakalāvana that Mahāmoggallāna preached the *Māratajjaniya Sutta*, when he was molested by Māra (*M*. I, p. 332). Siṅgālapitā is said to have retired to Bhesakalāvana for his meditation (*ThagA*. I, p. 70).

The grove was named after a *yakkhinī*, called Bhesakalā, who was regarded as its presiding spirit (*SA*. II, p. 249).

According to the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary (*BvA*. p. 3), the Buddha spent the eighth rainy season in this grove. Bhīsaṇikāvana is the name given to this grove in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy*. p. 182).

I. K.

BHESIKA (var. Rosika), the barber who acted as the messenger between the Buddha and the brāhman Lohicca as recounted in the *Lohicca Sutta* (q. v.) of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D*.I, pp. 224–34).

BHIDURA SUTTA, a short sutta in verse form given in the *Sutta-saṅgaha* (*Ssṃg*. p. 324). Various spellings of the title are found in Burmese manuscripts, e.g., *Bhiruda Sutta*, and in Siamese manuscripts as *Bhindanā Sutta* in its version in the *Itivuttaka* (*It*. p. 69). See BHINDANĀ SUTTA.

BHIKKHADĀYAKA, an arahant thera. Ninety-four kappas ago, in a previous birth, he offered a spoonful of food to Buddha Siddhattha. Eighty-seven kappas ago, he was born seven times as a world ruler by the name of Mahāreṇu (*Ap*. I, p. 140).

The commentary gives additional details. In the time of Buddha Siddhattha, he was born in a noble family and gave alms to the Buddha who was going on his alms-round. After death he was reborn in the deva world. In his last birth in this Buddha age, he was born of high clan. He joined the Saṅgha and before long became an arahant (*ApA*. p. 412). He is probably to be identified with Godhika thera (*ThagA*. I, pp. 132 ff.).

L. R. G.

BHIKKHĀDĀYAKA, appellative given to a man from Rājagaha. Once, when he had just sat down to have his meal, he saw a tired monk who had come for alms, and offered him his meal. When he died he was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa in a golden mansion twelve yojanas in extent. Moggallāna was told this story when he visited Tāvatiṃsa (*Vvu*. p. 65 ; *VvuA*. p. 292 f.).

L. R. G.

BHIKKHĀDĀYIKĀ (1), name of a woman from Rājagaha. Seeing an arahant thera going on his alms-round, she invited him to her house for a meal. When she died she was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa, where she told her story to Moggallāna (*Vvu*. p. 23 ; *VvuA*. p. 119 f.).

L. R. G.

BHIKKHĀDĀYIKĀ (2), appellative given to a woman from northern Madhurā. At the end of her life, when she was due to be reborn in a state of woe, the Buddha went from Rājagaha to Madhurā and appeared before her. While returning after a bath in the river, she saw the Buddha, invited him home and gave him alms with great faith and devotion. After a few days she died and was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa. When Moggallāna visited Tāvatiṃsa he met her and learnt her story (*Vvu*. p. 22 ; *VvuA*. p. 118 f.).

L. R. G.

BHIKKHAKA SUTTA, the tenth sutta of the *Upāsaka-vagga* of the *Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*. I, p. 182).

A brāhman asks the Buddha whether there is any difference between the Buddha and himself, since both of them were mendicants. The Buddha declares that mere mendicancy does not make a bhikkhu and that the true bhikkhu is he who has given up all wickedness.

I. K.

BHIKKHĀ-PARAMPARA JĀTAKA (No. 496). The Buddha related this birth-story (*J.* IV, pp. 369–74) in Jetavana about a land owner who asked him how he could show his respect to the Dhamma. The Buddha said that he could do so by showing his respect to Ānanda.

Thereupon he invited Ānanda to his house, received him with great honour, offered him delicious food and gave him expensive cloth sufficient for the three robes. Ānanda went back to the monastery and, thinking that he was not worthy of such gifts, gave them to Sāriputta who in turn offered them to the Buddha. When a conversation arose among the bhikkhus over this offering, the Buddha related to them this story.

Once, king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī eager to find out whether he had any faults went round his kingdom in disguise, and discovered that there was no one who could find any fault in him. Then he came to a village on the frontier and sat down in a hall. A wealthy landowner of that village, who was going for a bath with his followers, saw the king, asked him to stay there and went back to his house to bring him some food. An ascetic from the Himalayas and a pacceka-buddha from a cave on Mount Nanda also came there and sat down. The landowner having brought the food offered it to the king. He accepted it and gave it to his chaplain ; the latter gave it to the ascetic who in turn offered it to the pacceka-buddha. He ate all of it. The landowner questioned each one of them about the reason for their action and on learning that each one was progressively greater in virtue than the king, he became very happy.

The landowner was the same in both cases, Ānanda was the king, Sāriputta the chaplain, while the ascetic was the bodhisatta.

A terra-cotta plaque from the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, circa 11th century, shows the rich land-lord offering food to the king and the food being passed on to three others in turn (See Pl. I, Fig. B).

I. K.

BHIKKHU, Buddhist monk (See Pl. IV). Etymologically the word is derived from the desiderative of the Sanskrit root *bhaj* which means to 'wish to share' or 'to partake.' Hence, it means one who begs one's needs, specially alms, from others or, in other words, a religious mendicant (*bhikkhatī'ti bhikkhu*).

In India in the Buddha's day there were many varieties of wandering ascetics who were collectively designated as *paribbājakas.* They are frequently referred to in the *Piṭakas*, very often under the more general term *samaṇabrāhmaṇa.* The men and women, who took to this ascetic life, gave up house and family and property, and adopted an extremely simple life. Living outside organised society, they led an eremitic life. Their simple needs were found by begging. Sometimes they lived in groups (*gaṇa*), in which case they were under a leader. Their chief characteristics were poverty, celibacy and the eremitic nature of the life they led. It was these ascetic groups and individuals that paved the way for the establishment of an organised body of Buddhist mendicants, the *bhikkhu-saṅgha.*

Another feature of Indian society about the time the Buddha was born and which is of importance in this connection is the *āśrama* doctrine of the brāhmans. According to it the life of a brāhman was divided into four stages : as one who practises sacred study as an unmarried student observing chastity (*brahmacārin*), a householder performing the duties of the master of a house and father of a family (*gṛhastha*), a hermit who has abandoned his house and family for an ascetic life in the woods (*vānaprastha*), and religious mendicant who has renounced all earthly concerns and devotes himself to meditation (*sanyāsin*). Without entering into an argument as to whether this institution was pre-Buddhist or post-Buddhist, we can safely accept that the idea was well-established by the time of the Buddha, for it is seen that the ascetic ideal referred to earlier was closely connected with the *āśrama* doctrine. It is noteworthy that the member of the fourth division, the *sanyāsin*, has many similarities to the Buddhist bhikkhu. In fact, the term *bhikṣu* itself is used to designate the *sanyāsin* in the *Dharmasūtras* (*Gautama*, III, 2, in *SBE.* II ; *Baudhāyana*, II, 12 in *SBE.* XIV). It is perhaps possible that the *sanyāsin* stage was a brāhmanisation of an otherwise non-brāhmanic practice that had become popular. However, the first and the fourth divisions (i.e., *brahmacārin* and *sanyāsin*) bear some significance to the concept of the Buddhist bhikkhu, for as in the case of the

Buddhist monk the members belonging to these two divisions were expected to observe strict celibacy. The *brahmacārin* is somewhat analogous to the Buddhist sāmanera (novice) and the *sanyāsin* to the bhikkhu. As a part of his life of renunciation, the *sanyāsin* had to depend on begging (*bhikṣā*) for his sustenance. Also, he had to forego many other comforts of life, and his dress was either the bark of a tree or a dyed robe. Hence, we see that if the *gṛhastha* and the *vānaprastha* stages were skipped by a *brahmacārin* we would get the picture, more or less, of the Buddhist bhikkhu. If such a person were to obtain formal ordination and make Nibbāna his aim, his transition to the status of a Buddhist bhikkhu is almost complete.

It was in such a background that the Buddha established the order of Buddhist monks (*bhikkhu-saṅgha*). We cannot ascertain the reasons that led the Buddha to select this particular term as the usual designation for his disciples. Although the word *samaṇa* is also of somewhat frequent occurrence in the *Piṭakas* and the Buddha himself is very often referred to as *samaṇo Gotamo* by the non-Buddhists of his time, the term bhikkhu seems to have replaced the other term. This, too, is to be expected, for the Buddha himself seems to have preferred the term bhikkhu to all others. This is borne out by the fact that whenever he addresses an assembly of monks, he uses the term bhikkhu in the vocative plural form as *bhikkhave*. It was with the same term that he addressed his first five disciples. Also, in the formula of ordination used personally by the Buddha whenever he admitted anyone to his Order it is the term *bhikkhu* that he uses—' *etha bhikkhavo'ti*. It may be that by using this term the Buddha thought of dinning into their ears the idea of renunciation (*nekkhamma*) implied in this term. In the course of time the use of the term became almost mechanical.

The beginning of the Buddhist Order of bhikkhus was simultaneous with the beginning of the Buddha's activity as teacher and preacher. It was probably a historical development, dictated by various circumstances. When the Buddha preached his first sermon at Isipatana in Benares to the five brāhman ascetics (*Pañcavaggiyā*), they became his first formal converts and they were the first to enter the Order. Hence, they constituted the original founders of the *bhikkhu-saṅgha* and it was the *ehi bhikkhu* formula (come, O monk) that the Buddha adopted for their admission (*Vin*. I, pp.12 ff.). The *Pañca-vaggiyā* were followed by Yasa, his parents and his friends, making a total of sixty bhikkhus, all of whom became arahants after their conversion. It covered both the higher and lower ordinations. These sixty disciples made the nucleus of the *bhikkhu-saṅgha*.

As all these were arahants there was no need to have any Vinaya rules of the type we get later. Nor was there any need for them to get themselves organised into a body (*gaṇa*). The rules and the organisations were formed later, when the number of non-arahant bhikkhus began to increase. The words which the Buddha addressed to these bhikkhus show the kind of mission he expected of them. He calls them ' bhikkhus ' and bids them to go in different directions and spread the Dhamma for the welfare of the people (*Vin.* I, 20–1). This shows that he expected a bhikkhu, once he had achieved his own enlightenment and release, to be a faithful missionary and a religious teacher. A bhikkhu's immediate concern should be to work out his own perfection and salvation, and once this is achieved, he should work " for the welfare of the many."

After the despatch of the sixty disciples with instructions to spread the Dhamma, an event which is significant in the development of the bhikkhu-concept took place. This was the Buddha's granting permission to the senior bhikkhus to ordain new-entrants. The sixty preachers brought back many candidates for admission to the Order and the Buddha found that it was practically impossible for him to admit them personally. Accordingly, the new candidates, after removing their hair and beard and donning the yellow robe, had to worship the elder bhikkhus and with joined hands recite three times the formula of taking refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha. As in the case of the *ehi bhikkhu* formula, which covered both higher and lower ordinations, here, too, this taking-refuge covered both (*tīhi saraṇāgamanehi pabbajjaṃ upasampadanti* : *Vin.* I, p. 22.).

This incident marks an important stage in the development of the bhikkhu concept. In the *pabbajjā* itself we see how a tinge of ceremonial comes in and also how the outward form of the bhikkhu begins to take shape. In the case of those bhikkhus who became arahants soon after their admission, there was no need for any disciplinary code or any other formality. They had won the battle and no further spiritual struggle was necessary. Their duty as bhikkhus was to work for the welfare of others. But, the case was different with those bhikkhus who had yet to

attain that position. When the number of these non-arahant bhikkhus increased, there naturally arose the necessity for a disciplinary code to guide them and organise them into a fraternity. There is a further change in the *pabbajjā* ceremony also whereby the authority for ordination is laid down upon the whole Saṅgha (*Vin.* I, p. 56). It is obvious that a person entering the Buddhist Order as a bhikkhu does so for a noble purpose, which is to lead a pure life and put a complete end to suffering (*caratha brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya*: *Vin.* I, p. 12). This is what the Buddha expected from his disciples as their first duty.

The Saṅgha was rapidly expanding with the number of bhikkhus increasing daily. Not only were the *pabbajjā* and the upasampadā of the bhikkhu functionally separated from each other but they actually became two stages of the bhikkhu's life. The former constituted the admission as a novice (*sāmaṇera*), whereas the latter meant admission into the status of a fully ordained bhikkhu. Here, it may be mentioned that whenever the Buddha as the teacher admitted any number into the Order he always used the *ehi bhikkhu* (come, O monk) formula with no distinction made between higher and lower ordination. Once the authority was given to the senior disciples to ordain new entrants this formula was substituted by taking the refuge (*saraṇāgamana*). The former method, used exclusively by the Buddha, was an invitation while the latter was a confession of faith by the entrant. The separation of *pabbajjā* from upasampadā seems to have been resorted to when the admission of new entrants became an act of the Saṅgha, a *saṅghakamma*. For upasampadā the bhikkhu had to be not less than twenty years of age (*Vin.* I, p. 78; s.v. UPASAMPADĀ). Admission was not to be done indiscriminately. In order to prevent misfits and undesirables from entering the Order, a person had to satisfy a number of conditions before being admitted (see PABBAJJĀ for details). Some of those who entered the Order later were less qualified intellectually than the original members who attained arahantship within a short time. Hence, they were in need of much training and, as the number increased, various rules and regulations were necessary for their proper guidance. Admission itself had to be controlled. The dignity and respect of the bhikkhu had to be safeguarded. Before becoming a sāmaṇera, a person had to obtain the consent of his parents, and had to be not less than fifteen years of age and free from disabilities. These rules concerning the admission into the Order (*Vin.* I, pp. 73 ff.), were meant to ensure that only those who were fit both physically and morally entered the Order. Only those actuated by proper motives were expected to bec me bhikkhus, and only those who conducted themselves properly could stay within the Order.

Gradually the Order of bhikkhus became an organisation governed by disciplinary rules, as they had to undergo much training, and violators of these rules were punished in various ways. Rules were framed not all at once but as the occasion demanded. Certain rules were formed in deference to public opinion. As a result, additions and modifications of the rules went on for a considerable time. The original nucleus of these rules has come down to us in a very early form under the name *Pātimokkha*, contained in the *Suttavibhaṅga* section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. Although in its present form there are no less than 277 rules in it, in essentials at least the collection goes back to the Buddha's own time.

The bhikkhus living within a particular area (*sīmā*) had to recite the *Pātimokkha* every fortnight as a formulary of confession. The rules are arranged in eight classes according to the degree of gravity: *pārājikā*: 4; *saṅghādisesa*: 13; *aniyata*: 2; *nissaggiya-pācittiya*: 30; *pācittiya*: 92; *paṭidesanīya*: 4; *sekhiya*: 75 and *adhikaraṇa-samatha*: 7. A good bhikkhu had to observe these as long as he underwent training, and as long as he was a learner (*sekha*). Penalties were laid down for the violation of each of these sets of rules.

For details of these see s.v. What is given below is only a very short summary.

The most important of all these rules were the four *pārājikās*, the violation of which involved permanent expulsion from the Order. These were that a bhikkhu should not indulge in any kind of sexual intercourse, should not be guilty of theft, should not deprive or cause to deprive a human being of his life, and should not pretend that he has super-human powers. The 13 *saṅghādisesa* rules are offences involving a period of penance and reinstatement by the Saṅgha. The first five deal with minor sexual offences such as touching a woman, talking to ono with erotic words, or acting as a go-between. A good bhikkhu should not bring false accusations against another bhikkhu or cause dissension in the Order. If he commits an offence he should not refuse to undergo punishment and rectify himself. The two *aniyata* (undetermined) rules also deal with minor sexual offences. The thirty *nissaggiya-pācittiya* rules deal with offences requiring expiation. These

are divided into three divisions of ten each. The first group (*cīvara-vagga*) deals with robes, the second (*koseyya-vagga*) with material for rugs and the use of money and the third (*patta-vagga*) with the bowl, medicine and robes. The bare necessities of the bhikkhu are generally classified into four as clothing (*cīvara*, which constituted a set of three robes), food (*piṇḍapāta*), shelter (*senāsana*) and medicine (*gilānapaccaya*) and the rules in this section are meant to see that they obtain and use these in the proper way.

The ninety-two *pācittiya* rules are also those requiring expiation. They deal with moral rules such as lying, using abusive language, slandering, having unsuitable dealings with women, destroying any form of life, including that of plants, and other rules regulating life in a monastery (vihāra). These include various rules to regulate the movements of a bhikkhu among people. As an individual he has no right to turn out a fellow-monk from a vihāra. Contact between bhikkhus and bhikkhunis is regulated. It is wrong for a bhikkhu to engage in water-sports, to drink water with living things in it, or to sprinkle such water on grass. He should not, unless he is ill, light a fire to warm himself. Eavesdropping and assaulting a fellow-monk are prohibited. Elaborate rules are laid down regarding robes and bedspreads and their uses (s.v. BED). The four *paṭidesanīya* rules deal with faults that should be confessed ; they are concerned with food. The seventy-five *sekhiya* rules deal chiefly with the training of a bhikkhu. They are meant to regulate the behaviour in his daily life and they deal with aspects of behaviour such as being properly dressed, the observance of various rules of etiquette while on begging rounds, and other niceties of behaviour. There are also rules prescribing the conditions for preaching the Dhamma to laymen. Proper behaviour even in regard to bodily actions is laid down. The seven *adhikaraṇa-samatha* rules are merely a classification of the various ways of dealing with cases arising under these rules.

Besides these rules meant to regulate the daily life of the individual bhikkhu, there are others concerning the organisation of the Order. These rules were meant to keep the bhikkhu well-disciplined. They are contained in the second part of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* called the *Khandhakas* which appears to be more or less an appendix to the *Suttavibhaṅga*. These include the rules of admission into the Order, rules for confession and rules for spending the retreat (*vassa*), rules about the use of foot-wear, medicine, robes, and also methods of settling disputes and conducting legal proceedings.

The Vinaya rules generally regulate the external life of a monk. Without such training it is impossible to develop the inner life. Dissociated from society and from family life he becomes a free man, a son of the Buddha, living for a noble purpose, which is to put an end to suffering (*dukkhassa antakiriyāya*). The Theravāda monk, in particular, is expected to practise the Dhamma in seclusion until he obtains release. Originally the bhikkhus resided under trees except during the rainy season, but with the offering of residences (*vihāra*), first begun by king Bimbisāra with the offer of the Veḷuvana monastery, they could live in a monastery without any personal hardship. Elaborate rules were laid down for their construction, maintenance and furnishing.

An institution like the Buddhist Order of bhikkhus was unknown in India before the time of Gautama Buddha. There were, individual ascetics and ascetic groups but there was no organised Order. Perhaps the Buddha himself did not have the deliberate intention of founding a Saṅgha such as was established later. However, when the necessity for such an organisation arose, he did his best to base it on a thorough foundation. And once the Order was established, he wanted every bhikkhu to be an ideal figure, both inwardly and outwardly. The Vinaya rules are mainly intended for the regularisation of the bhikkhu's outward life, and in the formulation of these rules the Buddha always saw to it that the bhikkhus were not unnecessarily handicapped by observing them. They could obtain all their basic requirements in life without those rules. Various restrictions on food, clothing, shelter, their dealings with others, physical needs, etc., were all meant for the furtherance of the bhikkhu's spiritual progress, for which purpose he had entered the Order. Even the usual practice of begging for alms was relaxed by granting permission to accept invitations from the laity or to accept the food distributed by tickets (*salāka*). In the course of time there were further relaxations and we hear of a storage of food (*kappiya-bhūmi*) which had to be beyond the boundary of the monastery. All these innovations became necessary because of various contingencies that arose and permission was granted subject to restrictions. The bhikkhu was also permitted to benefit fully by medical science but with a warning against abuse under the pretext of illness. Abuse of such facilities

seems to have been common and the bhikkhus are repeatedly warned against such behaviour (see BHESAJJA).

While the general life of a bhikkhu was governed by Buddhist moral principles and the Vinaya rules, there were certain important occasions in a bhikkhu's life requiring special observances. The first two were, of course, *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*. The fortnightly assembly of bhikkhus known as the uposatha was another important occasion. This required all those monks living within a certain boundary to come together, and even the sick bhikkhus were to be represented by proxy. The main purpose of the meeting was the recital of the *Pātimokkha* during which every bhikkhu had to admit any breach of the rules committed during the previous fortnight. Punishments were proportionate to the gravity of the offence. *Pātimokkha* was important in keeping the bhikkhus fully disciplined. It helped to cleanse the Saṅgha by the expulsion of serious offenders and by providing the opportunity for regeneration for those guilty of minor offences. For others, it was a constant reminder of their responsibilities. Another important occasion in the life of a bhikkhu was the retreat during the rainy season (*vassa-vāsa*). During this period the bhikkhus were expected to take up a fixed abode and to depend on the hospitality of householders in the neighbourhood for their livelihood. At the close of the retreat (*pavāraṇa*) they would meet together and confess their offences, if they had committed any.

The foregoing account shows that the bhikkhus, together with the sāmaṇeras, constitute the Order established by the Buddha. Yellow-robed and shaven, they live in monasteries in groups or alone, following the Dhamma and ever eager to attain their goal. At the same time they should act as guides and advisers to the lay people and teach them to lead lives of virtue. They had to be living examples of the Buddhist way of life. They are neither mediators between some unseen power and human beings nor are they possessors of any mystic power whereby they can change another man's destiny. Renouncing all attachment to sense-pleasures, they lead the Buddhist way of life, the life of purity (*brahmacariya*). Through moral purity (*sīla*) they attain serenity of mind (*samādhi*) which in turn leads to wisdom (*paññā*), resulting in the fulfilment of their quest in the attainment of release (*vimutti*). The bhikkhu's way of life may be ascetic, but this asceticism is self-discipline and not self-mortification. The fact that even the size and material of his hut, robes, bowl, bedstead, bedspread and the rug are exactly defined shows the extent to which he should forgo material comfort. Even his sleep had to be limited. He begins his day by first attending to his morning calls and then going to beg his alms, which he has to eat before noon.

This was his one meal for the day. In whatever way he obtained his meals, whether by begging or on invitation to the house of the laity, he had to be content with what was offered. Without some genuine reason, he was not to dwell among lay people. After the meal and in the night, his duty was to study the Dhamma and engage in the spiritual exercises meant for him. He had to be of service to the lay people whenever they sought or needed his advice.

It was explained at the outset that the term bhikkhu literally means one who begs from others or depends on others for the simple requirements of his life, and that the term is used in Buddhist literature to mean the genuine disciple of the Buddha, the *ariya-sāvaka*. It may be mentioned here that, it was the term bhikkhu that the Buddha used in addressing the first arahants when he bade them to spread the dhamma (*caratha bhikkhave*).

Many definitions are given in commentarial literature of the term *bhikkhu*, some of them being quite fanciful. For instance, there is a very comprehensive definition of a bhikkhu in the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*VbhA*. pp. 327–8) where the different connotations of the term, from the most ordinary to the most special, are given. Here are found not less than seventeen definitions, viewing the use of the term from all angles. The first two definitions give the most ordinary use of the term as popularly understood (*samaññāya*), i. e., as he who is either designated by the people as a bhikkhu or he who calls himself a bhikkhu (*paṭiññāya*). Next follow various etymological plays on the word. Thus, a bhikkhu is so-called because he begs his food (*bhikkhatī ti bhikkhu*). The next definition enlarges on the same theme and appears to be more a description of the practice of begging rather than that of a bhikkhu. Whether a bhikkhu begs his needs because such was the practice of previous Buddhas or because it is a mark of bhikkhuship or because he is dependent on others for his livelihood or because he practises bhikkhuship for the sake of the morsels of food he obtains thereby, whatever the reason is, he is designated a bhikkhu because he resorts to this practice. Then follows a more fanciful explanation according to which one is so called a bhikkhu

because he wears rag-robes, (*bhinnapaṭadharo'ti bhikkhu*). A long account is given of what a rag-robe is. The next definition is of doctrinal significance. A bhikkhu is one who breaks off all his evil tendencies (*bhindati pāpake akusale dhamme'ti bhikkhu*). This definition refers to the Buddhist saint who progresses in stages to the state of an arahant. In each of the four stages of sainthood, beginning from sotāpatti, he gives up certain kinds of defilements until he is completely purified in the last stage of arahantship. (For details see ARAHANT.) This is an example of the use of the term bhikkhu to mean the Buddha's disciple in any stage of sainthood from ordinary bhikkhuship to arahantship. The next two definitions also deal with the same theme of the destruction of defilements from a different angle. The next two definitions distinguish between the arahant and the non-arhat (*sekha* and *asekha*) and apply the term bhikkhu to both individuals. Those who do not belong to either of these divisions and who never attempt to discipline themselves by living the higher life (*brahmacariya*) are referred to as bhikkhus of the common sort (*putthujjana-bhikkhu*). A bhikkhu is called chief (*agga*), because he has achieved complete success with regard to *sīla, samādhi, paññā* and *vimutti*. He is good (*bhadra*), because he has freed himself from all the evil tendencies that beset him. He is best (*maṇḍa*), calmed (*pasanna*) and flawless (*anāvila*).

One fact that clearly emerges from the above definitions is that the application of the term bhikkhu has been quite wide. In the first place, any person who has satisfied the necessary conditions became a bhikkhu. But, as is summarised at the end of the above passage in the *Vibhaṅga* commentary, the word is of wide application in conveying doctrinal concepts. It can be used to denote any of the seven kinds of noble disciples (*satta-sekhā*) who have attained the first three paths and their fruitions (i. e., *sotāpatti-magga* and *phala*, *sakadāgāmi-magga* and *phala*, *anāgāmi-magga* and *phala*) and the path (way) of the arahant (*arahanta-magga*). However, but it is said that those who have attained to the fruition of the last stage (*arahatta-phala*) who are therefore complete arahants are also designated by this term.

There are some more definitions of the bhikkhu in the *Mahāniddesa* (*Nd*. I, pp. 70–72). These are almost entirely ethical and doctrinal. He is called calmed (*santa*) because he has calmed down all the evil tendencies of his mind. Such evil states of mind are given in a long list. A true bhikkhu has conquered not only all these but also all taints and torments (*kilesa* and *santāpa*). According to the next definition, a bhikkhu is so-called because he has broken seven things, which more or less come under the fetters (*saṃyojana*). As the person who has broken the fetters is an arahant, he is the completely cooled one (*abhinibbuta*). The true bhikkhu is never a boaster (*akatthī*), he never shows off (*vikatthī*). The text enumerates a long list of things which a pseudo-monk would boast about.

Control of the sense-organs is the groundwork of good character, and this is the foundation on which the spiritual training of the true bhikkhu depends. In describing this aspect of the bhikkhu's life, the *Mahāniddessa* (ibid. p. 130) defines him as the one who lives with his senses under control and the epithet *paṭilīnacara* is used to convey this sense. The word means, a leader (*seṭṭha*) while the arahant is described as he who has controlled his senses (*paṭilīna*). He whose mind is well under control will have all his other senses easily controlled. Therefore the true disciple, in whatever work he is engaged, will not allow his mind to dwell on unsuitable objects; he guards his mind from its wandering (*tato tato cittaṃ paṭilīyanti tena kāraṇena paṭilīnacarā vuccanti sattasekkhā*). Whatever be his posture he always guards his mind against evil tendencies and, getting rid of all his defilements, he becomes a bhikkhu in the real sense of the term (*sabbaso bhinna-kilesattā paramatthato bhikkhu nāma : UdA*. p. 206). Thus the Order of bhikkhus consists of the eight groups of noble individuals endowed with correct views, morality and the other moral and spiritual qualities expected of a true recluse (*bhikkhusaṅghanti diṭṭhi-sīla-sāmaññena saṅgataṃ aṭṭha-ariya-puggala-samūhaṃ* : ibid. 288). A true bhikkhu's mind is always calm and unperturbed. His thoughts are clearly conceived (*anāvila-saṅkappa*). No evil thought enters his mind (*kilesa-kālussiyābhava : Vvu A*. p. 29).

The whole concept of the Buddhist bhikkhu, both in the moral and spiritual aspects, is epitomised in the *Bhikkhu-vagga* of the *Dhammapada* (*vv*. 360–82). The emphasis is undoubtedly on self-discipline, without which progress and release are impossible. A true bhikkhu always keeps his sense-doors well-guarded, a d it is he who wins release from suffering as his destiny (*sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhā pamuccati*). Ever engaged in spiritual exercises (*ajjh ttarata*), he is contented. Knowing the Dhamma well, he always speaks words that are wise and pleasant. His

joy is the Dhamma; he finds delight in it, and he is ever mindful of it, and as such he never falls away from it. As he lives in complete contentment and without envying others and in perfect purity (*suddhājīva*), he is praised even by the gods. Understanding existence merely as an assemblage of the aggregates (*khandha*), he gives up all ideas of a self and when it breaks up he does not grieve. Only such a one can come to the happy state which is permanent. The human body is compared to a boat filled with the waters of wrong belief and defilements, and the bhikkhu is asked to empty it so that it may travel lightly to Nibbāna. From another point of view, he is asked to tread the path to arahantship by cutting off the ten fetters (see SAṂYOJANA) and developing faith, manliness, mindfulness, meditation and wisdom. The true bhikkhu is he who has crossed the flood (*ghatiṇṇa*). The bhikkhu who is negligent with regard to his duties is doomed to suffering. Without meditation, he cannot obtain wisdom (*paññā natthi ajhāyato*). The bhikkhu, who, unto himself and with a tranquil heart, engages in introspection, is said to enjoy a superhuman kind of delight as a result of his understanding. The advice given to those bhikkhus who, being of lesser intellect, find it difficult to abide by the Dhamma is that they should put forth effort and examine themselves and take remedial measures for their lapses.

In explaining who a wise man is, Buddhaghosa, at the beginning of his *Visuddhimagga*, identifies such a person with the genuine bhikkhu. A wise man is the one who, after establishing in virtue, develops his mind and insight, ardently and sagaciously (*ātāpī nipako bhikkhu*). This is the true bhikkhu who perseveres to put an end to suffering. In this particular context it would seem quite unfair to quote Buddhaghosa out of context and say that he explains the term bhikkhu merely as one who sees fear in saṃsāra (*saṃsāre bhayaṃ ikkhatī ti bhikkhu: Vism.* i, §§ 7.43). Etymologically as well as phonologically, it might not be correct but semasiologically who else is a bhikkhu other than the one who sees fear in saṃsāra and tries to get over it? It may be that Buddhaghosa forgot the original meaning of 'begging' connected with the word and wanted to see a deeper meaning in it.

In the *Piṭakas* the stock phrase which describes the 'going-forth' of a bhikkhu can be rendered into English as 'having gone forth from home to homelessness' (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitvā*). After going through the lower and higher ordinations, by satisfying the various conditions necessary for each stage under the discipline of the *pātimokkha* (*pātimokkha-saṃvara-saṃvuto*), he becomes a new (*nava*) bhikkhu and remains so for five years after upasampadā; from five to ten years he is a middle (*majjhima*) bhikkhu and with ten or more years, he is called a thera (elder) bhikkhu, provided, of course, he progresses towards his goal.

The continuance of the Buddha's religion is mainly due to his having established the Order of monks whose avowed purpose was putting an end to suffering. There was no need for a bhikkhu to strive after any extraneous goal. Emancipation of heart and mind and the cultivation of love and knowledge were to be his aim. Leading the life of a true bhikkhu is not easy. It is not mere asceticism which is comparatively easy in relation to the exacting nature of the positive achievement expected of a Buddhist monk. A person who follows mere ascetic practices is looked up to as a holy man by the common people. This was why Devadatta and others requested the Buddha to increase the severity of his discipline. The Buddha not only refused the request but also declined to make obligatory the ascetic practices known as *dhutaṅga* (q. v.). Rejection of false asceticism (*sīlabbata-parāmāsa*), which is one of the *saṃyojanas*, is a pre-requisite for a bhikkhu. The Buddha never wanted his bhikkhus to follow any of the meaningless excesses of asceticism. Unlike the Jains and others who went about naked, he wanted the bhikkhus to be completely and decently clad. They were to use a simple begging bowl, without collecting food in their hands. Even the colour of the robes, dull orange (*kasāva*), was quite unornamental. The Vedic brāhman sought release through sacrifice (*yāga*), the non-Buddhist ascetic through asceticism (*tapas*), but the Buddha and his followers sought it through knowledge, the attainment of which is the aim of the bhikkhu. The Order of bhikkhus has been a group of religious men who believe that the higher life cannot be lived among household cares, and therefore combine to form an Order "where they are relieved of care for food and raiment, where they can really take no thought for the morrow and turn the cheek to the smiter. They were not a corporation of priests and they had no political aims. Any free man, unless his parents or the state had a claim on him and unless he suffered from certain diseases, was admitted" (Charles Eliot, ***Hinduism and Buddhism***, London, 1921, I, p. 243). Anyone who is not satisfied is at liberty to return to the lay life at any time.

One significant feature regarding the *bhikkhu-saṅgha* is that admission into it is not restricted by caste-barriers. Whereas caste-distinctions played an important part in the religious life of the brāhmans, in Buddhism the rank of anyone, whether a bhikkhu or a layman, was decided not by birth but by worth. A bhikkhu as a member of the Order becomes one with the rest, like the water of the rivers that fall into the ocean. He loses all his social distinctions the moment he enters the Order, and the Dhamma and the Vinaya constitute his real teacher. He has to show respect to his superiors and get their advice but his salvation depends on his self-culture and he must stand or fall himself. The bhikkhu, unlike the brāhman, is not a priest. The former is made, whereas the latter is born. A brāhman is always a brāhman, but a bhikkhu can be unmade easily if by his behaviour he makes himself unworthy of remaining a bhikkhu. Only when a bhikkhu is well-set on the path of progress and purity does he become fit to guide others. Therefore, although he lives outside organised society, he lives above it and only then can he see the conflicts and sorrows to which the ordinary human being is subject, and with this understanding he becomes a perfect guide to others. [illegible] a bhikkhu can and should lead a life of service [illegible] others, those of lesser intellect and discipline. [illegible] this sense a bhikkhu does not retire from the world. He should not be indifferent to the woes of mankind. His service should be through the gift of the Dhamma, which is said to exceed all other gifts.

One of the dilemmas (*ubhatokoṭika-pañha*) in the [illegible]*dapañha* is whether it is correct for the [illegible]panna layman to show respect to a sāmaṇera or [illegible] non-sotāpanna bhikkhu (*puthujjana-bhikkhu*). [illegible] answer to this, Nāgasena gives twenty qualities [illegible] ethical) and two external characteristics (i.e., [illegible] robe and tonsure) that go to make a bhikkhu [illegible] gives certain reasons why the conduct on [illegible] part of such a layman in not showing respect is [illegible]. Here, the concept of bhikkhu as taken [illegible] Nāgasena is more or less that of an arahant or at [illegible] who is on the sure way to becoming an [illegible]. However, the conclusion of his argument [illegible] in that he says that if a layman were [illegible] an arahant he should either become a [illegible] immediately or else he would pass away [illegible] 262-4).

[illegible] it may be added that in Mahāyāna [illegible] the importance of the bhikkhu has been [illegible] diminished by the bodhisattva ideal [illegible] everyone to become a Buddha.

This was more or less a reaction against the cloistered life of the Theravāda bhikkhu, who was accused of a kind of spiritual egoism. Whatever it may be, what the true ideal of the bhikkhu is explained in the following verses of the *Dhammapada* :

He who wears the yellow robe
While worldly passions uncontrolled
Is yet unworthy of his cloak.
But he who puts away all taints
Is well-established in the Good
'Tis he deserves the yellow-robe.

(*Dhp. vv.* 9-10)

Most of what has been said here applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to bhikkhunis or nuns. For details, however, see under BHIKKHUNĪ and SAṄGHA.

A. G. S. K.

BHIKKHUNĪ (Skt. Bhikṣuṇī), female mendicant, almswoman or nun of the Buddhist monastic Order, known by that name on account of their habit of begging for alms. The word is derived from the Pali verb *bhikkhati* (Vedic, *bhikṣate* : Sanskrit, *bhikṣati*) which means 'to beg' (for alms). Many fanciful definitions of the word *bhikkhu*, applicable also to the word *bhikkunī*, occur frequently in the commentaries (*PED.* s. v.). Female mendicants of the Jaina Order, too, were known by the term *bhikkhunī*, though other terms like *nigganthī*, *sāhuṇī* and *ajjā* were also used (S. Bhalachandra Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, p. 467). Further, the religious literature of the Jainas shows that women leaving the household life to become nuns was not a novel idea confined only to Buddhism during the period when Buddhism arose in India. As more and more women left household-life to become nuns during the life-time of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra, both religious systems founded by them came to have a *bhikkhunī-saṅgha*, or Order of nuns, systematised on more or less the same lines.

The first woman to be ordained in Buddhism, thus becoming a bhikkhunī, was Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, aunt and foster-mother of the Buddha. It was after Gotamī's ordination and also of her five hundred followers, all Sākiyan ladies, that other women came to be ordained, thus forming the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*, the Order of nuns. According to the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vin.* II, pp. 253 ff.), after the death of her husband, king Suddhodana, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī went to the Buddha when he was at Kapilavatthu and asked

him to allow women to 'go forth from home to homelessness.' The Buddha rejected the request up to the third time. Then, subsequently, when the Buddha had gone from Kapilavatthu to Vesālī she followed him there with several other Sākiyan ladies, having had her hair cut off and donned saffron robes. They stood outside the entrance of the monastery with swollen feet covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears. Ānanda, who saw her and listened to her story, went to the Buddha and pleaded with him to agree to her request. Even for the third time the Buddha refused. Then Ānanda, thinking of a different plan, put the question to the Buddha, "Are women, Lord, when they have gone forth from household-life and entered the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One, capable of realising the fruit of stream-attainment or the fruit of once-returning or the fruit of non-returning or perfection ?" When the Buddha replied in the affirmative, Ānanda made his plea again. Ultimately, the Buddha granted the request of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī on her promise to accept eight important rules (*garudhammā*) to qualify her for ordination or going forth (*pabbajjā*) as well as for higher ordination (*upasampadā*). Even after granting such permission, the Buddha is said to have told Ānanda, as mentioned in the same text that as a result of women entering the Order, the Dhamma and Discipline proclaimed by the Buddha, which would otherwise have lasted for a thousand years, would last only for five hundred years. Taking the numbers rather figuratively, it could be surmised that the Buddha foresaw the early decadence of the Dhamma and the Vinaya he had proclaimed as a result of women gaining admittance into the Order. Though the above account of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* does not give any reasons for this prediction of the Buddha, later literary works, like the *Pūjāvaliya*, (a 13th cent, Sinhalese [Ceylon] work by Mayūrapāda thera) state that the Buddha's reluctance and prediction originated in the fickle nature of women.

The eight important rules (*garudhammā*) that Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī had to abide by to receive ordination and which later all women had to follow as conditions to enter the Order are as follows :—

(1) A bhikkhunī, even if she is a hundred years old should respect a bhikkhu however younger he is.

(2) A bhikkhunī must not spend the rainy season in a locality where there are no monks.

(3) Every half month a nun should ask from the Order of monks the time for the observance (*uposatha*) and exhortation (*ovāda*).

(4) At the end of the rainy season a nun should ask pardon before both Orders for any fault seen, heard or suspected.

(5) A nun, offending against any of these important rules, must submit herself to a special discipline (*mānattha*) for half a month before both Orders.

(6) A nun should train herself in the six rules[1] for two years and then should seek ordination from both Orders.

(7) In no way should a nun abuse or revile a monk.

(8) Monks could admonish nuns but nuns should not admonish monks.

No training period of two years was required of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī as laid down in the sixth rule, for the Buddha declared that the very acceptance of the eight rules by her amounted to her ordination. This privilege was also granted to the five hundred Sākiyan ladies who accompanied her. But, normally, a probationer, before she began the two years training in the six rules, had to obtain the agreement about training (*sikkhā-sammuti*). When consent is granted by the Order, she has to promise expressly: "I undertake as an inviolable vow, to abstain from killing any living creature during two years, not to steal, to commit no unchastity, not to lie, to drink no intoxicating beverages and not to eat at forbidden hours, i.e., between noon and the break of dawn next day." It does not appear compulsory for a nun to sever her ties with the world during the probationary period (*Vin.* IV, p.334), though most did. She generally lived in a nunnery during this period under the care of an experienced nun, attending upon her and training herself in the six rules. A probationer is usually known by the term *sikkhamānā*. At the end of the period of two years she becomes a novice (*sāmaṇerī*) observing the ten precepts.

It was only after obtaining higher ordination (*upasampadā*) that a novice becomes a full-fledged bhikkhunī. With the higher ordination a nun quits the noviciate and registers herself as a senior, shouldering the extra duties of teaching and instruction, thenceforth devoting herself with greater application to the exercise of meditation. As I. B. Horner (*Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, London, Routledge, 1930, p. 144) observes, "the

1 viz., the five precepts (*pañcasīla*) and abstinence from food during forbidden hours.

upasampadā initiation was a matter of very deep seriousness and momentous importance, since it meant quitting the novitiateship and registering as a senior, shouldering the extra duties of teaching and instruction ; and thenceforth devoting a greater application to the exercise of meditation." As such, the novice who seeks higher ordination had to answer twenty-four questions and both sections of the Order had to be satisfied before higher ordination was granted. Of these twenty-four questions, eleven were about gynaecological deformities and five were about diseases, namely, lepersy, boils, eczema, consumption and epilepsy. The other questions are as follows :—"Are you a human being ? Are you a woman ? Are you a free woman ? Are you without debt ? Are you free from royal service ? Have you received the consent of your parents and husband ? Have you completed twenty years of age ? Do you have bowl and robes ? What is your name ? What is the name of your woman-proposer ? (*Vin.* II, p. 271 f.).

At the beginning the privilege of questioning the novice and granting her higher ordination was vested in the hands of the monks ; but, later, due to certain complications that arose, this privilege was transferred to experienced and competent nuns who had to do it in the presence of both sections of the Order, separately. The procedure followed was very systematic. Having previously been informed through an experienced and competent nun, the novice comes before the Order with her upper robe draped on one shoulder. She then bows down at the feet of the nuns and sits down on her haunches with joined palms and asks for ordination, saying, " I am asking the Order for ordination. May the Order raise me up out of compassion." This is repeated thrice. Then, the experienced and competent nun puts the twenty-four questions to the novice in the presence of the Order of nuns. When the questions have been answered satisfactorily the senior nun asks the Order of nuns three times whether they consent to the novice being ordained, and, if so, to remain silent, but to speak out if any one dissents. If all remain silent, the novice is proclaimed ordained by the Order of nuns. She is immediately brought before the Order of monks dressed in the same manner and a similar procedure is repeated. A senior monk informs the assembled monks that the novice wishes ordination, that she had been cleared in relation to twenty-four matters and that she has been ordained on the side of the Order of nuns. The monks are then asked if they agree to her ordination If all remain silent, she is proclaimed to be ordained by the Order of monks, and becomes a full-fledged bhikkhunī after obtaining higher ordination from both sections of the Order. To her are then explained three of the four requisites, namely, food, clothing and medicine. The other requisite allowed to monks, namely forest-dwelling, is not allowed to nuns probably because it was not safe for nuns to be alone in forests, as was evident in the case of Uppalavaṇṇā (*Vin.* III, p. 35). Further, a nun is told the eight things which should not be done, the indulgence of which would constitute a grave transgression (*Vin.* II, pp. 272 ff.). They are indulgence in sexual intercourse, stealing, killing, claiming spiritual attainment, consenting to have intercourse with a man, hiding a grave offence of another nun, accepting the guidance of a monk who is suspended by the Order and intentional violation of rules with evil desires.

As time passed other rules came to be formulated for the discipline and guidance of bhikkhunīs. Once, in reply to a question by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, (*Vin.* II, p. 258) the Buddha said that when the rules for nuns were similar to those laid down for monks, the nuns should obey them in the same way as the monks did, and when they were not similar they should act as laid down. The *Vinaya Piṭaka* makes it clear that some of the rules laid down for nuns are quite similar to those prescribed for monks. Some of the rules that are meant for nuns, as they appear in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* are as follows :—A bhikkhunī must not collect more than one alms bowl in a vihāra ; a thing given to a bhikkhunī for some purpose should be used for that purpose only ; a bhikkhunī must not accept paddy ; must not throw impurities on the roads and fields through the windows ; must not participate in dancing, singing and instrumental music ; must not talk with any person in the dark or in a cornered place or in the moonlight or in a public street or at cross-roads ; she should not bathe naked. Two bhikkhunīs should not lie on the same bed and cover their bodies with the same covering. If a bhikkhunī falls ill, her companion should nurse her or see that she is nursed by others. A bhikkhunī should not drive out another bhikkhunī to whom she has given shelter. She should not associate herself with a householder or a householder's son. During the rainy season she must not travel from place to place. A bhikkhunī must not go to see a palace, a royal garden, picture gallery, pleasure garden or tank having beautiful flowers, etc. A bhikkhunī must not learn any art

for her livelihood. She must not enter a monk's dwelling without his permission. She should not be attached to any particular family. She must not put on ornaments or take her bath in perfumed water. She must not take her seat in the presence of a bhikkhu without his permission. She should not go out alone at night. If a person sends presents with evil motives to any bhikkhunī and if she knowingly accepts them, the bhikhhunī will be guilty of a *saṅghādisesa* (q. v.) offence.

There were other rules laid down with the intention of keeping the monks and nuns apart, imposing several restrictions on the exchange of food, dress and other articles between them. Just as in the case of monks, there was a regular pattern in the everyday life of nuns. In the morning they went begging for alms and had their meals before midday. Then they withdrew for meditation and engaged in preaching and learning and attending discourses in the evening. The nuns also took part in the ceremonies connected with the rainy reason (*vassa*), such as uposatha, *pāvāraṇa* and *kaṭhina*. They did not have many domestic duties and they subsisted largely on the charity of the laity. Nunneries were built for them also by kings especially because they were not permitted to dwell in the forest (*Vin.* IV, p. 264). The laity provided them with robes which consisted of a cloak (*cīvara*), the outer robe (*uttarāsaṅga*), the inner robe (*antara-vāsaka*) and also a bodice (*saṁkacchika*).

The eight 'important' rules mentioned above show clearly that the Order of nuns was kept in subordination to the Order of monks. Further, it was noticed that a nun's higher ordination was complete only when she had obtained the confirmation of the Order of monks. But yet, there does not seem to have been any difference between nuns and monks in their capability for spiritual attainments. The *Therīgāthā* and the *Apadāna* contain several utterances of therīs who had become arahants during the time of the Buddha. These therīs included women from all grades of society, royal and noble families, families of merchants, brāhman and other castes and even a few courtesans.

The story of the Order of nuns in the different countries will be dealt with in their proper places. But, some general remarks are given below by way of summarising the information.

In Ceylon the Order of nuns was founded, as recorded in chronicles like the *Dīpavaṃsa* (*Dpv.* 2, xv, *vv.* 73 ff.) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xv, *vv.* 18 ff.), in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (circa 250 B.C.–210 B.C.), in whose time Buddhism was introduced into the country by Mahinda thera. It began with the *pabbajjā* (ordination) of queen Anulā and one thousand other women by the therī Saṅghamittā, sister of the great thera Mahinda. Anulā and her companions accepted the ten precepts under the guidance of Mahinda and, wearing yellow robes, resided in a nunnery built for them by the king, awaiting the arrival of Saṅghamittā (*Mhv.* xviii, *vv.* 9 ff.; xix, *vv.* 68 ff.).[1] Another nunnery known as Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra was constructed by king Devānampiya Tissa himself for the use of the therī Saṅghamittā (*Mhv.* xix, *vv.* 77 ff.). The construction of more nunneries in Ceylon in later times, e.g., in the reigns of king Moggallāna I (491–508 A.C.), Aggabodhi IV (667–683 A.C.) and Kassapa IV (898–914 A. C.) have been recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xxxix, *v.* 43 f.; lii, *v.* 24). The *Dīpavaṃsa* (*Dpv.* xviii, *vv.* 11 ff.) gives a list of names of nuns that came from India to Ceylon and other nuns in Ceylon who taught the Vinaya. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xxvi, *v.* 15 f.), too, states that a hundred thousand bhikkhunīs attended the consecration ceremony of the Marīcavaṭṭi-vihāra. Nevertheless, the number of bhikkhunīs in Ceylon would have always been considerably smaller than that of the bhikkhus, and the part played by them in society, too, was much less important. References to the construction of nunneries by kings show that the institution of bhikkhunīs in Ceylon continued for quite a long time. The Order has since become extinct, though no definite date as to when this happened could be given. It was not restored even when the upasampadā of monks was restored in later times. Today, there are a few female probationers who observe the ten precepts meant for male probationers (only the first six of them are meant for female probationers) and live in 'nunneries'. They wear long-sleeved white blouses and robes of dull yellowish colour. Attempts have been made recently, but without success, to revive the Order.

It is hard to say when the Order of nuns was instituted in other Buddhist countries. Spence Hardy (*Eastern Monachism*, Partridge & Oakey, 1850, pp. 161 ff.) has observed that nuns in Burma, who are called Thilashen, are far less numerous than the monks. Most of them are old women. They shave their heads and wear a particular garment of white colour. They live in humble dwellings close to the monasteries and make a vow to remain chaste as long as

1 They were regarded as the king's wards, at least in Ceylon where nunneries were in the Inner (Royal) city. (*EncyBsm.* vol. I, p. 762).

they remain in the Order. The nuns in Siam are even less numerous than in Burma. In Arakan they are as common as the monks. They reside either in nunneries or separately in some houses, leading a life of religious abstinence. Their dress is similar to that of the monks. In China the nuns were, till recently, found in fairly large numbers. They shave their heads and wore a robe similar to that of the monks.

No definite causes could be given for the disappearance of the Order of nuns who have obtained higher ordination. I. B. Horner thinks (op. cit. p. 172) that though at the time of the inception of the Order of nuns women from noble families left household life, later the Order gradually lost its primitive character and became a refuge for the poor, the unsuccessful, the unmarried and the widowed. Spence Hardy's observations on the state of the Order of nuns in various Buddhist countries could offer an acceptable clue, namely that the Order of nuns in later times lost the support of the noble families and came to be neglected.[1]

H. R. P.

BHIKKHUNĪ-PĀTIMOKKHA, a Pali work containing a list of rules for the discipline of nuns. It is always edited together with the *Bhikkhu-pātimokkha* under the title of *Pātimokkha*. See PĀTIMOKKHA.

BHIKKHUNĪ-SAṂYUTTA, the fifth section of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, pp. 128–35). It contains ten short suttas on ten outstanding nuns namely Ālavikā, Somā, Gotamī (Kisā Gotamī), Vijayā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Cālā, Upacālā, Sisūpacālā, Selā and Vajirā. As given in the uddāna, the ten suttas are known by the names of these nuns. All the suttas follow the same pattern; the incident related in all of them is that when Māra approached the nuns as they were resting after their meals he was repelled by all of them. Stories about some of these nuns appear in the *Therīgāthā* and the *Apadāna*, too, but the incidents related in them are different.

H. R. P.

BHIKKHUNĪ SUTTA, two short discourses by that name (*S.* II, p. 261 ; *A.* II, p. 144).

One (*S.* II, p. 261) is the eighteenth discourse in the ***Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta*** of the ***Saṃyutta-nikāya***. It is the same as ***Bhikkhu Sutta*** (*S.* II, p. 260), substituting 'nun' for 'monk'. For details see BHIKKHU SUTTA.

The other sutta (*A.* II, p. 144) is the ninth discourse of the *Indriya-vagga* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. It relates an incident about a nun who was enamoured of Ānanda. She sent a message to Ānanda asking him to come to see her, saying that she was sick. When Ānanda came, she lay on her bed covering her head with her robe. Ānanda preached to her on the four points, food (*āhāra*), craving (*taṇhā*), pride (*māna*) and sexual intercourse (*methuna*), and admonished her that they should be abandoned. The commentary (*AA*. III, p. 136 f.) says that Ānanda preached particularly on these points, because he had understood her thoughts. At the end of the discourse the nun fell at Ānanda's feet and confessed her fault. Ānanda acknowledged the confession saying that people who realise their faults and confess them restrain themselves in the future.

Referring to the nun's covering of her head with her robe and lying on the bed, Woodward (*Gradual Sayings*, London, 1952, II, p. 148, n. 1) says that it is contrary to Vinaya rules to hear the Dhamma with head covered or reclining or wearing sandals; but the commentary does not notice it.

H. R. P.

BHIKKHUNĪVĀSAKA SUTTA, the tenth and last discourse of the *Ambapāli-vagga* of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* V, pp. 154 ff.). It relates an incident that occurred at Sāvatthi. One day Ānanda visited the residence of some nuns where many of them came to him and said that the nuns who had cultivated the four stations of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) had attained a greater excellence of comprehension than before. Ānanda told them that it should be so and on his return informed the Buddha about the conversation he had with the nuns. The Buddha then told him how to develop the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. These four practices would lead to mental development (*bhāvanā*) and thereby give ease and comfort. Ultimately the Buddha asked Ānanda not to have any regrets, for there were places like the roots of trees and empty places where he could meditate.

H. R. P.

BHIKKHU-PĀTIMOKKHA, a Pāli work containing a list of rules for the discipline of monks. It is always edited together with the *Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha* under the title of *Pātimokkha*. See PĀTIMOKKHA.

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1 G. P. Malalasekara expresses the view that its disappearance from Ceylon occurred in the troubled times of the Chola administration (10th cent. A. C.) and that when the land returned to normal later kings do not seem to have taken any interest in restoring this Order. See *Ceylon Daily News*, **Vesak** Number 1934, p. 49.

BHIKKHU-SAMYUTTA (*S*. II, pp. 273–86), the twenty-first section of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, contains twelve short suttas, all given in one chapter. In the uddāna at the end of the section they are named as follows : Kolita, Upatissa, Ghaṭa, Nava, Sujāta, Bhaddiya, Visākha, Nanda, Tissa, Theranāma, Kappina and Sahāya. Of these twelve suttas a few are preached by leading arahants such as Sāriputta and Moggallāna, while the majority are preached by the Buddha himself. Why this section is called the *Bhikkhu-saṃyutta* is not mentioned in the commentary, but it may either be because they are preached regarding the monks or because the first two suttas in the group are preached by two leading monks, namely, Moggallāna and Sāriputta.

H. R. P.

BHIKKHU SUTTA. Twelve discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and one discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* are known by this name. Three of them have alternative names, *Avijjā Sutta*, *Vijjā Sutta* and *Bhaya Sutta*. A number of discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* are also known as *Bhikkhū Sutta* which would necessitate an explanation for this difference in the title. The possible explanation seems to be that bhikkhu, being a singular term, is used when the discourse is about one monk, whereas bhikkhū, denoting plurality, is used to refer to discourses preached to several monks. Yet, this hypothesis does not seem to be strictly tenable, for three suttas appear under the title *Bhikkhu*, which are preached to several monks. The following are the twelve suttas, with a gist of their contents.

(1) Thirtieth discourse of the *Lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta* (*S*. II, p. 238) in which the Buddha says, first to the monks and later to Ānanda, that gains, favours and flattery are a danger even to an arahant unless the freedom of his will is unshakable. Hence one should put them aside and should not allow them to have a lasting hold on one's heart.

F. L. Woodward's inference (*Kindred Sayings*, II, London, 1952, p. 162, n. 1) that the reference in the sutta to people who live earnestly and strenously and have attained to happiness in this life and to whom, too, gains, etc., might be a danger, applies to the religious circle seems doubtful, for the commentary (*SA*. II, p. 211) refers to them as *phala-samāpatti-sukha-vihārā*, i.e., those who abide happily in the attainment of the fruits.

(2) The seventeenth discourse of the *Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta* (*S*. II, p. 260 f.) : Lakkhaṇa asks Mahāmoggallāna why he smiled once while descending the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and the latter says that he saw the figure of a bhikkhu going through the air with his under-robe, bowl, girdle and the body, all on fire and uttering cries of distress. He had been a sinful monk in the time of Kassapa Buddha. He had been born a peta and could not be seen with the earthly eye (*pasāda-cakkhu*). This sutta, like the rest of its group, is meant to make Mahāmoggallāna's clairvoyant vision known. The commentary (*SA*. II, p. 22) says that this particular monk used to enjoy the four requisites in the past, but was never restrained in actions and speech. He suffered in niraya for one whole *buddhantara* (a period of time between two Buddhas) and later was born in the *peta-loka* in the guise of a bhikkhu. The same comment applies to the four subsequent suttas.

(3) The thirty-fifth discourse of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (*S*. III, pp. 34 ff.) where a monk is said to have come to the Buddha and asked for a teaching in brief. The Buddha told him that a person is reckoned by that for which he has a bias and hence he should give up all bias. The monk understood the Buddha and explained the brief sermon saying that what the Master meant was cleaving to the body, feeling, perception, the mental activities and consciousness. Subsequently, the monk dwelt in solitude, reflecting on the sermon and became an arahant. The sutta was preached in Sāvatthi in the Jetavana monastery.

(4) The thirty-sixth discourse of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 36 f.) is similar to the above (3) in contents though with slight variations and a few omissions.

(5) The hundred and thirteenth discourse of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 162), also known as *Avijjā Sutta*, is about ignorance (*avijjā*). See AVIJJĀ SUTTA.

(6) The hundred and fourteenth discourse of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 163) immediately succeeding the above is on wisdom (*vijjā*) and hence is known also as *Vijjā Sutta*. Here, to the question of a monk as to what wisdom means the Buddha says that it is the correct understanding of the things mentioned in the above sutta.

(7) The eighty-first discourse of the *Saḷāyatana saṃyutta* (*S*. IV, p. 50 f.), preached to several monks. In it the Buddha agrees with them that if other sectarians question them about the

object of their life of devotion (*brahmacariya*). they should answer that it is the full knowledge of ill (*dukkha*). He then proceeds to say what their answer should be if they are asked about what *dukkha* is.

(8) The tenth sutta of the *Rahogata-vagga* of the *Vedanā-saṃyutta* (*S.* IV; p. 228 f.): The Buddha says that, in his method of explanation, feelings (*vedanā*) could be divided into categories of two, three, five, six, eighteen, thirty-six, and one hundred and eight. Although he has thus explained feelings in different ways, those who will not see the other's method of exposition will dispute with each other while those who will understand the other's exposition of it will dwell in harmony.

The commentary explains in detail the manner in which feelings fall into different numerical classifications. Thus, as mental and physical they are twofold, as pleasant, unpleasant and indifferent they are three-fold, and so on (s. v. VEDANĀ).

In the uddāna, this sutta is referred to as *Bhikkhunā* in the instrumental case. The teachings contained in this sutta are a repetition of those of the preceding one, the *Pañcakaṅga Sutta*.

(9) The twenty-third discourse of the *Vedanā-saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, p. 232 f.): It deals with feelings, their origin and cessation and the way leading thereto, their satisfaction and misery and their escape. The sutta is preached by the Buddha in answer to a monk's questions.

(10) The third discourse of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, pp. 142 ff.): A certain monk comes to the Buddha at Jetavana monastery and asks for a teaching in brief. The Buddha tells him that he must have truly pure virtue (*suvisuddhasīla*) and straight view (*ujukā diṭṭhi*). He should cultivate the four *satipaṭṭhānas* in the threefold ways, namely, as regards one's own self, as regards externals and as regards both self and externals. Thus he will reach the goal. The monk subsequently becomes an arahant.

(11) The twenty-third discourse of the *Iddhipāda-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 284). The Buddha tells the monks that there are four bases of psychic powers (*iddhipāda*) and that it is by cultivating and developing them that one can destroy the āsavas and obtain the heart's release.

A few other suttas of this group are of a similar nature.

(12) The twenty-ninth discourse of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 389), also known as *Bhaya Sutta*.

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(13) The twenty-first discourse of the *Sattaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 21 f.), preached to a group of monks by the Buddha while dwelling on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain in Rājagaha. The discourse is on seven things that lead to progress (*satta aparihāniyadhammā*), namely, regular assembly, concord, conforming to the decreed training, reverence and honour to elders, abstinence from craving, cleaving to the forest bed and seat and mindfulness.

H. R. P.

BHIKKHŪ SUTTA. Seven discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* are known by this name. All of them are preached to the monks by the Buddha, either on his own or after being questioned by the monks, and are about monks, hence the title *Bhikkhū Sutta*. One striking feature seen in four of the seven suttas is that they are exactly similar in subject-matter to four suttas by the name *Ānanda Sutta* found immediately preceding them, the only difference being that the term ' monks ' has been used here instead of ' Ānanda ' in the other. Following are the seven suttas with a gist of their contents.

(1) The twenty-eighth discourse of the *Nidāna-saṃyutta* (*S.* II, p. 43) preached by the Buddha to the monks while staying at Sāvatthi: The Buddha says that monks following his teaching know details of what in effect are the Four Noble Truths and dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*).

(2) The seventh discourse of the *Iddhipāda-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 257) preached to the monks by the Buddha on destruction of the four mental intoxicants (*āsava*) and the cultivation and development of the bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda*).

(3) The twenty-ninth discourse of the *Iddhipāda-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 287). It is exactly similar in subject-matter to the two *Ānanda Suttas* that precede it and the other *Bhikkhū Sutta* that follows it, the only difference being that here the monks come and put the questions to the Buddha whereas it differs in the other three suttas. For the contents of the sutta see ĀNANDA SUTTA (8).

(4) The thirtieth discourse of the *Iddhipāda-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 287). It is exactly similar in subject-matter to the two *Ānanda Suttas* and the *Bhikkhū Sutta* that precede it, the only difference being that here both questions and answers are from the Buddha himself. See ĀNANDA SUTTA (8).

(5) The fifteenth discourse of the *Ānāpāna-saṃyutta* (*S*. V, p. 334) on concentration on mindful breathing (*ānāpāna-satisamādhi*), fourfold application of mindfulness (*catusatipaṭṭhānā*) and the seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjhaṅga*), similar in subject-matter to the two *Ānanda Suttas* and the other *Bhikkhū Sutta* in the same *Saṃyutta*. For the contents see ĀNANDA SUTTA (10).

(6) The sixteenth discourse of the *Ānāpāna-saṃyutta* (*S*. V, p. 334), similar to the three other suttas mentioned above. For contents see ĀNANDA SUTTA (10).

(7) The forty-sixth discourse of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* (*S*. V, p. 403) preached by the Buddha to the monks. It says that the stream-winner (sotāpanna) is endowed with the following four things: unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, to the Dhamma, to the Order, and is blessed with virtues dear to the Noble Ones (*ariya*). The text gives *Suddaka* as an alternative name of the *sutta* which F. L. Woodward (*Kindred Sayings*, V, London, 1956, p. 345) thinks, is a corruption of *Suddhika* meaning 'puritan'.

H. R. P.

BHIKṢĀ-VṚTTI-NĀMA, the name of a metrical text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Sloṅ-moḥi-ḥgrel-pa śes-bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 56, No. 2363). The colophon attributes the authorship of the work to Ḍombi-pa (Ḍombipāda) and the translation to Jaitakarṇa and Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (Sūrya-dhvaja-śrībhadra). After a salutation to Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta and a stanza in praise of him, the author lays down injunctions to be observed by those who set out for alms as mendicants.

A mendicant should first revere the lamas, practise meditation, make certain offerings and then set out, staff in hand, carrying a wooden vessel for alms and a flask for water. His mind should be pure, free of desire, anger and ignorance. Some of the chants he should utter are quoted in the text, one of which refers to the triad Brahma, Īśvara and Viṣṇu (. . . *brahma maheśvara nārāyaṇā*). The mantras quoted are mostly combinations of mystic syllables like *oṃ āḥ hūṃ phaṭ* and *svāhā*.

R. H.

BHIKṢUDEVA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu*. I, p. 138).

BHIKṢUKARMA, one of the five Vinaya books of the Dharmagupta sect of the Sarvāstivāda (Anukul Chandra Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 31). According to Bunyiu Nanjio, it is an extract from the *Dharmagupta Vinaya* compiled in five fascicles and seventeen chapters by Kuai-su, disciple of Hsüan-tsang of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A. C.; *Nanjio*, p. 249). See also DHARMAGUPTAKA.

U. K.

BHIKṢUṆĪ. See **BHIKKHUNĪ.**

BHIKṢUṆĪKARMAVĀCANĀ, one of the five Vinaya books of the Dharmagupta sect of the Sarvāstivāda, preserved in Sanskrit (Anukul Chandra Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 31). It explains how the Order of nuns, *bhikṣunī śāsana*, originated. Mahāprajāpatī requests the Buddha to permit women to enter the Order. The Buddha, who was opposed to the proposal at the beginning, grants permission later on the intervention of Ānanda. Consequently, Mahāprajāpatī, together with 500 Śākya women, was admitted. It also describes the procedure of their admission. (See above p. 44.)

The book has been edited by Ridding and L. de la Vallée Poussin (*BSOAS*. I, pp. 123 ff.).

U. K.

BHIKṢUṆĪ-PRĀTIMOKṢA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit Vinaya text containing a set of rules to be observed by nuns in their daily conduct. Its Tibetan translation, the *Dge-sloṅ-maḥi so-sor thar-baḥi mdo* occurs in the *Ḥdul-ba* (*Dulva*, Vinaya section) of the Tibetan *Kangyur*. It was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra and Kluḥi rgyal-mtshan Nāgadhvaja; *TM*. No. 4; (A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 87). The work was also translated into Chinese by I-tsing of the T'ang dynasty, (618-907 A. C.) in 710 A. C., and the Chinese translation bears the title *Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu-pi-ch'u-ni-chieh-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 1455; *Nanjio*, No. 1149). Nanjio describes it as a Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya text. Nanjio also lists other texts bearing a similar title, belonging to different schools, viz., *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* of the Dharmagupta-nikāya, *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* of the Mahīśāsaka-nikāya, *Daśādhyāyā-vinaya-bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* or *Prātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya, *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa Sūtra* (*Shih-sung-pi-ch'iu-ni-po-lo-t'i-mu-ch'a-chieh-pên*, *Taishō*, No. 1437; *Nanjio*, Nos. 1156, 1158, 1161, respectively).

That, unlike the Pali, the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa Sūtra* contains verses at the beginning and the end is indicated by the commentary, the *Āryasarvāstivādi - mūla - bhikṣuṇī - prātimoksa - sūtra-vṛtti*. The Sanskrit text of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa Sūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda is still missing in the collection of *Gilgit Manuscripts* although the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* of this school has been found at Gilgit. However, fragments of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa Sūtra* of the Sarvāstivāda school found at Turfan have been edited by E. Waldschmidt who has also made a study of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa* in his *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*. The Tibetan version of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school (*TT*. Vol. 43, No. 1033, pp. 247–56) contains a total of 371 rules, comprising 8 *Pārājika*, 20 *Saṅghāvaśeṣa*, 33 *Naiḥsargika*, 180 *Pātayantika*, 11 *Pratideśanīya*, 112 *Śaikṣa* and 7 *Adhikaraṇaśamatha* (Banerjee, op. cit. pp. 43, 87, 88).

L. R. G.

BHIKṢUṆĪ-VINAYA, a book of discipline of the Mahāsaṅghika school containing rules governing the daily life of Buddhist nuns. It is the counterpart of *Bhikṣu-vinaya*, a book of discipline for the monks of the same school (A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 31).

BHIKṢUṆĪ-VINAYA-VIBHAṄGA, a Vinaya text incorporated in the *Kangyur*. The text is known in Tibetan as *Dge-sloṅ-mahi-ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa*, and was translated from the Sanskrit original, which probably belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, by Sarvajñadeva, Dharmākara, Vidyākaraprabha, and the Tibetan interpreter Dpal-gyi-lhun-po. Later, Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal-brtsegs revised it.

It is a commentary on the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa Sūtra* written in the pattern of the *Bhikṣu-vinaya-vibhaṅga*. In contents, too, it appears to be a mere reproduction of the *Bhikṣu-vinaya-vibhaṅga*, though certain details of incidents leading to the promulgation of the rules are represented differently.

The present Tibetan text has many similarities with the Pali *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga* of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. The Chinese version of this text is known as *Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu-pi-ch'u-ni-pi-nai-yeh* (*Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya-bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*) and is incorporated in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (*ŌM*. No. 1034; *TM*. No. 5; *Taishō*, No. 1443; *Nanjio*, No. 1124; A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 88, 89).

S. K. N.

BHIKṢU-PRAKĪRṆAKA, a *Vinaya* text of the Sarvāstivāda school, written in Sanskrit. Fragments of manuscript remains of this text were discovered in Tibet by Rahula Sankrityayana and copies are found in the Bihar Research Society, Patna (A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957. p. 30).

An extract from the original Sanskrit text quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Śikṣ*. p. 154) relates how the Buddha, together with Ānanda, attended upon a sick monk (cp. *Vin*. I, p. 301).

S. K. N.

BHIKṢU-PRĀTIMOKṢA, a *Vinaya* text of the Mahīśāsaka school. The original Sanskrit text is presumably lost. The Chinese version of the text is incorporated in the *Mi-sha-sê-pu-wu-fên-lü* (C. 1: *Mahīśāsaka-nikāya-pañcavarga-vinaya* or *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*) translated by Buddhajīva together with Chu Tao-shêng (423-424 A.C.) of the earlier Sung dynasty. It occurs also in the *Wu-fên-chieh-pên* (C. 2: *Pañcavarga-(vinaya-)prātimokṣa* or *Prātimokṣa* of the *Mahīśāsaka-nikāya*) translated by Buddhajīva. In contents and interpretation it seems to differ, to an extent, from the corresponding *Prātimokṣa* texts of other schools (*Nanjio*, Nos. 1122 and 1157). See PRĀTIMOKṢA.

S. K. N.

BHIKṢUPRIYA-SŪTRA-NĀMA (var. *Bhikṣuprareju°*), the name of a work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo* (sūtra) section of the *Kangyur*, under the title *Dge-sloṅ-la rab-tu gces-paḥi mdo shes-bya-ba* (*TM*. No. 302; *TT* Vol. 39, No. 968).

The work contains a description of the estimable qualities of monks, as declared by the Buddha. The occasion of the declaration is described in the preamble.

During a period of residence at a monastery in Śrāvastī, the Buddha happened to be present at a large assembly of monks. A learned monk, Ñe-ban ḥkhor by name, rose at that assembly, paid obeisance to the Buddha and requested him

to declare the destructive qualities that characterise a monk. The Buddha commended the request and enumerated the good qualities of a true monk.

Monks, he said, are the bearers of the banner of the doctrine, the sons of the Buddha. They do good and inspire others to do good. They have entered the path and are free of desire. Pure in speech, thought and deeds, they are the best of ornaments. When the Buddha finished describing their excellent qualities, the assembly lauded the discourse of the Buddha.

R. H.

BHIKṢUVARṢĀGRAPṚCCHĀ (var. °*varṣāgram-pṛcchā*), a Sanskrit text preserved in its Tibetan translation, the *Dge-sloṅ-gi dan-poḥi lo dri-ba*, which is included in the *Ḥdul-ba* (*Dulva*, *Vinaya* section) of the Tibetan *Tengyur*. The author of the work is not mentioned but it has been attributed to Mkhan-po Padma ḥbyuṅ-gnas dbyaṅs (Padmākaraghoṣa). It was translated into Tibetan by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa) of India and Tshul khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) in the monastery of Ḥod-mchog dṅos-grub at Ra-sa (Lha-sa, *TM*. No. 4133 ; *Cordier*, III, p. 416 f.). It deals with the history of the origin of the different schools (A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 50).

L. R. G.

BHIKṢU-VIBHAṄGA (var. *Bhikṣu-vinayavibhaṅga*), a commentary, written in Sanskrit, on the *Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa Sūtra*. The *Bhikṣunī-vinaya-vibhaṅga* is based on this text. Each of the five Buddhist schools, namely, Sarvāstivāda, Mūla-sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika, Mahīśāsaka and Dharmagupta, seems to have possessed a separate text of the *Bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*. The Sanskrit originals are apparently lost. The extant Chinese versions are incorporated in the Vinaya texts of the above-mentioned schools (see *Nanjio*, Nos. 1115, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1122).

The Tibetan version known as *Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed-pa* is, probably, based on the Mūla-sarvāstivāda text and it also corresponds to the Pali *Mahāvibhaṅga* of the *Sutta-vibhaṅga*. In this text all the rules occurring in the *Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa-sūtra* are divided into eight sections and commented upon in detail (A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 86–7).

S. K. N.

BHIKṢU-VINAYA, a Vinaya text of the Mahāsāṅghika school, containing rules, regarding the collection of alms, medicine, etc., governing the daily life of the monks. The original Sanskrit text appears to be lost. The text, quoted under the title *Śrāvaka-vinaya* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Śikṣ*. pp. 135, 168), is, probably, the same as the *Bhikṣuvinaya* (see also A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 31).

S. K. N.

BHILLIVĀNA VIHĀRA, an ancient temple in Ceylon mentioned as having been founded by king Dhātusena (5th cent. A. C.). More probably, however, it was renovated by him. An inscription *in situ* of a king one century earlier names the vihāra Bilava(na). This find identifies the ancient vihāra as Karaṁbagala of today, in the south of the island. Remnants of cave paintings are known from the site (*Mhv*. xxxviii, *v*. 49 ; *JCBRAS*. New Series, VI, p. 67).

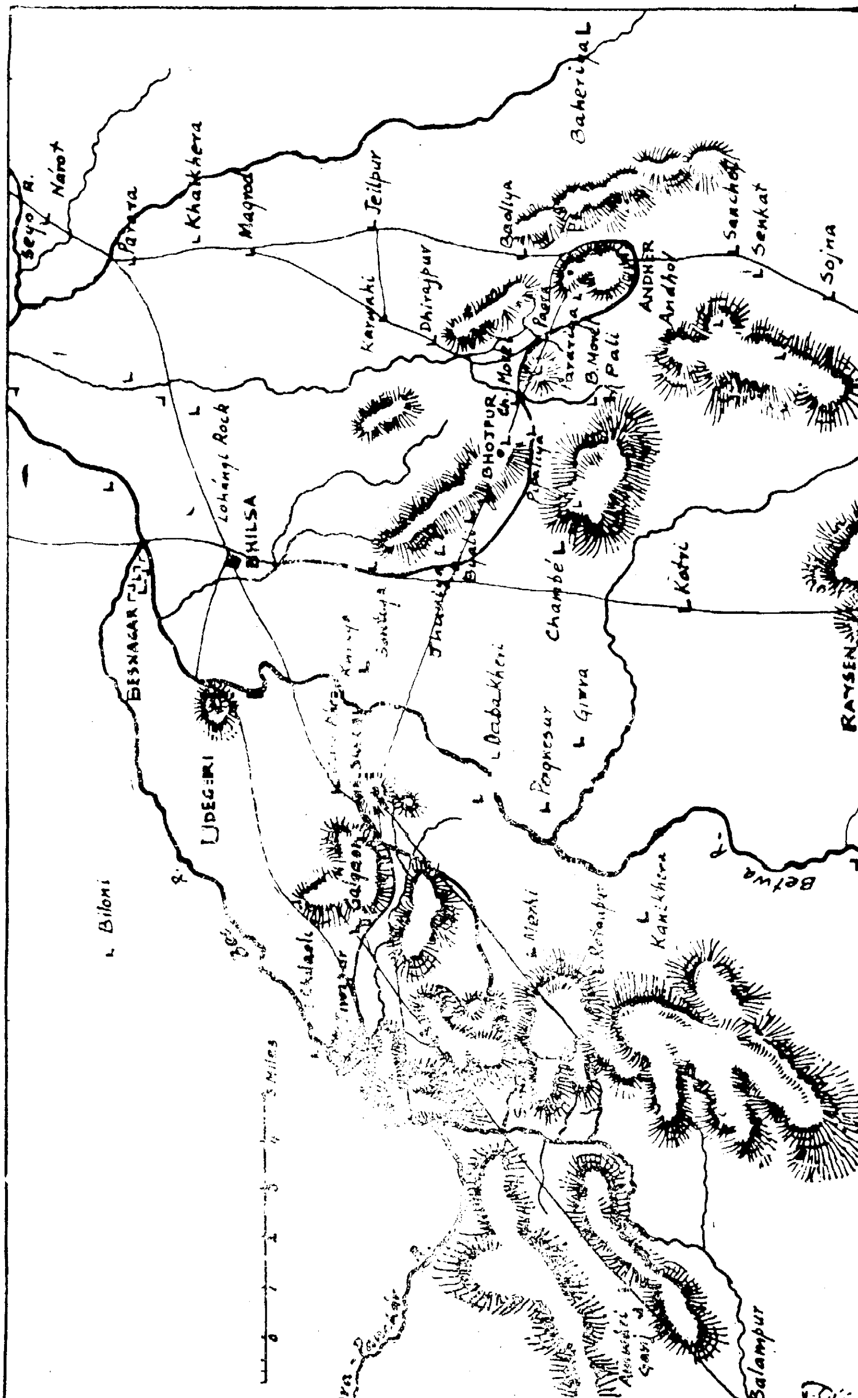
BHILSA, the name of a town in central India. A. Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 364) gives Bhadravatī as one of its ancient names. E. Müller (*JPTS*. 1888, p. 87), W. Geiger (*Mhv*. trsl. p. 88, n. 4) and other scholars identify it with ancient Vedisa or Vedisagiri, the birth-place of emperor Asoka's first wife Devī and of her son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā.

Bhilsa is well known to archaeologists and others who are inclined towards Buddhist studies, by reason of its association with stūpas. There were other stūpas, too ; but the name ' Bhilsa topes ' was more specifically given to those in and near Sāñcī. Cunningham was the archaeologist who first applied it, and thereafter it became widely current.

In his *Bhilsa Topes* Cunningham divided the particular stūpas into five groups :

1. Sāñcī, 5½ mls. south-west of Bhilsa,
2. Sonāri, 6 mls. south-west of Sāñcī,
3. Satdhāra, 6½ mls. west of Sāñcī,
4. Bhojpūr, 7 mls. east-south-east of Bhilsa, and
5. Andher, 4 mls. east-south-east of Bhojpūr and 9 mls. east-south-east of Bhilsa.

The longest distance between them, that is from west to east (Satdhāra to Andher), is seventeen miles.



Reproduced from A. Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854.
The Map of Bhilsa

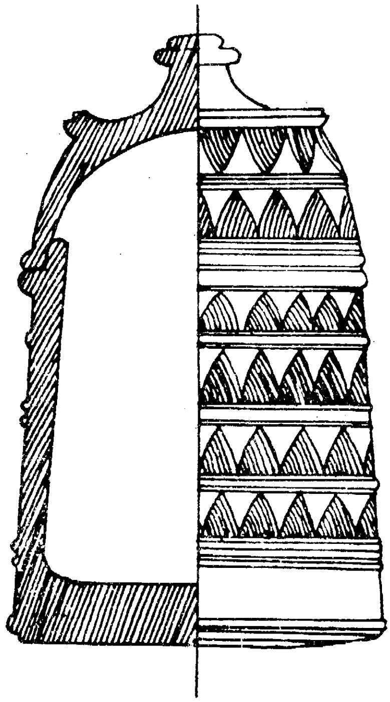


Fig. 1.—Ornamented Relic casket found inside the relic chamber of Andher stupa No. II. Height 5½ ins. The inscription on the top of the lid states : *Sapurisa Gotiputasa Kākanava Pabhāsanasa Kodinagotasa* " (Relics) of the emancipated son of Goti, Kākanava Prabhasaye of the race of Kodini (or Kohudinya) ".

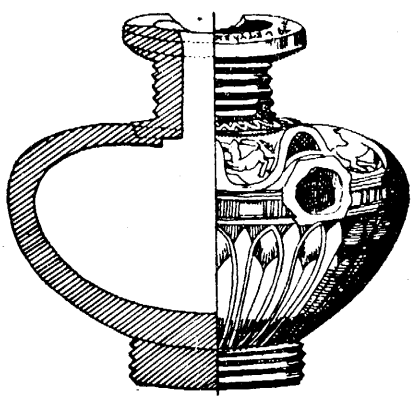


Fig. 2.—Large steatite ornamented vase made of two pieces fastened together with lac once furnished with a spout the hole for which is visible in this illustration. On the upper side of the neck there is the inscription : *Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa Gotiputa Atevāsino* " (Relics) of the emancipated Mogaliputra, the pupil of Gotiputra ". The vase was found inside the relic-chamber of the stupa No. II at Andher.

Reproduced from A. Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854.

The following is a brief note on these five groups.

I. Sāñcī : The group of the Sāñcī stūpas is on the low ridge of a sandstone hill, about three hundred feet in height, in the small village of Sāñcī. Here are found the world-famous great stūpa and several other stūpas along with ruins of other monastic buildings. In the large stone bowl found among the ruins here must have been planted a sacred tree. Though the present village of Sāñcī is very small, the numerous ruins scattered over the hills between Sāñcī and Kānakhera indicate that once there existed a large town.

The most picturesque and valuable objects of the Sāñcī stūpas are their gateways which are elaborately carved with beautiful sculptures. The railings round the stūpas, too, are noteworthy and they contain on their pillars several hundreds of donative inscriptions. From the relic-chambers of some of these stūpas relics of eminent Buddhist monks of the time of king Asoka, who are named in the casket-inscriptions, have been discovered (A. Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 179 ff.).

Sāñcī attracts pilgrims from foreign lands as well as art-lovers so regularly and all the year round that it may even be called a centre of tourist attraction. The government of India has it prominently on its itinerary. (For further details see SĀÑCĪ.)

II. Sonāri : Sonāri, like Sāñcī, is a small village situated on a low spur of a sandstone hill, six miles to the south-west of Sāñcī. The stūpas are located on the top of the hill, about one mile to the south of the village. The largest of these stūpas, having a dome 48 feet in diameter at the base, is situated in the midst of a square court 240 feet on each side. A flight of steps in the north-east corner of the court leading to the top indicates that the square court was only the basement of a Buddhist temple. The solid hemispherical stūpa which is nearly perfect has had railings round the base and the top of its dome. Like the Sāñcī railings the railings round this stūpa were erected from the gifts of many different individuals ; these are recorded on the railing pillars. The relic-chamber of this stūpa brought to light several relic-caskets. This stūpa is assigned to the latter part of the reign of Asoka.

The second stūpa at Sonāri, 27½ feet in diameter at the base of the dome, also stands on an enclosure 165 feet square. From its relic-chamber was discovered a large steatite vase in which were five small caskets, each containing human bones and an inscription mentioning the name of the person whose relics were found therein. It is interesting that several of these names could be identified with those mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* account (ch. xii) of Asoka's missionary activities.

Six other stūpas of small dimensions were also found ; these had been opened earlier by treasure-hunters (A. Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 309 ff.). For further details see SONĀRI.

III. **Satdhāra :** This group of stūpas is located on the left bank of the Besali river, and about three miles from Sonāri. The largest stūpa of this group, which is as large as the great Sāñcī stūpa, has a dome 101 feet in diameter at the base, but is in a very ruinous condition, its present height being only 42 feet. No important finds were discovered from this stūpa.

Along the walls of the courtyard of this stūpa and outside it are the remains of three large buildings, which, most probably, were temples.

Another ruined stūpa at Satdhāra, only 230 feet to the north-west of the largest stūpa just described, brought forth from its relic-chamber two caskets containing inscriptions which read *Sāriputasa*, '(Relics) of Sāriputta', and *Maha Magalānasa* '(Relics) of Mahā Moggallāna'. It is significant that these two caskets contained the relics of the two chief disciples of the Buddha.

Another small stūpa (No. 7) at Satdhāra, also brought forth from its relic-chamber two large earthenware pots within which were other smaller caskets meant for relics. These contained no inscriptions.

The other stūpas at Satdhāra have not revealed anything significant (A. Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 320 ff.). For further details see SATDHĀRA.

IV. **Bhojpūr :** The Bhojpūr stūpas stand on the south-east corner of a low range of hills, on four successive terraces. On the uppermost terrace there are six stūpas among which are the principal stūpas of Bhojpūr. Stūpa 1, which is in an enclosure of 252 feet by 214 feet, has a dome 66 feet 2 inches in diameter at the base. Its partial excavation revealed nothing of interest.

The relic-chamber of Stūpa No. 2 contained, among other things, an inscribed crystal casket in the shape of a small stūpa, inside which were some bone-relics. Stūpa No. 3, too, has not

revealed anything interesting, but from Stūpa No. 4 a crystal casket with the word "*Mun*", referring to the Buddha, has been discovered.

On the second terrace from the top are sixteen small stūpas. One of these contained two inscribed relic caskets in its chamber. This particular stūpa was most probably erected in the beginning of Asoka's reign. From another stūpa an abundance of human bones was found inside a double steatite vase.

The remaining stūpas on the second terrace of the hill have not revealed any finds of much interest.

The third platform of the hill from the top has seven stūpas of small size and their excavation yeilded only a few earthenware jars.

On the lowest terrace of the hill there remain now only eight topes, the excavations of which, too, has not been much fruitful (A. Cunningham, op. cit, p. 327 ff.). For further details see BHOJPŪR.

V. **Andher :** The village of Andher is situated 5 miles to the west of Bhojpūr. The stūpas are sited on the northern declivity of the hill, just two miles from Andher. There are three, all pre-Christian. The largest of them, which has a dome 35 feet 2 inches in diameter at its base, is one of the few ancient stūpas which has a part of its railing still standing in position. It has also one of its gateways unimpared. This stūpa is also the only one out of the Bhilsa stūpas which has a stone coping along the outer edge of its terrace still intact.

The railing pillars contain sculptured motifs and scenes and one of the pillars carries a donative inscription reading *Dhama Sivasa Mātu dānam*, Gift of Dharma-Siva's mother' which could be dated, palaeographically, in the reign of Asoka.

Stūpa No. 2 is much smaller, having only a dome 18 feet 10 inches in diameter at its base, but is better preserved. The opening of its relic-chamber, too, was much more sewarding for it brought to light several inscribed relic-caskets of different shapes and sizes, and of beautiful workmanship. These inscriptions reveal that the caskets contain the relics of some of the celebrated Indian Buddhist monks of the time of Asoka, like Vāchhi-putra, Kākanava Prabhāsana, Gotaputra and Moggalīputra.

Stūpa No. 3, which is also of small dimensions with a dome only 15 feet in diameter at its base, brought to light from its relic-chamber the relics of Hārītīputra, as is mentioned on the outside of the inner one of the two caskets. An inscription, written in ink, on the inner side of its lid mentions that the gift (of the relics) was made by Asva-Deva. Hārītīputra is also mentioned in another inscription from Sāñcī stūpa No. 2, along with Majjhima and Kassapa Gotra and is, therefore, considered as one of the principal Buddhist teachers of the time of king Asoka, a fact which enables us to fix the stūpa towards the end of the 3rd century B. C. (A. Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 342 ff.).

It is an acknowledged fact that the excavation and the opening of the Bhilsa stūpas have produced valuable results and that their bas-reliefs and the inscriptions are of utmost importance for the reconstruction of the early history of Buddhism in India in pre-Christian times. Many of the relic-casket inscriptions, it has been found, establish the historical truth of the *Mahāvaṃsa* account (ch. xii) of Asoka's Buddhist missionary activities, and many of the bas-reliefs could be identified with incidents from the life of the Buddha narrated in early Buddhist literature (cp. Cunningham, op. cit. p. viii).

H. R. P.

BHĪMA (1), a celestial musician or a musical instrument. See ĀLAMBA.

BHĪMA (2), name of a world ruler (cakravartin) mentioned in the *Mvyut.* No. 3584 (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHĪMA (3), a sage of old, who possessed the five types of higher knowledge (*abhiññā*, q. v.) and great psychic powers (*iddhi*). He is said to have been censured by the bodhisatta who was born as a learned brāhman at that time and his disciples agreed with him. It was for this reason that the Buddha and five hundred monks suffered calumny at the hands of Sundarikā (cp. *Ap.* I, p. 299 ; *UdA.* p. 264).

BHĪMA (4), name of a nāga (*Mmk.* p. 454), also mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

BHĪMĀ, name of a goddess mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* p. 502).

BHĪMADARŚANĀ (lit. of a ferocious appearance), as denoted by the name, is an awe-inspiring deity who belongs to the eastern quarter of the third

-yuta division). She is one among the goddesses invoked by the adherents of the Vajrayāna for protection and succour, and is mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh*. p. 502).

BHĪMAMITRA, a great Indian teacher, who is believed to have appeared in the incarnation of Lha-tsün. In his manifestation as Lha-tsün, Bhīmamitra is usually represented as seated on a leopard-skin mat with his right leg hanging down and his body almost bare. One of his titles is He-ru-ka-pa, which means 'unclad'. He is of a dark blue complexion. Otherwise, he is somewhat like his prototype guru Rim-bo-ch'e. A chaplet of skulls encircles his brow. In his left hand is a skull-cup filled with blood, and a trident topped with human heads rests in front of his left shoulder. His right hand is in a teaching attitude. This representation of Bhīmamitra as Lha-tsün conforms greatly with that of Hindu Rudra-Śiva.

W. S. Kt.

BHĪMARATHA (1), a previous birth, as a king, of Sirivaḍḍha (Kiṅkiṇipupphiya) thera. See SIRIVAḌḌHA.

BHĪMARATHA (2), a world ruler (cakravartin), whose name occurs in a list of sixty such kings beginning with Mahāsammata; he is the thirty-fourth in the list (*BB*. XIII, p. 52).

BHĪMARATHA (3), a vassal king of Daṇḍakī. When Daṇḍakī and his kingdom were destroyed, Bhīmaratha, together with Aṭṭhaka and Kāliṅga, sought Sarabhaṅga. Sarabhaṅga preached to them and they won temporary freedom from sensuality (*J*. V, pp. 135-149).

BHĪMARATHA (4), a king who lived at the time of Gotama Buddha. On the occasion of Gotama Buddha's preaching to him, ninety crores of beings realised the truth. The capital city of his kingdom was also known as Bhīmaratha (*BuvA*. p. 186).

U. K.

BHĪMARAṬṬHA, name of a country or province in ancient India ruled over by king Bhīmaratha (*Buv*. p. 47). The commentary (*BuvA*. p. 186) gives the name as Bhīmaratha.

BHĪMASENA JĀTAKA (No. 80), relates an account of a boastful monk. Although of low family he was in the habit of boasting about the nobility and riches of his family, but he was exposed when another monk on enquiry found out the truth.

Once, the bodhisatta was born as a noble brāhman and after his training at Takkasilā became famous as a skilful archer. But he was short and hunched, and lest he should fail to secure employment because of this handicap, he persuaded a well-built weaver, by the name of Bhīmasena, to be his stalking-horse. Together they interviewed the king of Bārāṇasī and Bhīmasena was appointed royal archer. He always acted on the bodhisatta's advice.

Bhīmasena was once sent by the king to seize a tiger that was devouring many people. Acting on the bodhisatta's advice, he proceeded with a multitude of people and when the tiger was sighted he fled into the forest. After the tiger had been killed by the people, he came out of his hiding place with a creeper in his hand. Approaching the carcase, he blamed the people for having killed the beast, for, he said, his intention had been to lead him like an ox to the king's presence, and had brought the creeper for that purpose. In their fright the people bribed him heavily not to report them to the king. When he took the carcase to the king, again he was richly rewarded for the king believed he had killed the tiger.

On another occasion, a certain road became dangerous because of a wild buffalo and this time, too, he adopted the same tactics. Once again he was handsomely rewarded by the king. As he grew rich he became swollen-headed and began to neglect the bodhisatta and even treated him with contempt.

Shortly afterwards Bārāṇasī was attacked by an enemy king and Bhīmasena was sent to fight him. He rode on the war-elephant with the bodhisatta behind him, but at the sight of the battle-field he was so terrified that he fouled the elephant's back. The bodhisatta ridiculed him, saying such behaviour was not to be expected from one who posed to be a mighty warrior, and sent him home.

The bodhisatta marched on, captured the hostile king, brought him to the king of Bārāṇasī and received great honour. Thereafter he became famous throughout the country as *Culladhanuggaha-paṇḍita*.

Bhimasena had been a previous incarnation of the boastful monk (*J.* I. pp. 355–9).

L. R. G.

BHĪMATITTHA-VIHĀRA at Bhīmatittha, modern Bentoṭa, in the Pañcayojana-raṭṭha, was an important monastery in medieval Ceylon, because a tooth relic of Mahākassapa thera was believed to be deposited here. The *Pūjāvaliya* (ch. xxxiv) refers to it as the Temple of the Tooth at Bentoṭa. King Parākramabāhu II (1236–70 A.C.) went there himself and, seeing the relic, held a great sacrificial festival for it for three days (*Mhv.* lxxxv, *vv.* 80 ff. ; *Pūjāvaliya*, ch. xxxiv). His Prime Minister, Deva Patirāja, at the request of the king, laid out from the vihāra as far as Kālanadītittha (now Kalutara) on a space one yojana wide, a large coconut plantation known by the king's name (*Mhv.* lxxxvi. *vv.* 16, 44). King Niśśaṃka Malla (1187–96 A.C.) is also said to have had laid out an orchard in the precincts of the monastery (*Mhv.* lxxxvi, *v.* 16).

The medieval monastery Galpāta (Galapāta) vihāra at Bentoṭa is popularly believed to be identical with the Bhīmatittha-vihāra of the chronicles (*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. VI, pp. 40 ff. ; Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, London, 1883, p. 71 ; *EZ.* IV, pp. 196 ff. ; *JCBRAS.* New series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 73). But no conclusive evidence is available for this identification.

Bhīmatittha, originally, was the name of the region.

H. R. P.

BHĪMOTTARA, name of a *kumbhāṇḍa* (a demon having testicles like a pot) mentioned in *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 51).

BHINDANĀ SUTTA, of the *Itivuttaka* (*It.* p. 69). As the name suggests (fragile, perishable), this is a short *sutta* wherein the body (*kāya*), consciousness (*viññāṇa*), and all substrata of existence (*upadhi*) are said to be transitory. Two variant readings as given in the *PTS.* edition are *bhidurā* and *bhirudā.*

The *Suttasaṅgaha* (*Ssṃg.* p. 324) gives this sutta under the title *Bhidura Sutta.*

A. G. S. K.

BHIṄGA, a pacceka-buddha (*ApA.* p. 129). In the *Majjhima* list (*M.* III, p. 70) this name appears as Hiṅga.

BHIṄGU, a pacceka-buddha (*ApA.* p. 129). In the *Majjhima* (*M.* III, p. 70), however, this name appears as *Hiṅgū.*

BHINNORUDĪPA-VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon built by king Aggabodhi I, 571–604 A.C., for the elder (probably Dāṭhāsiva) who dwelt in the Mahāpariveṇa. The revenue from Vaṭṭākārapiṭṭhi was given for its maintenance (*Mhv.* xlii, *v.* 26). The place has not been identified yet, but it is in Rajaraṭa (*JCBRAS.* New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 191).

BHIRUKACCHA, also known as Bhiruka, is the name of a city founded by Bhiru, a minister of king Rudrāyana of the city of Roruka in the time of Gotama Buddha (*Divy.* p. 576.).

BHISA, a previous birth, as a king, of Bhisāluvadāyaka thera.

BHISADĀYAKA. There were two arahants by this name. One, who was born as an elephant thirty-one kappas ago, saw the Buddha Vessabhu in the forest and gave him lotus-stalks (*bhisa*) to eat. Thirteen kappas ago, he was born sixteen times as king under the name of Samodhāna. At the time of Gotama Buddha he joined the Order of monks under the name of Bhisadāyakà and became an arahant (*Ap.* I, p. 114; *ApA.* pp. 388–9).

The other arahant, in one of his past lives at the time of Padumuttara Buddha, was one day gathering lotus-stalks for food. Seeing the Buddha travelling through the air he asked him to accept some stalks. Soon after, the man was struck dead by lightning and was reborn in Tusita heaven. At the time of Gotama Buddha he, too, joined the order of monks under the name of Bhisadāyaka and became an arahant (*Ap.* II, pp. 420–21).

U. K.

BHISA JĀTAKA (No. 488), related by the Buddha while residing in Jetavana in connection with a discontented bhikkhu (*J.* IV, pp. 304–14).

Once, the bodhisatta was born as son to a wealthy brāhman who owned eighty crores of wealth. He was named Mahākañcana. The next son was

named as Upakañcana. Thus, seven sons were born and the youngest was a daughter, known as Kañcanadevī.

Mahākañcana studied at Takkasilā and returned home. Then his parents showed a desire to get him married. Mahākañcana did not like the idea and wanted the parents to settle his younger brothers. None of his brothers liked the idea, either. Nor did his sister wish to get married.

When their parents died, Mahākañcana distributed their wealth among the poor people and with the whole family, including a servant, a maid, also a companion, retired into the region of Himalaya. There, they built a hermitage and lived on wild fruits, and roots. At first every one went to gather fruits but later, they agreed that Mahākañcana should stay back with the sister and the maid while the others should fetch fruits in turn. Then they took their individual shares and retired to their respective leaf-huts (*paṇṇasālā*) where they practised meditation and religious austerity. By the power of their virtue, Sakka's throne trembled. Sakka, desirous of finding out whether they were sages, through his super-natural power caused Mahākañcana's shares to disappear for three days. When Mahākañcana questioned his brothers whether they had kept his share or not, they said that his share was always kept aside. Then, each of them protested innocence and swore an oath that heavy curse should fall on them if any person were guilty of stealing so much as a lotus-stalk. In each case the punishment was to be that in their next birth they should have lands, possessions, and other encumbrances which, from the point of view of an ascetic, would be a despised thing. There were also the chief deity of the forest, an elephant, a monkey, and Sakka present at this gathering. although remaining invisible. When every one spoke of their innocence, Sakka appeared before them and asked them why they dreaded possessions. On listening to their answer, Sakka was greatly pleased and told them what had happened and asked them to pardon him. This they did.

This story was related in the same circumstances as the *Kusa Jātaka* (q.v.).

The Buddha identified the characters by saying that Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Puṇṇa, Kassapa, Anuruddha and Ānanda were the brothers of the bodhisatta, Uppalavaṇṇā the sister, Khujjuttarā the maid, Citta the house-holder was the servant, Sātāgiri the forest deity, Pārileyya the elephant, Madhuvāseṭṭha the monkey, and Kāludāyi the Sakka.

The Bhisacariyā is included in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (iii, 4) and this story is also found in the *Jātakamālā* (No. 19).

A sculpture of this *Jātaka* (See Pl. V) is found on the inner face of a beam of the Bhārhut stūpa, 2nd cent. B. C., in two panels, only the first being interpreted. Here, the bodhisatta is shown with his brothers and the sister questioning them about his part of the meal. An ape and an elephant are also shown. The sculpture is now at the Indian Museum Calcutta (Ludwig Bacchofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, Paris, 1929, p. xvii f.; Pl. 26 bottom; Barua and Simha, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 89; cp. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, p. 76, Pl. xlvii, 7).

I. K.

BHISĀLUVADĀYAKA, an arahant. Ninety-one kappas ago he was living in the forest. One day he met Vipassī Buddha, made him an offering of lotus-stalks and water to wash his hands and saluted him with great devotion. Since that day he never experienced birth in any evil state. Three kappas ago he was a khattiya who became a world ruler by name Bhisa (*Ap.* 1, p. 120).

W.G.W.

BHISA-MUḶĀLA-DĀYAKA, an arahant. Ninety-two kappas ago, when Phussa Buddha came to his dwelling, he made an offering of lotus-stalks and lotus petals (*bhisa-muḷāla*). As a result of this good act, he never experienced birth in a bad state since then (*Ap.* I. pp. 286-7).

BHĪṢAṆA (1), name of a yakṣa referred to in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (*Mmk.* p. 44; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHĪṢAṆA (2), name of nāga mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (*Mmk.* p. 454; *BHS.* s.v).

BHĪṢAṆA (3), name of a locality mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*Mhm.* 28: *BHS.* s.v.).

BHISAPUPPHA JĀTAKA (No. 392). The bodhisatta was once an ascetic. One day he descended into a pool smelling a lotus in full bloom. He was rebuked by a deity for stealing perfume by smelling a flower that did not belong to him. The bodhisatta was taken by surprise. In that same pond was a man digging for lotus fibres and breaking the lotus plants but the deity did not find fault

with him. When the bodhisatta asked her for the reason, her reply was that she had no interest in people who were not virtuous. But in the holy man seeking purity even a sin as insignificant as a hair-tip stood out like a dark cloud in the sky. The bodhisatta was much impressed and thanked her. After death he was reborn in brahmaloka. The deity was a previous incarnation of Uppalavaṇṇā.

This *Jātaka* was related in reference to a bhikkhu who had a similar experience as the bodhisatta. He had smelt a lotus in a forest pool in Kosala and was scared by a diety who accused him of stealing perfume (*J.* III, pp. 307 ff.).

L.R.G.

BHĪṢMA, etymologically 'formidable', 'mighty,' an epithet of a great seer (*maharṣi*), occurring in the *Mahāmāyūri* (No. 257). Edgerton is of opinion that this may possibly refer to Bhīṣma of the *Mahābhārata* (*BHS.* s. v.).

BHĪṢMAGARJITA-NIRGHOṢASVARA, a former Buddha, occurring in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*AṣP.* p.481), identical with Bhīṣmagarjita-svararāja referred to in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Sdmp.* pp. 318 ff.). He belonged to the age called Vinirbhoga and to the world Mahāsambhava. He preached the doctrine, comprising the Four Noble Truths as its essence and culminating in the realisation of Nirvāṇa. The life-time of that Tathāgata lasted forty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of aeons, and after his complete extinction his true law remained hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis in the Jambudvīpa, and the counterfeit of the true law continued hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of aeons. When the counterfeit of the true law of Tathāgata Bhīṣmagarjita-svararāja (another name for Bhīṣmagarjita-nirghoṣasvara) had disappeared, he was succeeded by a long series of Buddhas of the same name. Under this Buddha, the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita is said to have started his career of preparation for Buddhahood.

W. S.Kt.

BHĪṢMAMĀTAṄGA, name of a great sage (*maharṣi*) referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (257; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHĪṢMAYASAS, name of a bodhisattva that occurs in a list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Māyā, who gives this list, says that she has been the mother of three Buddhas, namely, Krakutsanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa; and will be the mother of all the bodhisattvas mentioned in the list (*Gvyū.* p. 442).

BHĪṢMOTTARANIRGHOṢA, name of a sage occurring in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Gvyū* p. 110), as a resident of Nalāyu territory (*janapada*), and as the preceptor of a group of young students. He was a knower of the bodhisattva discipline (*bodhisattvacaryā*), for the knowledge of which the banker's son Suddhana resorted to him at the direction of Āśā the female devotee.

BHĪTĀ SUTTA, the fifth sutta in the Chetvā-vagga of the *Devatā-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I. p. 42). In reply to a deva's question the Buddha says that a person who is pure in deed, word and thought, has faith, is gentle, generous and kind, need not fear life after death.

BHIYYA, one of the two chief lay-patrons of Paduma Buddha (*Buv.* ix, *v.* 23).

BHIYYOSA (var. Bhīyasa, Bhiyya, Bhiyyasa, Bhīyosa), one of the two chief disciples of Buddha Koṇāgamana (*D.* II, p. 4; *J.* I, p. 43; *Buv.* xxiv, *v.*22). He was a prince and the Buddha preached to him and his friend, prince Uttara, together with their following of thirty thousand in the city of Surindavatī. At the end of the discourse they all entered the Saṅgha (*BuvA.* p. 259 f.).

L. R. G.

BHOGA, enjoyment, wealth.

Derived from the root *bhuj* 'to enjoy', 'to make use of,' the term as used in Buddhist literature primarily means enjoyment (*A.* IV, p. 392). But the sense of the term has been extended to cover material things that are enjoyed or made use of for the purpose of living. Thus, it includes not only the necessities of life such as food, clothing and shelter, but also luxuries. People earn and possess material things because they want to utilise them in order to maintain themselves in this world. Thus *bhoga* comes to mean possessions (*Sn.* *vv.* 102, 301; *D.* III, p. 188). This discussion deals with the Buddha's attitude towards material possessions.

It has to be remembered that the Buddha's is a dual attitude towards *bhoga*, one for monks and one for laymen. The possessions to be owned

by a monk and by a layman are easily decided by the necessities of life in each case. Hence, this dual attitude is a natural consequence of the two different ways of living, of the layman and of the monk. But, although the layman has the right to possess *bhoga* in the form of necessities of life, their utilisation for mere enjoyment is disallowed even to the layman.

As for the monk, the possession of any kind of wealth in material form, other than the very basic necessities, is taboo. He enters the Order depending, even for his fundamental needs, such as food, raiment, etc., on the pious lay devotees. His being a life of detachment and renunciation, he is not expected to possess any material wealth at all. All his wealth is spiritual and so are his enjoyments.

A layman has to possess wealth and utilise it, for his way of life demands it. The Buddha has a practical moral philosophy for him and this philosophy contains the ethical virtues of Buddhism such as contentment (*santuṭṭhi*), liberality (*dāna*), simplicity (*appicchatā*), self-control (*saṃvara*), etc.

According to the Buddha's philosophy, all extremes are to be avoided. This he taught in his first sermon, the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* (*Vin.* I, pp. 10 ff. ; *S.* V, pp. 429 ff.). His injunction to avoid extremes and to follow the middle path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) is applicable with regard to the enjoyment of material wealth, too. Luxurious living (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) as well as extreme asceticism (*attakilamathānuyoga*) are both condemned by the Buddha. Here, in the case of the layman, it is a question of the necessities and the luxuries of life. Enjoyment (*bhoga*) of sensual pleasures by indulging in luxuries is a violation of the Buddha's teaching. Simplicity (*appicchatā*) is a highly recommended virtue. A layman should accumulate wealth by proper means (*dhammena : Dhp. v.* 84), if he were to follow the Buddhist way of life and should make use of such wealth only so far as it is necessary for the purpose of leading a life free from want. But excessive craving (*taṇhā*) for material wealth is strongly disapproved. In the case of the layman, wealth has to be earned, for even the practice of liberality is not possible for the poor and the needy. Although, according to the Buddha, *taṇhā* is the cause of all misery in the world, for the layman a certain amount of *taṇhā* is inherent. He who is entirely free from *taṇhā* is enlightened (*arahant*). He has conquered all sorrow (*taṇhakkhayo sabbadukkhaṃ jināti : Dhp. v.* 354). As long as a layman has *taṇhā*, he cannot reach this ideal state and as such he should free himself from *taṇhā* as far as practicable. If he limits his *taṇhā* to the necessities of life, if he does not crave for *bhoga* that is beyond his reach and is content with what falls to his lot, he can be a good lay Buddhist. This is not advocating fatal resignation. By all means let one attempt to better his position in the correct way (*dhammena : Dhp. v.* 84). Thus wealth, if it were to have any value, must be earned righteously. In fact the Buddha says that a virtuous man will come to possess much wealth (*mahantaṃ bhogakkhandaṃ*) as a profit (*ānisaṃsa*) accruing to him from virtuous living (*D.* II, p. 86). At *S.* IV, pp. 331–7, the Buddha explains clearly his attitude towards wealth and its use, in his advice to Rāsiya, a village headman. Here, he says that a good layman should not seek wealth unlawfully and by violence. After obtaining wealth by lawful means, he should make himself and his dependants happy and pleased, and do meritorious deeds. He should not be enslaved by his possessions, but should enjoy them without clinging to them.

There is an important passage at *A.* IV, p. 392, where *bhoga*, as enjoyment, is classified into four divisions, as enjoyment of good food (*bhattabhoga*), good clothes (*vatthabhoga*), good conveyance (*yānabhoga*) and the enjoyment of the five pleasures of the sense-organs (*pañcasu kāmaguṇesu bhoga*). This division is quite comprehensive and it is interesting to see that this division is made in order to explain how liberality should be practised. Here, it is said that only the person who gives gifts with his own hand, quite mindful of his action, and believing in its good kamma in the future, will have inclination for the enjoyment of these four kinds of *bhoga*, once he comes to possess them later, as fruition of his charity. He who gives in charity but without being thoughtful about it, could be wealthy as a good result of his liberality, but because of his lack of interest in the act, he would not be able to enjoy his wealth. Here, it has to be remembered that the Buddha does not recommend that these pleasures should be enjoyed, nor does he prohibit such enjoyment. His injunction is that for one who sees this world as full of suffering, which was how he saw it, the best course would be to give up all worldly possessions and enjoyments and to become a monk. But, if one wishes to remain a layman one should follow the middle path regarding these enjoyments. One should not be addicted to or be enslaved by them. These pleasures should not be taken as the be-all and end-all of life. They should not be treated as an end in themselves. They should be resorted to so far as

necessary for the purpose of living and the indulgence in various pleasures should be done with much self-control and only so far as necessary for the purpose of leading a contented existence as a layman.

The injunction of the Buddha, in the layman's ethics, that he should keep to the middle path, knowing the limit in earning and the utilisation of wealth is very significant when considered in relation to practical living. It is often seen that some people, not knowing how their wealth should be made use of, put their money to improper use, thereby causing trouble for themselves and others. Most of such practices are followed for the purpose of accumulating more and more wealth. The Buddha says that riches destroy the foolish, for, by craving for riches, the foolish person destroys himself as well as others (*bhogataṇhāya dummedho hanti aññe'va attanaṃ : Dhp. v.* 355). It is this craving for enjoyment (*bhogataṇhā*), when practised beyond the proper limits, that is the bane of all humanity (*icchādosā ayaṃ pajā : Dhp. v.* 359). Once this *taṇhā* is completely destroyed, all sorrow is conquered (*taṇhakkhayo sabbadukkhaṃ jināti: Dhp. v.* 354). Hoarding wealth in any form is looked down upon (*A.* III, p. 222). The Buddha observes that the quality of not hoarding wealth greedily for the sake of mere craving for possessions is a noble virtue. The Buddha's view is that in the case of the person who prefers to lead the life of the layman, *bhoga* should be obtained by proper means, and also such wealth should be put to correct use. This is why right livelihood is included in the Noble Eightfold Path as *sammā-ājīva*. The Buddha himself says that the industrious person gets wealth (*uṭṭhātā vindate dhanaṃ : Sn. v.* 187). It is not in keeping with the teaching of the Buddha to hanker after *bhoga* that is beyond one's reach. Unless one is satisfied with one's lot, it is impossible for one to lead a life of contentment (*santuṭṭhi*), and hence contentment is treated as the greatest wealth (*santuṭṭhi paramaṃ dhanaṃ: Dhp. v.* 204).

The Buddha has given very practical and useful advice to the layman regarding the earning and the utilisation of wealth. He says in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* that one should divide one's earnings (*bhoga*) into four equal portions and use the first on the satisfaction of various needs, two portions for investment and the fourth to be put by for a rainy day (*D.* III, p. 188).

Just as virtuous living makes one's *bhoga* increase, loss of wealth may result as a consequence of the commission of sinful acts (*Dhp. v.* 139). As liberality (*dāna, cāga*) is a virtue that should be practised by a good man, it is said (*Sn. v.* 102) that if a wealthy man were to enjoy his dainties all alone, it would be a source of failure for him. Out of the five kinds of losses (*vyasana*) that might befall a person, loss of wealth is given as one (*D.* III, p. 235). Pride of wealth or economic snobbery is given as a cause of one's downfall (*Sn. v.* 104).

The Buddha often distinguishes between material and spiritual wealth. A common group of such spiritual treasures, which constitute seven virtues (*satta dhanāni*), is often mentioned (e.g., *A.* IV, p. 4). See DHANA.

The Buddha compares material wealth with these treasures and says that these latter are the real wealth that a man can possess (e.g., *A.* IV, p. 7; *D.* III, p. 163). For, while material wealth could be taken away by kings, robbers, enemies and others, these spiritual treasures cannot be taken away by anyone. At *M.* III, p. 180, the Buddha is told by a brāhman that the brāhmans speak of four kinds of wealth. The first is that of a brāhman whose wealth is dependent on alms, the second that of a warrior (*khattiya*) whose wealth is the bow and the quiver, the third is that of a merchant (*vessa*) which is agriculture and tending cattle and the fourth that of a worker (*sudda*), the sickle and the yoke. The Buddha rejects this classification and lays down that the practice of the noble *dhamma* is the real wealth of any person, irrespective of his position by birth.

Here, it is worth mentioning that in those days wealth consisted mainly of gold, silver, grain and cattle (*Sn. vv.* 302–7).

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the attitude of the Buddha towards *bhoga* in relation to lay life is one in which both the extremes of excessive craving for it as well as its total refusal are avoided. Buddhism being a religion of temperance this attitude is to be expected. In the case of the monk, both his enjoyments and possessions are spiritual. His possessions are confined only to the barest essentials for his living.

The layman has to be guided as regards material possessions and their utilisation by certain fundamental ethical principles as discussed above. The Buddha admits that all beings must, first of all, have enough to eat (*sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā : D.* III, pp. 211, 273). Without food, clothing and shelter human beings cannot exist in this world, cannot develop ethical qualities or achieve spiritual development.

Viewed from the layman's point of view there are five advantages resulting from *bhoga* as given by the Buddha himself in the *Bhoga Sutta* at

A. III, p. 259. These five advantages are that with riches one can make oneself happy and glad (*sukheti, pīneti*). Similarly one can keep one's parents, wife, children, slaves and workers, friends and colleagues happy and glad. Also, it is said here that there are five disadvantages in *bhoga*, for, they may be destroyed by fire or floods, they may be taken away by kings or heirs or robbers, resulting in much sorrow. He who has no attachment to any kind of possession will have no such occasions for grief and sorrow. This is why the Buddha recommends renunciation for the sake of spiritual and supramundane happiness.

See also MATERIALISM.

A. G. S. K.

BHOGANAGARAKA (Pāli: *Bhoganagara*), a village in the Vajji country where the Buddha stayed in the Ānanda-cetiya, on his last journey and where he preached a sermon on the four great authorities (*mahāpadesā; Das Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, ed. Ernst Waldschmidt, Berlin, 1950, pp. 21, 230; *D*. II, p. 124; *A*. II, p. 167). From Bhoga he went on to Pāvā (*D*. II, p. 126). Bhoga was one of the places passed by Bāvari's pupils on their way to Rājagaha. It lay between Pāvā and Vesāli (*Sn*. v. 1013).

U. K.

BHOGASAṂHARA PETAVATTHU, the story of four women of Rājagaha who, having earned money by selling things with false measures, were born as petas. One night the four petas roamed about in the city crying, "We earned money, but others make use of it." The people, who were frightened by their cry, arranged a great almsgiving for the Buddha and the monks and informed the Buddha of what they had heard. The Buddha explained to them that there was no reason for fear, and that it was a cry of four petas who, in their former life, had earned money by unjust means (*Pvu*. p. 67; *PvuA*. pp. 278–9).

U. K.

BHOGA SUTTA of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. III, p. 259). According to this sutta there are five disadvantages and five advantages in the possession of riches. They are liable to be destroyed by fire and water. Thirdly, they can be confiscated or taken by force by kings and others, fourthly, robbers can steal them and, finally, one's wealth may be inherited by people who are not loved by the owner of those riches. The advantages are that with the help of riches one can make happy and satisfied oneself as well as one's parents, wife, children, slaves, labourers, friends and companions To recluses and brāhmans one can make offerings, resulting in happiness here and leading to heaven hereafter.

A. G. S. K.

BHOGAVANT, name of a nāga mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (221, *BHS*. s. v.).

BHOGAVATĪ (1), a bodhisattva occupying a place to the west of the white Avalokiteśvara in the Avalokiteśvara section of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

His mystic name (*guhya nāma*) is *Ju-i-ching-kang* and his symbol (*samaya*) is two stalks of lotuses, one stalk with a flower in bloom and the other with three buds. His seed letter (*bīja-akṣara*) is *sa*. His figure is the colour of white flesh. His left hand holds two stalks of lotus ; his right hand is bent at the elbow and the palm is upturned with the third and little fingers bent. He sits cross-legged on a red lotus-flower.

As to his merit, the *Ta-jih-ching-shu*, the commentary on *Mahāvairocanasambodhi* : (*Taishō*, Vol. 34, p. 742) says : Bhogavatī presents every thing freely to the person who wants them.

In China, the name of this bodhisattva is translated as Fêng-ts'ai (C. 3 : lot of properties) or Tzŭ-ts'ai-chu (C. 4 : ruler of properties).

K. Tmr.

BHOGAVATĪ (2), the magnificent palace of the nāga king Varuṇa of Hiraññavatī, the capital of the nāga kingdom (*J*. VI, pp. 269–70).

BHOJA (1), one of the eight brāhmans who read the auspicious marks on the bodhisatta's body, on the fifth day after his birth. The others were Rāma, Dhaja, Lakkhaṇa, Mantī, Koṇḍañña, Suyāma and Sudatta (*J*. I, p. 56). In the *Milindapañha*, Bhoja is referred to as Subhoja (*Miln*. p. 236).

BHOJA (2), one of the three ancient physicians who were skilled in curing people bitten by serpents. The other two were Vetaranī and Dhammantarī (*J*. IV, pp. 496, 498).

BHOJA (3), name of a country mentioned in Pali Buddhist literature. In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, it is said that there was a sage (*isi*) named Rohitassa Bhojaputta (*S.*I, pp. 61–2) and the *Jātaka* mentions sixteen Bhojaputtas (*J.* V, p. 164). According to Law (*Geography of Early Buddhism*, Paris, 1954, p. 62), Bhoja is identical with Berar or ancient Vidobha, and Chammaka, four miles south-east of Elichpur in the Amarāvatī district.

I. K.

BHOJĀJĀNĪYA JĀTAKA (No. 23). The bodhisatta was once born as a thoroughbred Sindh horse and was made the destrier of the king of Bārāṇasī. He was fed on exquisite food and surrounded with every luxury. Once, Bārāṇasī was besieged by seven hostile kings who coveted the kingdom. On the ministers' advice the king sent a chosen knight to fight the enemies. Mounted on the king's destrier, he broke down six of the enemy camps and seized six kings alive, but before he could attack the seventh, the steed received a wound which caused him much pain. Thereupon the warrior proceeded to remove its armour and prepare another horse for battle. But the destrier knowing that no other horse could capture the seventh king, requested his rider to arm him again. This he did and destroyed the seventh camp too, capturing the seventh king. As the armour was being removed, the horse died, with a request that the king should show mercy to the captive kings and release them on an oath that they would not attack his kingdom again.

This *Jātaka* was related on account of a bhikkhu who had given up persevering. The characters are thus identified: the king of Bārāṇasī was Ānanda and the warrior was Sāriputta (*J.* I, pp. 178–81).

This *Jātaka* is very similar to the *Ājañña Jātaka* which immediately follows it.

This *Jātaka* is depicted in a sculpture from Bhārhut (Barua and Sinha, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 80 f.).

L. R. G.

BHOJAKA-GIRI-VIHĀRA, a monastery in Kāliṅga built by king Asoka at the cost of one crore (*koṭi-dhanaṃ*) for his brother Tissa Eka-vihāriya who was an arahant at the time (*ThagA.* II, p. 230).

BHOJAKATAKA, a resident of Atangkhata (or, Atangkhata, a resident of Bhojakataka) whose gift of a railing to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscription on that railing (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, p. 141).

H. R. P.

BHOJANA, a term used in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature, both canonical and non-canonical, to mean food, meal or nourishment (*PED.*). Though the term may refer only to soft foods (*bhojanīya*) in its particular sense, it generally covers all kinds of food, namely, soft foods (*bhojanīya*), hard foods (*khādanīya*), savoury foods (*sāyanīya*) and liquid food (*pānīya*). The above fourfold division of food is a very rigid one and occurs only rarely (e. g., *Vin.* III, p. 72). The common division has only the first two categories, namely soft foods and hard foods. The old commentary of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vin.* IV, p. 83) states that by the term 'soft food' are meant five kinds of food, namely, cooked rice (*odana*), food made of flour (*kummāsa*), barley meal (*sattu*), fish (*maccha*) and meat (*maṃsa*). The term 'hard food' is defined differently at two places (*Vin.* IV, pp. 83, 92). At the first it includes everything other than the five kinds of soft food, the food that may be kept by monks during a watch of the night, during seven days and during life. At the second, it includes everything other than the five kinds of soft food and the water for cleansing the teeth. Gruel (*yāgu*) ranks neither as a soft food nor as a hard food (*The Book of Discipline*, London, 1940, Vol. II, p. xxxi). *Bhatta* is another Pali term used synonymously with *bhojana*. *Bhojana* or material food, incidentally, is one of the four nutriments (*āhāra*; *EncyBsm.* I, pp. 280–3).

Food was an important item in the communal life of the Saṅgha, for it was essential for the support and upkeep of the body which in turn was necessary for the practice of the holy life. Hence, this subject takes an important place in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and in other literary works. A large variety of food that were taken by the monks are mentioned in these works. Grains (*dhañña*) evidently formed the major part of a monk's meal and seven kinds are detailed in the *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA.* p. 823), namely, rice (*sāli*), paddy (*vīhi*), corn, barley (*yava*), wheat (*godhūma*), millet (*kaṅgu*), beans (*varaka*) and rye (*kudrūsaka*). Vegetables, fish and meat were served with rice. All kinds of vegetables, all edible fruits and all food made

of flour were allowed to be eaten (*Vin.* I, p. 249 f.). Restrictions were, however, made with regard to certain kinds of meat, like that of the lion, tiger and the hyena (*Vin.* I, 220). Further, a a monk should not eat fish or meat if he saw, heard or suspected that the fish or the animal was killed purposely for him (*Vin.* I, p. 238). Fish and meat were considered as sumptuous food (*paṇītabhojanāni*) along with ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, molasses, milk and curd (*Vin.* IV, p. 87 f.). Rice-gruel (*yāgu*) is mentioned as a special food which does not rank either as a soft food or as a hard food. Ten advantages of it as a food are mentioned, namely, that it gives life, good complexion, ease, strength and intelligence, checks hunger, keeps off thirst, regulates the wind, cleans the bladder and digests raw remnants of food (*Vin.* I, p. 221). Eight kinds of drinks that were allowed to monks are also mentioned, namely, drinks prepared from mangoes, rose-apples, dates, bananas, honey, grapes, edible lotus-roots and *phārusaka*. All fruit juices were also allowed but not corn juice (*Vin.* I, p. 246). There were other varieties of food like cakes, sugar with flour and syrup and kidney beans (*Vin.* I, p. 212 ; III, p. 53).

The Buddha and his disciples depended on the laity for their food. At first food was obtained only by begging (*piṇḍapāta*, q. v.). The recluse Gotama obtained his first meal by begging and for this purpose he procured a begging bowl a *patta:* (*J.* I, p. 65 f.). Later, when Buddhism became a popular religion in Magadha and the outlying districts, lay people invited the Buddha and his disciples to their homes and served them. Subsequently the practice of begging for alms-food prevailed side by side with receiving food by invitation and these two became the two chief sources of a monk's sustenance. The begging bowl in which the food was to be received was one of the eight requisites of a monk (*J.* II, p. 65). Two kinds of bowls were allowed namely, iron bowls and clay bowls (*Vin.* II, p. 112).

As the community grew bigger, rules relating to begging, eating etc., became invariably necessary in order to preserve a high moral standard among the members of the Saṅgha. S. Hardy (*Eastern Monachism*, Partridge & Oakey, 1850, p. 94) remarks that these rules were all the more necessary because the community of monks was composed of people from all grades of society, even people who were not accustomed to accepted manners. This is obvious from the type of some rules that were laid down, especially with regard to eating.

Food was to be taken by a monk, not for the purpose of pleasing one's taste, not for the sake of strength or manhood, not for beauty and embellishment (as is the case with courtesans, actors and dancers), but for the purpose of continuance or endurance of the body, just as an owner of an old house uses props for his house and as a carter uses axle-grease. Food is also meant for a monk, for the ending of discomfort caused by hunger, like the counteraction of cold with heat. It is also meant to assist the life of purity, for one could strive for the ultimate goal when there is bodily strength which is dependent on food (*Vism.* p. 26 f.). The monk who takes food for these purposes is described as one who is moderate in eating (*bhojane mattaññu*).

The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* I, p. 114) records that a monk, who is moderate in eating, takes his food thoughtfully and prudently ; not for pleasure, not for indulgence, not for personal charm or adornment, but just enough to support and keep up the body, to allay its pains, to help the practice of the holy life. A monk is not to eat as much as possible for it leads to sloth and torpor. He should eat four or five mouthfuls less than the stomach could hold (*Vism.* p. 27). The *Theragāthā* also expresses the same opinion as follows.

"*Cattāro pañca ālope abhutvā udakaṃ pive*
alaṃ phāsuvihārāya pahitattassa bhikkhuno."

(*Thag. v.* 983)

The monk after having collected food which is enough for his day's meal, should go back to a residence. He should not eat while standing or walking, but should sit down while eating. The food should be eaten in the order it is found in the bowl and not what he prefers. The food should be made into small lumps and be eaten (not just swallowed). He should not open his mouth before the food is brought close to it. One lump of food should be swallowed before another is put into the mouth. He should not talk while eating. The lumps of food should not be broken up. He should not put his tongue out or smack lips while eating ; nor should he make any sound (*Vin.* IV, pp. 190 ff.).

The early texts mention only one meal as a monk's food for the day, namely the forenoon meal. This was to be taken before the noon had passed. If a monk ate after this time there was an offence of expiation for every mouthful (*Vin.* IV. p. 85 f.). The monks have strictly observed this rule to this day though there were attempts to

violate it even as early as the time of the second council (*Vin.* II, p. 298). There were certain kinds of medicinal food (*The Book of the Discipline*, London, 1940, II, p. 330, n. 1) that were allowed for monks to be taken during a watch of the night, during seven days and during life, whenever there was a valid reason (*Vin.* IV, p. 86 ; see BHESAJJA).

Numerous rules were laid down with regard to different types of meals. *Gaṇabhojana*, a group meal, *paramparabhojana*, an out-of-turn meal, *atirittabhojana*, food that is left over, *anatiritta-bhojana*, food that is not left over and *sannidhikā-rakabhojana*, food that is stored up, are the main types involving such rules.

A *gaṇabhojana* or a group meal is that which is taken by four or more monks together at one and the same place (*Vin.* IV, p. 74). Such meals were completely forbidden at first (loc. cit.) with compassion towards households (*kulānuddayāya*). Unrestricted, they could have become too heavy a burden to those who give meals. Later, the Buddha made certain relaxations, allowing a group meal on certain occasions, as when the monks were ill, if they were to receive robes after the meal, if it was given at the time of making robes, when they were going together on a journey, when they were being embarked on a boat and when there was a scarcity of food.

Paramparabhojana or an out-of-turn meal was taken in advance at one place when there was an invitation at another place. Sometimes, in the early days of the religion, monks resorted to this practice, particularly when the invitation came from a poor householder (e.g., *Vin.* IV, p. 76). Later this practice was allowed only when the particular monk was ill, if it was the time of giving robes and only after assigning the expected meal to another monk (*Vin.* IV, p. 75).

Atirittabhojana or food that was left over by one monk may be eaten by another (*Vin.* IV, p. 81). *Anatirittabhojana* or food that was not left over could be eaten only if that food was brought from the place where the monks were fed the same day (*Vin.* I, p. 213).

Gaṇabhojana, *paramparabhojana* and *atiritta-bhojana* form the subject of a controverted point in the *Kathāvatthu* (*Kvu.* p. 552). In the *Visuddhi-magga* (*Vism.* p. 54) one of the advantages of being a *piṇḍapātika* is said to be that such a monk will not commit the offences contained in this section of the Vinaya, by taking these types of meals.

Special provisions were made by the Buddha to see that the monks did not starve during times of famine and scarcity of food. During such periods monks were permitted to cook their own food indoors, use food that was picked up, which was brought from a place where they were fed, which was accepted before a meal time and which grows in the woods and in a lotus tank. Food-tickets (*salāka*) were issued and the monks were even permitted to cut short the observance of the rain retreat (*Vin.* I pp. 149, 238 ; IV, p. 25). They could also make use of food that was stored up during such a period (*Vin.* IV, p. 86 f.). These relaxations were to be withdrawn soon after the famine was over (*Vin.* I, p. 238).

There were several other restrictions which would not fall into the above categories. A monk should not accept food from a nun, if she is not a relative (*Vin.* IV, p. 175). It is an offence for the monks to accept food which was brought to a forest-dwelling, unless they were ill and thus were unable to go for alms (*Vin.* IV, p. 184). Monks should not give food, with their own hands, to ascetics of other sects. Similarly, a nun should not give food to a householder or a wanderer (*Vin.* IV, p. 302). Remnants of food should not be thrown away over a wall or a fence (*Vin.* IV, p. 265).

Even after food-by-invitation was allowed by the Buddha, there were some monks who depended purely on *piṇḍapāta* as a fulfilment of one of the thirteen rules of austerity (*dhutaṅga*, q. v.). Devadatta once requested the Buddha to make this practice compulsory to all monks but the Buddha declined it saying that whoever wished could resort to it. Four of the above mentioned thirteen *dhutaṅgas*, namely, *piṇḍapātikaṅga*, *sapa-dānacārikaṅga*, *pattapiṇḍikaṅga* and *pacchā-bhattikaṅga* are concerned with food and these are explained in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* pp. 48 ff.).

H. R. P.

BHOJANADĀYAKA (var. Amittaka, Amittata), designation of an arahant. In a previous birth, thirty-one kappas ago, he made an offering of food to Buddha Vessabhū. In subsequent lives he escaped birth in the woeful states as a consequence of this offering. Twenty-five kappas ago, he was born as a world ruler by the name of Amittabhā (*Ap.* I, p. 253).

BHOJANASUDDHIKA, the bodhisatta, born as the king of Bārāṇasi. He came to be known as Bhojanasuddhika since he was very dainty in his eating. see DŪTA JĀTAKA (*J.* II, pp. 319-21).

BHOJANA SUTTA. There are two suttas by this name in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. Both are given as discourses addressed by the Buddha to the monks and deal with the question of what four things a giver of food (whence the name of the suttas, *bhojana* meaning 'food') gives to the receiver thereof. According to one sutta (*A.* II, p. 64), the four things are, life, beauty, happiness and strength, and by giving these, he becomes a partaker too, of each of these qualities, either as god or as man. He ensures for himself thereby honour and long life wherever he may be reborn. The other sutta (*A.* III, p. 42) says there are five, adding to the same four a fifth—*paṭibhāna*, ready wit or understanding. Hare, translating the word *paṭibhāna* as above (E. M. Hare, *Gradual Sayings*, III, London, 1952, p. 34) comments on the commentarial phrase *yutta-mutta-paṭibhāna* suggesting that it may mean Bacon's 'ready man.' The *Pali English Dictionary* (*PED.* s. v. *mutta*), however, gives the meaning of *mutta-paṭibhāna* as 'of loose intelligence.' It may mean an acute sensibility.

B. J.

BHOJAPUTTA, probably the name for a native of the Bhoja country. There is a reference to sixteen Bhojaputtā in the *Jātaka* (*J.* I, p. 45 ; V, pp. 164 ff.). The deva Rohitassa tells the Buddha that he was a Bhojaputta in his previous birth (*S.* I, p. 61 ; *A.* II, p. 48). Bhoja has been identified with modern Berar (Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932, p. 62). However, Bhojaputta has been interpreted as 'son of a villager' in the *PED*, and as 'son of Bhoja' by Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Kindred Sayings*, I, London, 1950, p. 86 ; F. L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, II, London, 1952, p. 56).

L. R. G.

BHOJJANAKOṆḌA (var. Bahujjanakoṇḍa), a south Indian Buddhist site in the Andhra Pradesh. The remains discovered here recently, throw light on the existence of a Buddhist vihāra, dating from the pre-Christian or early Christian centuries.[1] It is situated about a mile away to the north east from the Ankapalle railway station (740 kilometers from Madras on the Calcutta main line), in the village named Sankaram (probably a corruption from the original term, Saṅghārāma).

The Bhojjanakoṇḍa antiquities, along with the ruins in the adjoining hill Liṅgalakoṇḍa, were unknown to the public till recently because of the absence of archaeological excavations executed there.

The main edifice is a brick built stūpa of moderate size, now in ruins, erected on a stone platform. The stūpa is on the summit of the hill and is surrounded by a large number of monolithic miniature stūpas. Relic caskets, resembling votive stūpas, have also been excavated from the main stūpa.

The other important monument at Bhojjanakoṇḍa is a two storeyed rock-cut cave temple, which is approached by a paved pathway of more than sixty steps. Inside the cave is a stūpa of modest dimensions, also in ruins. On the rock ceiling of the cave just above the dome of the stūpa, is the carving of a *chattra* (umbrella) which was originally connected to the summit of the dome of the stūpa by a wooden or a lithic shaft which, too, has disappeared now. The appearance of the *chattra* carved on the rock ceiling indicates that the shrine belongs to the earliest phase of Buddhist rock-cut caves in India.[2]

Above the stūpa-cave is an upper storey with many images of the Buddha, mostly broken and disfigured. There are six other caves hewn-out of the rock, wherein are found sculptured panels depicting incidents from the life of the Buddha.[3]

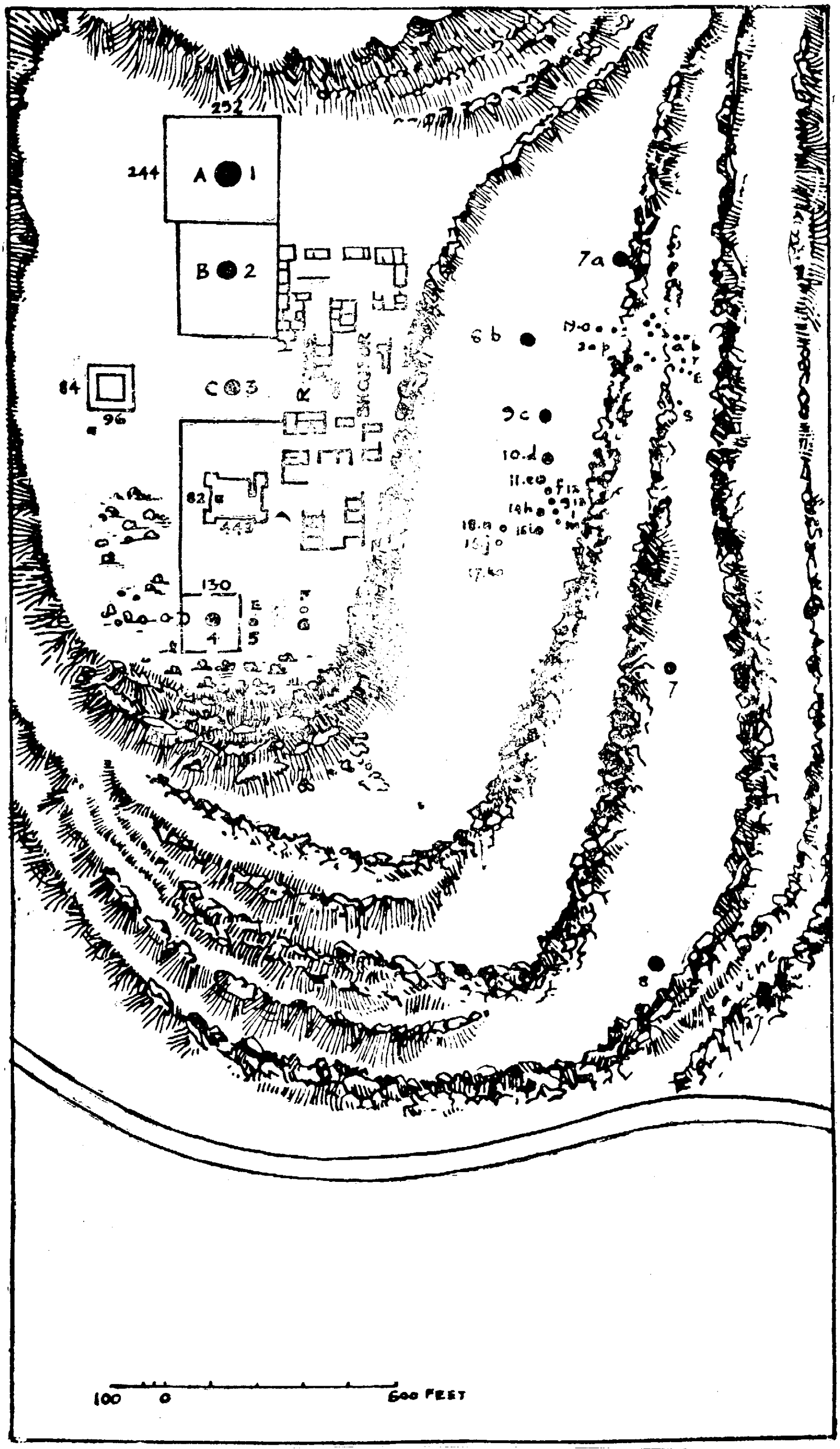
At the lower level are found the ruins of a *saṅghārāma* with rows of cells for the residence of monks. A large number of small stūpas, mostly monolithic, are found on the Liṅgalakoṇḍa hill, to the west of Bhojjanakoṇḍa.

A very important discovery from the Bhojjanakoṇḍa group is a stone image of the mother goddess Hārītī (q. v.). It is interesting here to recollect the claim of Andhra royal princes to be descendents of Hārītī (as Hārītīputras). This fact was observed also by some Chinese Buddhist monks who travelled in India (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Vol. II, Indian Edition, Calcutta, 1958, p. 160, n. 96).

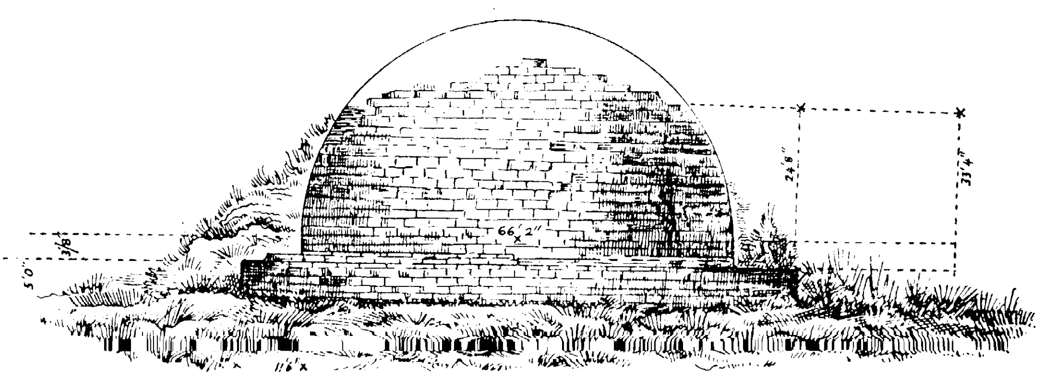
1 This description of the Bhojjanakoṇḍa ruins is partly based on the account by Noeyal Peiris in the *Mahabodhi*, March 1967, pp. 90 ff., 'The Ruins of an Ancient Buddhist Monastery in Andhra Pradesh'.

2 Similar structural monuments dating from the first or second century B.C., commonly known as *caityagharas*, are found in western and eastern India alike (see, J. Burgess and J. Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880 ; J. Burgess *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their inscriptions*, London, 1883).

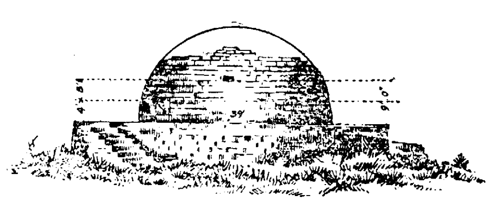
3 The archaic type of the rock-cut *caityaghara* and the appearance of the Buddha image in the round and in sculptured panels is evidence for the later additions and renovations at the site which was begun before the Christian era, probably by the early Andhras.



Reproduced from A. Cunningham, The Bhilsa Topes, London, 1854
Diagram showing the location of the Bhojpūr Topes



1.— Bhojpur No. 1 Tope A, the largest among the Bhojpur stupas. It is built of dry stones. No relics were found by Cunningham.







The relic caskets discovered in the stupas of Bhojpur.

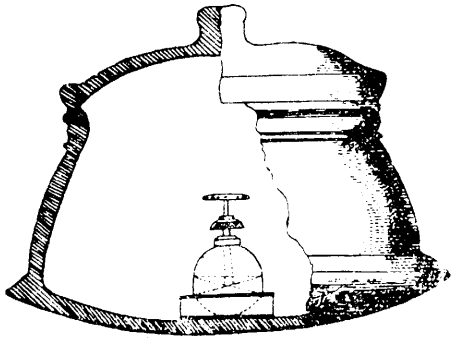


Fig. 1

Fig. 1.—The relic-caskets discovered at No. 2 Tope B, shown here as found placed inside a red-earthernware box. The casket is in the shape of a small crystal stupa, with its terrace, plinth, hemispherical dome, square pedestal and double chatta pinnacle. In the earthern ware box were found several pieces of bone, and a series of seven precious things usually placed along the relics of an eminent person. These seven pieces consisted of 4 thin bits of gold, 1 bead of garnet of Badakshani ruby, 1 crystal bead, 2 beads of pale greenish crystal and some minute fragments of pearl.

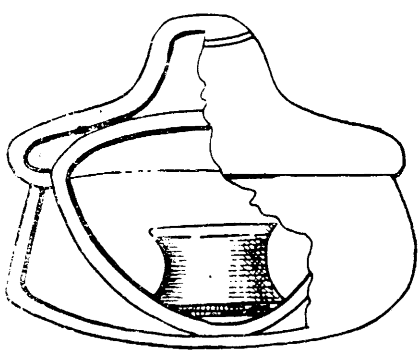


Fig. 2

Fig. 2.—Diagram of a black earthernware box containing an earthernware bowl covered by a lid of the same material on which is the word "Mun" or the "The holy"—a title generally applied to the Buddha himself. This was discovered at No. 4 Tope D.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Fig. 3 & 4.—The two vases above were discovered at No. 7, Tope A. Both these vases are inscribed, these being the only inscriptions that were found at Bhojpur. The larger one (above) carries inscribed on the bowl the legend *Patito*, "the degraded" while the smaller vase (below) carries the legend *Upahitakasa* " Relics of "Upahitaka."

The Hārīti image probably has occupied a pre-eminent place in the Bhojjanakoṇḍa vihāra built by the Andhras.

Among other finds of importance are terracotta tablets containing parts of Sanskrit ślokas from Mahāyāna scriptures and gold and copper coins belonging to the Gupta and later dynasties. This numismatic evidence could help determining the probable date of the construction of the vihāra or the period during which it flourished.[1]

A. D. T. E. P.

BHOJPŪR. The name of this deserted Indian village occurs in connection with the Bhilsa stūpas which were described by Alexander Cunningham. Bhojpūr was wild and abandoned when first its ancient remains were seen by Cunningham's brother, who was the earliest Westerner to discuss them in writing brief notes under the name Pipaliya-Bijoli ; he had not known the name of the village.

Alexander Cunningham listed the stūpas in his account entitled *Bhilsa Topes* (s.v. BHILSA). They are situated at the southern edge of a low range of hills, six and seven miles from Bhilsa and Sāñcī respectively. The great stūpas at the latter place, as well as of Andher, could be seen from this range. The Bhojpūr stūpas vary in size and, when found, were seen to be in different stages of decay. Cunningham located them on four distinct levels or terraces and described them in this order. The separating rocky ledges of the terraces were, at some unspecified time, fashioned into rude steps.

All the stūpas date back to the ancient period and, having long been deserted, every one of them had been broken into in the course of long centuries. Nevertheless, in a few were found enough votive objects to yield fair evidence of their age. In No. 2 Tope B was found a reliquary, with bits of bone, containing traces of inked letters. These letters were written on the lid of a red earthenware box but were far too illegible for any useful purpose. On the other hand, the reliquary was a small stūpa-shaped one of crystal and the shape was undoubtedly very ancient. No. 7 Tope A was presumed to have had a double chamber within which were found red earthenware boxes enclosing vases of the same kind. On these vases were discovered the only inscriptions from the Bhojpūr site. Cunningham read them respectively as *patito* (degraded) and *upahitakasa* (relics of Upatissa). He attributed the script approximately to the early period of king Asoka, that is the second half of the third century B.C. He also found, in No. 4 Tope D, the inscribed black earthenware lid of a bowl enclosed by a box, both of the identical material. The word on the lid he interpreted as *muṅ* (the Holy) which he explained as a title applied to the Buddha. Deposit objects were also found in stūpas numbered 9 (*c*), 11 (*e*), 17 (*k*) and 23 (*q*) : the first one had an abundance of human bones within a double steatite box.

The other stūpas yielded no information, and none at Bhojpūr could be considered to have been of any great size, except relatively, among themselves. (see also pp. 53 f. above)

D. T. D.

BHOKKANTA-GĀMA, a village to the south of Anurādhapura in Ceylon. It was the residence of Sumana, a householder, who together with his family deserted it and occupied Mahāmunigāma in Dīghavāpiraṭṭha (*DhpA*. IV, p. 50).

BHOṬASVĀMĪ-DĀSALEKHA, (var. *Bhoṭasvāmī-dāsa-gurulekha*), the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Gtam-yig (*Parikathā* and *lekha*) sections of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Bod-rje ḥbaṅs-la brdsaṅs-paḥi ḥphrin-yig* (*TT*. Vol. 129, No. 5693). The author of the work is Saṅs-rgyas gasṅ-ba (Buddhaguhya).

An enumeration in metrical form of Buddhist virtues such as the abstinence from ten evils (*daśākuśalakarma*), the practice of the ten meritorious actions (*daśakuśalakarma*), avoidance of sins of body, speech and mind, form the main content of the work.

This is said to be the text of the message sent to the subjects (Tib. *ḥbaṅs*) of the king of Tibet (Bhoṭasvāmi).

That the king in question is Khri-sraṅ-lden-btsan, of the same lineage as Sroṅ Tsan Gam-po, is also indicated in the text. He is stated to have sent messengers to India, bearing valuable presents, to bring back in return the gift of the Dhamma, to dispel the darkness of ignorance in his own kingdom. The messengers succeeded in their mission and it is the doctrine that they brought back which is set out in verse for the benefit of the people of Tibet.

1 It is very likely that the Nagalapalle antiquities, noticed by A. Rea in the latter half of the 19th century during his excavations of Buddhist ruins in the Andhra district were the same as the sites discussed here. Rea observed remains of a large number of monolithic stūpas and a caitya cave on the hill at Nagalapalle (A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894 ; *ASIAR*. New Imperial Series, London, 1894, Vol. XV, p. 6).

Other sources confirm that Khri-sroṅ lden-btsan sent messengers to India to learn the Buddhist doctrine. See Waddell, *Lamaism*, London, 1895, p. 24.

R. H.

BHRAMAHĀRA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA (var. *Bhramahara-nāma-sādhana* : *Cordier*, 11, 80), the name of a sādhana text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur*. The author of the work is Rin-chen hbyuṅ gnas shi-ba (Ratnākaraśānti). The title in Tibetan is *Ḥkhrul-pa spoṅ-bashes-byabaḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs* (*TT*. Vol. 56, No. 2374).

The text contains a procedure of worship intended to dispel (*spoṅ-ba*) the delusions (*bhrama* : Tib. *ḥkhrul-pa*) of the worshipper. Meditations on topics like *śūnyatā*, invocation of the Buddhas, worship of them and soliciting of their favours form part of the rite.

The main deity whose aid is sought in the text, however, is Heruka. His frightful form is described and instructions are given for the drawing of his maṇḍala and the performance of the propitiatory rites. The worshipper should seek his protection chanting the formula *oṁ rakṣa rakṣa huṁ phaṭ svāhā*.

R. H.

BHRAMAREṢṬA SĀDHANA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Buṅ-ba ḥdod-paḥi sgrub-krabs*, occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur*. The author is named as Ratnacandra and the translator is known as Dnos-grub (*TM*. No. 1280 ; *TT*. Vol. 56, No. 2402).

The text describes the method of propitiating a deity named Bhramara who is said to be full of wisdom. The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Tāntric god Hevajra (Tib. Dgyes-pa rdo-rje). At first the meditator is expected to have a good knowledge of the sensual world (Skt. *trailokya* ; Tib. *ḳhams-gsum*), namely : the phenomenal world (Skt. *kāmalika* or *kāmadhātu* ; Tib. *ḥdod-paḥi-khams*) ; the world of the astral forms (Skt. *rūpadhātu* ; Tib. *gzugs-kyi-khams*) ; and the spiritual world of formless spirits (Skt. *arūpadhātu* ; Tib. *gzugs-med-khams*). Thereupon the meditator is asked to take the form of Heruka and contemplate on the virtues of all the Buddhas. The meditator is also expected to bear in mind the two mystic syllables *ōm* and *hum* from which at first emanates a red lustre and later originates the deity Bhramara from the latter syllable spreading the radiance of his body in every direction.

I. K.

BHṚGU (1) occurs in *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Mhvyut*. No. 3573), as a name of one of the cakravartins.

BHṚGU (2), name of an attendant on the Cāturmahārājika devas, the guardian gods of the four quarters (*Mahāsamājasūtra*, ed. Waldschmidt, *Kltwf*. 4, Berlin, 1911-39, p.173).

The name Bhṛgu appears only in two places in Mahāyāna Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In the above context it appears only once according to studies made by scholars so far (loc. cit.).

Although Bhṛgu, as a deity connected with the four guardian gods, seems to be a very late arrival to the Buddhist pantheon, he has a remote origin in the Vedic religion.

Thus perhaps, Bhṛgu as an attendant deity of the Cāturmahārājika devas has been a later interpolation to suit borrowings from the Vedic and Proto-Indian deva-cults.

The possibility of the assimilation of early Indo-Aryan deities towards the formation of a later Buddhist pantheon with the beginning of the Mahāyāna School and the Mahāyānist inclination towards Sanskrit learning has often been cited by several scholars.

In the early Vedic deva-cult, Bhṛgu is often grouped with the fire god, Agni, and the pitṛs the *manes* (departed ancestors, later developed as pretas), as well as with Varuṇa and Yama.

Hence, it is very likely that with the final acceptance of the primary Indo-Aryan gods like Varuṇa, Yama, Agni, Indra and others into the Buddhist pantheon, lesser characters who were associated with them from time immemorial, too, were accepted to make a compromise. Bhṛgu in the above context could be considered as an example of such a compromise.

In the Vedic mythology Bhṛgu was also an ancient sacrificer (*ṛṣi*), an ancestor (*pitṛ*).

Pitṛs [*manes*, later *preta* (Pali, *peta*), group of demonic beings in the later Buddhist and Brāhmanic mythologies] were always associated with Yama, the god of death in later times. In Buddhist texts Yama is petarāja (*J*. V, p. 453).

The cult of the Cāturmahārājika devas, too, has evolved from the early Indo-Aryan deva-cults like those of Agni, Varuṇa, Yama and others. These gods in the Vedic period were associated, as in the case of the Cāturmahārājika devas, with the quarters of the universe.

Vedic tradition connected with Agni and Bhṛgu had its development unbroken. In the later Brāhmanic and epic literature we meet Jamadāgni, a *ṛṣi*, as a descendant of Bhṛgu.

This tradition was much alive even during the period of the Buddha. The Buddha has mentioned these early Vedic *ṛṣis* including Bhṛgu (Pali, Bhagu) on more than one occasion (*Vin.* I, p. 245 ; *D.* I, pp. 104, 238, 243 ; *M.* II, pp. 169, 200 ; *A.* III, p. 224 ; IV, p. 61).

Apart from these references to the Vedic Bhṛgu (occurring as Bhagu in Pali), in the earliest canonical texts, nowhere else is found even the name Bhagu, in the Theravāda tradition. Thus the occurrence . Bhṛgu with the four guardian gods of the quarters. . a Sanskrit Mahāyānist sūtra could be considered . mere late interpolation.

. would be interesting to refer to the other . ames correlated to Bhṛgu, occurring within the . urview of Buddhist studies. Of these the following are noteworthy for further inquiry, e. g., Bhagu, Bhiru, Bhirukaccha, Bharu, Bharukaccha, Bhagīra-. . Bhagīrathī, Bhagīrasī, Bhāgirathī, as such an . quiry would be of help to glean more facts for . understanding of Bhṛgu and the religious . cepts associated therewith.

A. D. T. E. P.

. . IOGRAPHY : S. Paranavitana, *The God of Adam's Peak*, . . ona, 1958 ; *A. S. C. Mem.* Vol. VI, 'Shrine of Upulvan at . . ndara' ; Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, . . , 1914 ; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London 1889 ; . . Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921 : A. . Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963 ; Hopkins, . . *Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915.

BHṚKUṬI, daughter of a 7th cent. king of Nepal, . . ably Aṃśuvarman, who married king Sroṅ-. . zampo of Tibet. He was then quite young. . . became so powerful later on that the emperor . hina, too, had to give his daughter to him as a . . nd queen. The marriage of the Nepalese . . . ess took place in the period 628–41, probably . . A. C. Bhṛkuṭi and her Chinese fellow-queen . . responsible for the introduction of Buddhism . ibet. Bhṛkuṭi's name is treasured in Nepal . . than in the country over which she was . . . She was absorbed into the lamaist pantheon . . . ntified as the Green Tārā, *śakti* of Ava-. . svara. (L. A. Waddell, *JRAS.* 1894 ; *JBORS.* . . ; *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, . . 2,500 *Years of Buddhism*, ed. P. V. Bapat, . 1956: *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 35, etc.). A . . . torian of Nepal, however, has adduced reasons questioning the historicity of the princess (D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1960).

D. T. D.

BHṚKUṬĪ, a goddess (See Pl. VI, Fig. A) of the Mahāyāna pantheon. She is not known to have been freely represented, although the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* p. 37) describes her form. Her likeness in durable material is very rare in India and the countries under Indian art influence. Images are known in China (Peking) and Tibet. A good relief in stone is found in Java. In painting, however, the goddess is quite popular in Nepal where she is depicted even in modern times.

Sādh. describes her in different contexts. She is one of the three goddesses emanating from the Dhyānibuddha Amitābha. Her colour is yellow and she is shown in the bloom of youth. She is four-armed and the two right arms respectively display a rosary (*japamālā*) and the gesture of boon-giving (*varada-mudrā*), whilst in the left pair are a spouted water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) and a three-rod bundle (*tridaṇḍī*), respectively.[1] She has a single face but with three eyes. Upon her crown is the Dhyānibuddha. She is seated on the orb of the moon, on a lotus. She is, again, described as wearing a crown of matted hair but having an appearance of peacefulness.

As an attendant of Khasarpaṇa-Avalokiteśvara she, together with Hayagrīva, Tārā and Sudhanakumāra, takes position to the bodhisattva's west. When this bodhisattva is in the form of Padmanarteśvara, the goddess is to the north of him. Her colour here is white ; in one hand she holds a yellow lotus. (See Benyotosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1958).

D. T. D.

BHṚKUṬINĪ, name of an attendant on the four direction-rulers, mentioned in the *Mahāsamāja Sūtra* (p. 173 ; *BHS.* s.v. ; cp. BHṚKUṬĪ). See also BHṚGU (2).

BHṚKUṬĪ-SĀDHANA (var. *Bhṛkuṭic*), title of several works in Sanskrit, most of which are extant in Tibetan translation only. Two of these sādhanas devoted to the worship of goddess Bhṛkuṭī are included in the *Sādhanamālā*. The first *Bhṛkuṭīsādhana* (*Sādh.* I, p. 341, No. 169) is very brief, consisting of only a few lines. It states that the devotee

. . . . image (fig. 123 of Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography* which has been taken over from W. E. . . *tic Pantheons*, Harvard University Press, 1937), oddly enough, shows the attributes in the hands as . . . the *Sādh.* account cited by Bhattacharyya.

should conceive the goddess Bhṛkuṭī as being four-armed, single faced, of yellow colour, three-eyed, in the bloom of youth, displaying the *varada-mudrā* (boon-giving pose) and a string of beads in her two right hands and carrying the *tridaṇḍa* (three staves) and the *kamaṇḍalu* (water vessel) in her two left hands. She is stamped with the image of Amitābha and is seated on the moon over a lotus. The sādhana next describes the mudrā the devotee should adopt before he recites the mantra. The other *Bhṛkuṭīsādhana* (*Sādh.* I, p. 342, No. 170), which immediately follows it, is slightly longer. The goddess Bhṛkuṭī is described in similar terms with the additional information that she wears a crest of matted hair and is of peaceful appearance.

Altogether six translations into Tibetan are known, all of which are included in the *Rgyud* (tantra section) of the *Tengyur*. One was translated by Mālava and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja) and has the Tibetan title *Khro-gñer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs* (*TM.* No. 3243 ; *Cordier,* II, p. 389). Another which immediately follows it in the *Tengyur* was translated by Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (*TM.* No. 3244 ; *Cordier,* II, loc. cit). Still another translation, the Tibetan title of which slightly differs, viz., *Khro-gñer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi thabs,* was the work of Don-yod rdo-rje (Amoghavajra) and Ba-ri (*TM.* No. 3350 ; *Cordier,* III, p. 11 f.). Two others were translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja), the Sanskrit original of which was brought to the monastery of Dpal-ldan sa-skya (Srīmat-pāṇḍubhūmi) by Gautamaśrī and the translation was made at the request of Kīrticandra at the hermitage of Chu-mig-kha (*TM.* Nos. 3559 ; 3560 ; *Cordier* III, p. 50). These two can be identified as the translations of the two sādhanas Nos. 169 and 170 of the *Sādhanamālā.* Anothet translation of *Bhṛkuṭīsādhana,* written by Dri-ma med-pahi lha (Vimaladeva) also has the slightly different Tibetan title *Khro-gñer-caṅ-gyi sgrub-paḥi thabs* (*TM.* No. 3659 ; *Cordier,* III, p. 69).

L. R. G.

BHṚKUṬĪ (TĀRĀ) the name of the goddess derived from her frowning expression. She is of malevolent aspect in the fashion of the fearsome goddesses of Tāntric Hinduism. She is of the colour of dark indigo, has three faces, all of them frowning (or leering) and wrinkled. She is shown as eating human entrails. Her three right hands hold a sword, an iron hook and a rod, each ; the left hands, a skull, a snare and the head of a Brahma (probably of a son of this god). As head ornament she has a chaplet of human heads. Her body is clothed in the skin of a tiger with snakes interspersed. Reeds are shown growing in the eight directions (L. A. Waddell, *JRAS.* 1894, p. 66). A sculpture presumably of this goddess was found at Bhavanipur, India. and has been commented on by N. K. Bhattasali (*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Decca Museum,* Dacca, 1929, Pl. XIX, etc.).

D. T. D.

BHṚṄGIN, a great seer (*ṛṣi*), mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (256 ; *BHS.* p. 412 a).

BHŪCARĪ, name of a yoginī mentioned in connection with the propitiation of the goddess Vajratārā, a particular form of Tārā, and also in connection with the means of propitiation called Amṛtaprabhā (*Sādh.* pp. 161, 446, 447).

BHŪMA, a yakṣa leader mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (236 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BHŪMI. The conception of the stages of spiritual growth of a bodhisattva is one of the unique features which distinguish Mahāyāna from Hīnayāna. The word bhūmi literally means 'earth', 'ground,' 'soil', but it is employed here in the sense of 'stage' or 'career'. Bhūmis are thus stages of spiritual progress for the attainment of perfect knowledge. According to the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 77), each existence of bodhisattvas is briefly assumed to be an "earth," whence its designation of stage (*bhūmi*). But the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1907, p. 183) states that the bhūmis are so called because beings enter into higher and higher immeasurable stages repeatedly. They are also known as bhūmis, as they deliver infinite beings from fear. Bhūmis are also termed states (*vihāra*) in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra,* because the bodhisattvas feel delight in the states (*vihāra*) due to their manifold right aspirations. In the Abhidhamma the term bhūmi is used in the sense of way (*magga*).[1]

The Hīnayāna recognises four states of progress, viz., entering upon the stream (*sotāpatti*), returning once, (*sakadāgāmi*) a never-returner (*anāgāmi*) and the state of an arahant (*arahatta*) as against ten of the Mahāyāna. Most of the available Buddhist Sanskrit works mention ten bhūmis. But the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (ed. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923, p. 28) refers to seven bhūmis only. The *Bodhi-*

1 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology,* London, 1924, p. 82.

sattvabhūmi (ed. Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo, 1936, p. 367), however, speaks of seven bhūmis and thirteen *vihāras* the latter are of course included in the former. The ten bhūmis have further been divided into two groups in regard to the notions of the truth. The first group which comprises the first six bhūmis leads to the realisation of non-existence of self (*pudgalaśūnyatā*) and thus corresponds to the four stages of sanctification of Hīnayāna while the second, containing the last four to the realisation of non-existence of everything (*dharmaśūnyatā*) which is beyond the range of the Hīnayāna. The conception of bhūmi is thus an outcome of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna speculations. The first six satisfy the spiritual yearning of the Hīnayāna, the last four that of the Mahāyāna. The scheme of a bodhisattva's career is conceived on that of the career of a follower of Hīnayāna. The last four are the real contribution made by the Mahāyānists in this regard.

Mahāyāna enjoins that a being must produce thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) before he starts his practice in connection with the first bhūmi, while Hīnayāna demands that he must realise the four noble truths and have firm faith in the noble teachings of the Buddha to enable him to enter upon the stream of santification (*sotāpatti*).

With the thought of enlightenment commences the career of a bodhisattva. It is the initial stage towards the attainment of highest knowledge and there are several stages through which a bodhisattva must pass before he attains perfection. As already observed, the entire career of a bodhisattva is divided into ten such stages. They are (1) Pramuditā, (2) Vimalā, (3) Prabhākarī, (4) Arciṣmatī, (5) Sudurjayā, (6) Abhimukhī, (7) Dūraṅgamā, (8) Acalā, (9) Sādhumatī and (10) Dharmameghā. But according to the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* Vol. I, p. 76) the names of the bhūmis are: Durārohā, Baddhamānā, Puṣpamaṇḍitā, Rucirā, Cittavistarā, Rūpavatī, Durjayā, Janmanideśa, Yauvarājya and Abhiṣeka.

Here is given a brief account of each one of the aforesaid stages:— **Pramuditā,** the first stage in the career of a bodhisattva. A bodhisattva enters this stage just after the production of the thought of enlightenment which annihilates all his previous sins. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 181) states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva rejoices exceedingly as he perceives that he will shortly attain Enlightenment and also do good to all beings. A bodhisattva is now above an ordinary being and is liberated from rebirth in purgatory or any other inferior form of existence. He becomes a refuge to all beings. Nothing troubles him. He is regardless of his own self as also of all wordly things. He feels keen delight in rendering service to all beings. He has no fear for death, as he knows that he will be with Buddhas and bodhisattvas after his death. He always applies all his roots of merit for the attainment of Enlightenment and also for the happiness of all beings. While in this bhūmi he practises liberality (*dāna*) with intense earnestness and is also not lacking in respect of the other six perfections.[1] He is ever ready to give away his wealth, wife, children, head, eyes and even his own life at mere asking. He is never harsh to those who are inimical towards him. He is honest, sincere and truthful and cultivates the thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharmas*). He keeps company with the virtuous and longs for knowledge. He is now taken as a member of the Tathāgata family and wins great renown. In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Śikṣ.* pp. 291–5) are enumerated the ten aspirations (*praṇidhāna*) which a bodhisattva takes for his spiritual uplift. According to the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 78), a bodhisattva in the first bhūmi is enjoined to practise liberality (*tyāga*), kindness (*karuṇā*), indefatigability (*aparikheda*), humility (*amāna*), study of all the branches of learning (*sarvaśāstrādhyayitā*), prowess (*vikrama*), contempt for the world (*lokānujñā*) and patience (*dhṛti*). It states (ibid. pp. 79–80) that there are twelve vices, because of which a bodhisattva cannot rise to the second stage.

Vimalā. With the cultivation of the ten mental dispositions (*cittāśaya : ṛju, mṛdu, karmaṇya, dama, śama, kalyāṇa, asaṃśṛṣṭ , anapekṣa, sundara, māhātmya*) commences the second stage called 'Free from Impurity' (*vimalā*). In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* it is stated that this bhūmi is so called, because a bodhisattva overcomes the stain of immoral conduct as also of the other *yāna* (Hīnayāna). In this stage a bodhisattva takes the vow to get rid of all impurities. He always avoids the unwholesome course of actions of body, speech and mind, viz., killing, stealing, unlawful intercourse with the other sex, lying, slandering harsh speech, foolish babble, covetousness, ill-will and wrong views ; and persuades others to do so. He knows that these unwholesome actions lead to rebirth in purgatory, or in the world of brutes,

[1] Though Mahāyāna mentions ten perfections (*pāramitās*), six of them, *viz.*, liberality (*dāna*), moral conduct (*śīla*), forbearance (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) are frequently referred to in its code discipline.

ghosts or men. undergoing manifold miseries. He, therefore, observes the wholesome course of actions (*kuśalakarmapatha*) in life and commends its observance to all others. He becomes their teacher, guide, friend and protector and leads them to the path of righteousness. Of the perfections (pāramitās) he practises morality to the greatest possible extent without disregarding the other perfections. Here, he gives his best attention to kindly speech, one of the grounds of popularity (*saṃgrahavastu*) in a great degree. According to the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 85) a bodhisattva in the second stage develops an aversion to all forms of existence. He has twenty special dispositions, but on account of twenty-eight vices he may fail to reach the third stage.

Prabhākarī. With the development of the mental dispositions (*cittāśayas*)— of being pure steady, disgusted, dispassionate, firm, strong, ardent, insatiate, sublime and magnanimous— commences the third stage called 'Luminous' (*prabhākarī*). The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 182) tells us that this is so-called because a bodhisattva diffuses the lustre of the noble doctrine to all beings. A bodhisattva in this stage realises that all compounded things are impermanent, transient and momentary. They are sources of manifold sufferings only. He also realises that all existences are ablaze with passion, hatred and folly.[1] Here, he 'gains the most penetrating insight into the nature of things'. Realising this truth, he seeks for the knowledge of a Tathāgata which is incomparable and delivers all beings from worldly miseries. He always strives for the happiness and liberation of all beings and diligently studies the religious texts and acquires knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha. He practises the meditations (*dhyāna*), the attainments (*samāpatti*), the four sublime states (*brahmavihāra*) and the five kinds of higher knowledge (*abhijñā*). He sees many Buddhas and listens to their teachings. He is freed from the four cankers (*āsravas*). He overcomes lust, malice and delusion. In this stage he cultivates the perfection of patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*) to the greatest possible extent without disregarding the other pāramitās. Of the grounds of popularity (*saṃgrahavastu*), he especially practises useful conduct (*arthacaryā*). In the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 91) it is stated that a bodhisattva in the third stage pays special attention to renunciation (*tyāga*) and is prepared to buy a verse of a good saying with the sacrifice of wife and child. It further enumerates the fourteen vices for which a bodhisattva fails to reach the next stage. This stage offers a parallel to the anāgāmi stage of Hīnayāna.[2]

Arciṣmatī. With the insight into the ten lights of the elements of existence (*dharmāloka*), a bodhisattva rises to the stage called the 'Brilliant' (*arciṣmatī*). The *Mahāyānasutrālaṃkāra* (p. 182) states that this stage is so called because the rays of the *bodhipakṣyadharmas* consume both the obstacle of lust (*kleśāvaraṇa*) and hindrance to knowledge (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). In this stage all evil passions and ignorance are done away with. A bodhisattva practises here the ten qualities with mature knowledge and do things that lead to enlightenment only. He also practises the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), the four psychic powers (*ṛddhipāda*), the five faculties (*indriya*), the five powers (*bala*), the seven constituents of knowledge (*bodhyaṅga*) and the noble eight-fold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga*). His belief in the existence of self (*satkāyadṛṣṭi*) is also done away with. With the attainment of these qualities, his mind becomes very soft and compassionate. His doubts are all removed and his mental dispositions become pure. He renounces the world in the doctrine of the Tathāgata. He practises the perfection of vigour (*vīryapāramitā*) to the fullest possible extent without disregarding the other pāramitās. Of the grounds of popularity (*saṃgrahavastu*) he specially cultivates the state of equality (*samānārthatā*). The *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, pp. 101–2) enumerates a few immoral practices which a bodhisattva avoids in the fourth bhūmi and through seven vices (ibid. p. 110) he fails to reach the fifth stage.

Sudurjayā. With the development of the tenfold purity and uniformity of dispositions, *viz.*, doctrines of the past, future and present Buddhas, morality, meditation, doubts, speculations, right path, *bodhipakṣyadharmas* and perfections of all beings, (*cittāśayaviśuddhisamatā*), a bodhisattva rises to the fifth stage called the 'Hard to Conquer' (*sudurjayā*). The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 182) tells us that this stage is so called because a bodhisattva performs the arduous task of ripening beings as also controlling his own mind. While in this stage, a bodhisattva thoroughly practises the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣyadharmas* and understands the Noble Truths. He also comprehends the two kinds of truth—conventional truth and transcendental

1 According to the *Mahāvastu* a bodhisattva develops this state of mind in the fifth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* Vol. I, p. 110).

2 N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930, p. 269.

truth—and realises that all compounded things are unreal. He acquires a knowledge of *skandha, dhātu, āyatana*, etc., and knows the different divisions of Dharma. He feels great compassion for all the beings who undergo manifold suffering and resolves to save and liberate them. In this stage he gains mindfulness, fortitude, and such other qualities. Out of compassion he learns the secular arts and sciences like mathematics, medicine, drama, astrology, astronomy and the like. He specially practises the perfection of meditation and cultivates all the elements of popularity (*saṃgrahavastu*). He takes his ordination and becomes a preacher of the doctrine. From the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, 120) we further learn that a bodhisattva fails to reach the sixth stage through four vices only.

Abhimukhī. A bodhisattva rises to this stage through the tenfold sameness of things. They are : *animitta, alakṣaṇa, anutpāda, ajāta, vivikta, ādiviśuddha, niṣprapañca, anāyūha-niryūha, māyāsvapnapratibhāsapratiśrutkopama* and *bhāvābhāvadvaya*. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 181) states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva, through the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), turns towards both transmigration (*saṃsāra*) and Nirvāṇa. Here, he comprehends the world to be mere delusion, and gets rid of the duality of existence and non-existence. He realises that the three worlds are all thought-constructions only. He develops great compassion for all beings and alleviates their pains. He also realises that ignorance is the source of all sufferings and through its removal perceives the knowledge of the truth of things. He comprehends the dependent origination which, from the absolute standpoint, means non-origination at all times. He is also freed from the conceptions of 'I' and 'mine,' 'doer' and 'feeler' and the like. Through his comprehension of all these things he realises the non-existence of everything (*śūnyatā*). He is now perfectly pure and steady. His mind turns to knowledge of the Buddha (*buddhajñāna*) resolutely. He pays special attention to the perfection of wisdom without lacking in respect for the other pāramitās. He now goes beyond every possible chance of falling back to śrāvaka or pratyekabuddha stages. The *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 127) states that a bodhisattva through two vices fails to reach the seventh stage.

Dūraṅgamā. From this stage start the real Mahāyānic stages of progress. Here, a bodhisattva acquires the skill in expedients (*upāyakauśalya*) suitable for his task of salvation. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 182) states that this bhūmi is so called because it leads to the attainment of the only path, i.e., to the discipline. He practises all the ten perfections, the four elements of popularity, the four resolutions (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and the thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment. He understands the thoughts of others and is pure in his thoughts, words and deeds. Like a skilled sailor who knows the nature of waves and currents and embarks on a great ship in the ocean but is not defiled by the filthy water, so the bodhisattva in the seventh stage has entered the great ocean of omniscience and has embarked on the great ship of the perfections, but he does not yet realise cessation, i.e., Nirvāṇa Under no circumstances he goes astray from the path of righteousness. He gets rid of the three reverses (*viparyāsa*) which are *saṃjñā, citta* and *dṛṣṭi*. From the *Mahāvastu* we learn that a bodhisattva in the seventh stage practises self-control and through the thought of great compassion advances from the seventh stage to the eighth (*Mhvu.* I, pp. 127, 136).

Acalā. A bodhisattva in this stage realises that all things are by nature non-existent. Here, he acquires the highest knowledge called *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*. He understands that things are such as they are. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 182) states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva is not moved by the notions of cause and non-cause. He is not defiled by any actions of body, speech and mind. He has no longing for Buddhahood, Nirvāṇa or bodhicitta, not to speak of any worldly gains. He has nothing to strive for and every act of his is spontaneous. In this stage a bodhisattva is like a man who has awakened from a dream and perceives that his dream experience was unreal. Buddhas now ask him to acquire the subjects of confidence, viz., the ten powers, the four confidences (*vaiśāradya*), the ten controls (*vaśitā*) and to assume different bodies. He pays special attention to the perfection of aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) without lacking in respect of other pāramitās. He knows everything in its minutest detail. He declares that it is possible for sentient beings to become Buddhas. He now possesses everything which makes a Buddha. He belongs to the member of the Tathāgata family and is served by all the gods. There is no retrogression from this stage and it may be that is why this is called 'Immovable' (*Acalā*). Nothing particular is given of the eighth bhūmi in the *Mahāvastu*. It only enumerates the names of Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merits.

Sādhumatī. A bodhisattva in this stage comprehends the true nature of all dharmas. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (pp. 182–3) states that this stage is so called because the bodhisattva attains mastery in analysis. He understands the minds of all beings in this bhūmi and also knows the methods of converting them. He acquires a knowledge of the numerous obligations of the śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas. He becomes a great preacher and preaches the doctrine in manifold ways to the beings of all world-systems (*lokadhātu*). He acquires the four kinds of logical analysis (*pratisaṃvid*). He experiences thousands of meditations and is in possession of magical spells (dhāraṇi). He never goes out of the sight of Buddhas and is not lacking in any way in respect of his spiritual practices. He pays special attention to the perfection of vigour (*balapāramitā*) without disregarding other pāramitās. The *Mahāvastu* gives no details of the ninth bhūmi. The names of the Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merits are only continued.

Dharmameghā. With this stage closes the career of a bodhisattva. Here, he attains all forms of concentration. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (p. 183) states that this bhūmi is so called because it is permeated with meditation and magical spells, just like the sky covered with clouds. As he acquires all the virtues, he now gains the knowledge of omniscience(*sarvajña-jñāna*). A celestial lotus appears, adorned with jewels, and the bodhisattva sits on it with his effulgent body. Other bodhisattvas from the different regions sit on other lotuses and gaze at him. All the regions quake and a great radiance issues out from his body and assuages the pains of all living beings. Rays also come forth from the foreheads of the assembled Tathāgatas and touch his head. He is thus consecrated (*abhiṣikta*) as a Fully Enlightened Buddha (*Samyaksambuddha*). Thus, this stage is known as the Abhiṣekabhūmi. Through his proficiency in mindfulness (*smṛtikauśalya*) he bears in mind all the clouds of dharmas showered on him by the Buddhas, and hence the designation *Dharmameghā*. A bodhisattva in this bhūmi is a personification of love and sympathy, which freely issue from the fount of his inner will. He pays special attention to the perfection of knowledge (*jñāna-pāramitā*) without lacking in respect for other perfections. From the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (*ŚsP.* p. 1458) we learn that the bodhisattva in the tenth stage is known as a Tathāgata. The *Mahāvastu* furnishes us with nothing particular about the tenth stage. It mentions the birth of the bodhisattvas in the Tuṣita heaven and their longing for human existence (*Mhvu.* I, p. 142)

The account of the stages given above presents us with an idea of the gradation in the spiritual life of a bodhisattva. It further gives us an idea of the ideal life to be pursued in Mahāyāna. The transition from one stage to the following takes place according to the progress made by a bodhisattva in respect of certain virtues. The first seven stages together constitute the active career of the bodhisattva, during which he exerts himself, and his acts imply movement and intellectual work. The seventh marks the completion of his career and the preparation for passing into the career which is free from movement and intellectuation, the so-called career of knowledge and supernatural virtues.

Of the works dealing with the bhūmis, first mention may be made of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. Next come the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Madhymakāvatāra*. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and the like touch upon the bhūmis incidentally. The *Mahāvastu* also deals with the bhūmis, but its account is scanty and incoherent. According to it, there is retrogression for a bodhisattva, while the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* holds the contrary view. In the conception of the bhūmis the *Mahāvastu* seems to be the earliest, the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts the middle, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* and the like the latest.[1] The *Mahāvastu* thus paved the way for the later development of the Mahāyāna conception Lastly, it may be observed that these ten stages of perfection are similar to the four stages of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Sufis.[2]

A. C. B.

The schemes of spiritual progress of the Theravādins and the Mahāyānists show some noteworthy similarities. The scheme of the Theravādins begins from the pre-sotāpanna stage. This stage is subdivided into two, called that of the worldling (*puthujjana*) and the *gotrabhū* (q.v.), the last stage of a worldling to be adopted into the lineage of the Noble Ones (*ariyā*). A worldling can become a *gotrabhū* by progressive spiritual development and once that stage is attained he becomes qualified to proceed along the path that leads to the four higher stages, namely, stream-enterer (sotāpanna), once-

1 N. Dutt, op. cit. p. 327.

2 R. L. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 84.

returner (sakadāgāmi), never-returner (anāgāmi) and arahant. The *Nikāyas* mention numerous requirements a person has to fulfil to enable him to become a sotāpanna. Basically he should posses faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and should also be ended with the *ariyan* discipline. Besides these he should practise, as far as possible, the eight factors of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*) and also acquire the six conditions which are constitutent parts of knowledge (*cha-vijjā-bhāgiyā-dhammā* : *S.* II, p. 69 ; V, pp. 342 ff.). According to the *Abhidharmakośa*, such a person has to grasp the fifteen moments (*kṣaṇa*) of comprehension of truth and then attains the sixteenth moment which is equal to the sotāpatti stage.

The pre-sotāpanna stage finds a parallel in the pre-bhūmi stage of the Mahāyāna scheme. This stage is described in early texts, like the *Mahāvastu*, which divides it into two stages called the *Prakṛticaryā* and *Praṇidhānacaryā* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 46 f.). The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Laṅk.* p. 65) refers to it as the Parikarma-bhūmi. The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* gives no name, but describes it in detail. The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, too, calls it Prakṛticaryā and divides into Gotra-vihāra and Adhimukticaryā-vihāra. The Gotra-vihāra stage is almost identical with the *Gotrabhū* stage of the Theravāda scheme. The Adhimukticaryā-vihāra is parallel to the Adhimukticaryā-bhūmi referred to in the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (see *Le Muséon*, VIII, p. 262). The Gotra-vihāra stage merely indicates the attempts made by a person to develop the bodhicitta, whereas the latter stage shows the real efforts put forward by him to develop bodhicitta. Both these sub-stages are preparatory stages, but the latter is more advanced than the former, for, it is in that stage that a person who aspires for Buddhahood acquires and fulfills all the preliminary requsites that qualify him to enter the first bhūmi. While in the Adhimukticaryā stage, he acquires noble qualities, performs good deeds and practises meditations to a limited degree. Yet he is not above five kinds of fear, namely, fear of livelihood, of ill-fame, of embarrasment in assemblies, of death and of miserable after-life (cp. *A.* IV, p. 364). He has faith, but not knowledge of truth. He enters to the first bhūmi after developing fully the bodhicitta. Some of the virtuous qualities a bodhisattva attains, while in the first bhūmi, are the same as those attained by a sotāpanna by complying with the rules of higher discipline (*adhiśīla*). But, besides these attainments, a bodhisattva is also said to develop further the bodhicitta, compassion (*karuṇā*), cultivate ten qualities needed by a bodhisattva to strengthen his position and so on. As the Theravāda scheme is not concerned with many of these attainments, there is in it no particular stage that could be considered identical with the first bhūmi.

A close connection between the two schemes is seen from the second stage. According to the teachings of the Theravāda, the path that leads to higher spiritual attainments is called the 'middle path' (*majjhimāpaṭipadā*), which is also called the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*). The eight constituents of this path aim at promoting and perfecting the three essentials of Buddhist training and discipline, namely, ethical conduct (*sīla*), mental discipline (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). Sīla consists of right speech, right action, right livelihood (*sammā-vācā* ; °*kammanta* ; °*ājīva*) ; samādhi consists of right thought, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration (*sammā-saṅkappa*, °*vāyāma*, °*sati*, °*samādhi*), and *paññā* consists of right view (*sammā-diṭṭhi*). It is by developing and perfecting these three essentials to the highest degree that a gotrabhū can attain higher spiritual states. Thus, a gotrabhū, by complying with the rules of higher ethical conduct (*adhisīla*), becomes a sotāpanna or a sakadāgāmin ; by complying with the rules of higher mental discipline (*adhicitta*), becomes an anāgāmin and, by complying with those of higher wisdom (*adhipaññā*), becomes an arahant. This classification enables one to surmise that the stage of spiritual progress in the Theravāda could be also designated as (i) Puthujjana, (ii) Gotrabhū, (iii) Adhisīla, (iv) Adhicitta, (v) Adhipaññā. This classification finds a close parallel in the list of stages (*vihāra*) given in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Bbh.* p. 317 ; cp. *BHS.* s. v. *vihāra*). These vihāras are (i) Gotra-vihāra, (ii) Adhimukticaryā-°, (iii) Pramuditā-°, (iv) Adhiśīla-°, (v) Adhicitta-°, (vi), (vii), (viii) Adhiprajñā-° (ix) Sābhisaṃskāra-sābhoga-nirnimitta-°, (x) Anābhoga-nirnimitta-°, (xi) Pratisaṃvid-°, (xii) Parama-° (xiii) Tathāgata-°. Of these the first two indicate the preliminary stage and correspond to the pre-sotāpanna stage in the Theravāda scheme. The third stage finds no parallel in the Theravāda scheme which is not concerned with the numerous attainments needed by a bodhisattva. It is apparent that the five stages (iv–viii) correspond to the parallel stages in the Theravāda scheme referred to earlier.

The Theravāda scheme finds a parallel in the stages mentioned in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, too. The first bhūmi (Pramuditā) in the list in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, also denotes a stage in which an aspirant acquires mostly the essential qualities of a bodhisattva and, therefore, it finds no parallel in the Theravāda scheme. Basically, the second

bhūmi, Vimalā, mentioned in the *Daśabhūmika* list, is similar to the sotāpanna and sakadāgāmi stages. Both schemes lay stress on the development and perfection of higher ethical conduct (*adhiśīla*) in these stages. The third bhūmi corresponds to the anāgāmi stage. In this bhūmi, a bodhisattva, apart from acquiring extra-ordinary qualities, begins to practise numerous meditations, the four sublime states (*brahma-vihāra*) and acquires the six apperceptions (*ṣaḍabhijñā*). The fetters of passion (*kāma*), form (*rūpa*), existence (*bhava*) and ignorance (*avidyā*) become weak ; attachment, ill-will and delusion (*rāga-dveśa-moha*) are completely destroyed. According to the Theravāda system, too, an adept, after perfecting rules of higher ethical conduct (*adhiśīla*), strives to attain higher mental discipline (*adhicitta*) by practising numerous meditations. All practices pertaining to mental culture that a bodhisattva is said to perform in the third bhūmi are parallel to those practised by an anāgāmi.

Practices involved in the fourth, fifth and sixth bhūmis (Arciṣmatī, Sudurjayā and Abhimuktī) are similar to the *adhipaññā* practices of the Theravādins. The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* includes three bhūmis in the Adhiprajñā-vihāra and their bhūmis indicate the different means by which a bodhisattva attains higher wisdom (*adhiprajñā*). According to the Theravāda scheme, an adept, by perfecting *adhipaññā* practices, becomes an arahant. The state attained by a bodhisattva after completing the sixth bhūmi is similar to the state of an arahant. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in one place mentions only six bhūmis (*Bbh.* p. 84). The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*Laṅk.* p. 120), also, describes an arahant as being free from thought construction of meditation (*dhyāna*), of objects of meditation (*dheya*), of concentration (*samādhi*), release (*vimokṣa*), powers (*bala*), higher knowledge (*abhijñā*), afflictions (*kleśa*) and misery (*duḥkha*).

The parallelism between the two schemes ends after the sixth bhūmi. Though the powers, qualities and attributes of the Buddha, as known to Theravāda, are found mentioned in connection with the attainments of a bodhisattva in the last four stages, there are no corresponding stages in the Theravāda scheme. These last four stages are a special feature of the bhūmi doctrine of Mahāyāna which teaches that all can become Buddhas.

The concept of bhūmi goes back to a very early period in the history of Buddhist thought. Undoubtedly it started before Mahāyāna became a separate school of Buddhism. The earliest treatment of the subject is in the *Mahāvastu*. It refers to ten stages which are not the same as those found in later Mahāyāna works. The *Abhidharmakośa* (*Abhk.* see index), too, deals with certain aspects of this concept. The *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, though dealing with this concept, state that from the standpoint of the highest truth this concept is merely a matter of convention (*ŚsP.* ch. x). The *Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā* also mentions a list, either of seven or ten bhūmis (*ŚsP.* pp. 1473, 1520). Of these the first seven namely, (i) *Śukla-vipaśyanā* (*vidarśanā*)-*bhūmi*, (ii) *Gotra*-°, (iii) *Aṣṭamaka*-°, (iv) *Darśana*-° (*Nidarśana*-°), (v) *Tanu*-° (*Tanū*-°), (vi) *Vītarāga*-°, (*Vigatarāga*-°) and (vii) *Kṛtāvi*-°, refer to the different stages of spiritual progress attained by those following the *Śrāvakayāna* which is another name for Theravāda. The first two bhūmis refer to the pre-sotāpanna stage ; the fifth and sixth indicate the sakadāgāmi and anāgāmi stages ; the seventh refers to the arahant stage. The pratyeka-bhūmi is the stage reached by those following the pratyeka-yāna and the last two stages indicate the stages reached by those following Mahāyāna. However, none of these bhūmis are referred to in the Pali texts.

The standard bhūmis accepted by the Mahāyānists are those referred to in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* which is the most authoritative work on the subject. This sūtra speaks of ten bhūmis. It should be noted that the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*Laṅk.* p. 215) mentions an eleventh bhūmi called Tathāgata-bhūmi. The *Dharmasaṅgraha* and the *Mahāvyutpatti* call this by the name Samanta-prabhā. The *Dharmasaṅgraha* enumerates two other bhūmis which are not mentioned in other works. These two are Nirūpamā and Jñānavatī. But these are not discussed in detail. But there is another tradition which speaks of only seven bhūmis. Thus, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* formally discusses only seven bhūmis. The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Laṅk.* p. 28), too, speaks of seven bhūmis. Though the *Mahāvastu* speaks of ten bhūmis it, in fact, details only seven. Even the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* shows signs of this tradition, for according to it a bodhisattva is said to practise all the perfections in the seventh stage and that, if he so desires, he can pass away into Nirvāṇa in that stage itself. The other three bhūmis, in which conscious striving gives way to spontaneous activity, may have been added to the original scheme of seven. The seven stages constitute the active career of a bodhisattva and the seventh mark the completion of his career.

As stated earlier, there are numerous Sanskrit texts that deal with this concept. The earliest is the *Mahāvastu*. The discussion found in it is not quite coherent. It does not give details according

to any plan. The names of bhūmis found in the *Mahāvastu* are different, except for one from those found in the *Daśabhūmika*. The *Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* description, too, is not quite systematic. The names of bhūmis and vihāras given in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are, also, different from those in the *Daśabhūmika*. The basis on which the two schemes are developed also appear to be different. The *Daśabhūmika* scheme is apparently based on the ten pāramitā whereas the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* scheme is based on the *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* doctrine was not regarded as important by all Mahāyānists. As mentioned before, the *Śatasāhasrikā* states that it is a matter of convention. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* does not mention it at all. The *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra* does not deal with it in detail. The *Śikṣāmuccaya* merely refers to the first bhūmi, though Candrakīrti, probably a contemporary of Śāntideva, the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, treats this doctrine elaborately in his *Madhyamakāvatāra*. Har Dayal (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London, 1932, p. 272) suggests that this must have been due to the fact that the exponents of void (*śūnyatā*) as conditioned existence attached more importance to the bhūmis than the other Mādhyamikas who interpreted it as absolute non-existence.

S. K. N.

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BHŪMIBALAVAISĀRADYADHĀRIN, name of a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of ninety-two bodhisattvas in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. The list begins with Avalokiteśvara and ends with Buddha-vajrasandhāraṇasandhi (*BB*. XIII, 11–2).

BHŪMICĀLA SUTTA, the tenth sutta of the *Bhūmicāla-vagga* of the *Aṭṭhaka-nipāta* (*A*. IV, pp. 308 ff.). It records the incident when there was a mighty earthquake (*bhūmicāla*) after the Buddha renounced his balance life-span.

The Buddha was at Cāpāla Cetiya in Vesālī when he gave Ānanda an opportunity of asking him to live for his full life-span. Ānanda was told that anybody who had fully developed the four ways of psychic power could, if he so desired, live for his full life span, and the Tathāgata being such a person could, if he wished, do so himself. But in spite of such a broad hint, Ānanda failed to take advantage of the opportunity because, we are told, he was possessed by Māra. Thereupon, the Buddha announced to Māra, who had requested him to pass away, that he would do so at the end of three months. At this announcement there was a great and fearful earthquake and the Buddha made a solemn utterance (*udāna*). Ānanda asked the Buddha for the cause of the earthquake and the Buddha explained to him the eight occasions for earthquakes, the seventh being when a Buddha renounces the balance of his life-span. The commentary gives the different reasons for which the earthquakes on these eight occasions (*AA*. IV, p. 155 f.).

This sutta is found almost in toto, with slight variations in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*. II, pp. 102 ff.). The major portion of the sutta, as far as the *udāna* verse, also recurs as the *Cetiya Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (V, pp. 258 ff.) and in the *Jaccandha-vagga* in the *Udāna* (*Ud*.pp. 62 ff.). The Sanskrit version is found in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy*. pp. 200 ff.; see also Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 35 ff.). One of Milinda's questions centres on these eight causes of earthquakes (*Miln*. p. 113 f.).

L. R. G.

BHŪMICĀLA VAGGA, the seventh chapter of the *Aṭṭhaka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. IV, pp. 293–313). It consists of ten suttas dealing with a variety of subjects and derives its title from the last of them—the *Bhūmicāla Sutta*. In the commentary this chapter is referred to as *Cāpāla-vagga* (var. *Cāla-vagga*; *AA*. IV, pp. 140–156).

BHŪMIDEVA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the ninth bhūmi (*Mhvu*. I, p. 140).

BHŪMIJA, a thera to whom the Buddha addressed the *Bhūmija Sutta* (*M*. III, 138 ff.). He was the uncle of prince Jayasena (*MA*. IV, 199) who once questioned him on the religious life (*M*. III, pp. 138 ff.). Bhūmija entered the Saṅgha with his friends Sambhūta, Jeyyasena and Abhirādhana after hearing the Buddha preach. All of them became arahants (*ThagA*. 1, p. 47). Bhūmija thera who had a discussion with Sāriputta on the cause of weal and woe (*S*. II, 37 ff.) is probably this same Bhūmija. See BHŪMIJA SUTTA (1) and (2).

L. R. G.

BHŪMIJA SUTTA (1) contains an account of a discussion between Bhūmija thera and his nephew prince Jayasena, as well as the Buddha's approval of Bhūmija's views.

Bhūmija says, in answer to Jayasena, that one who leads the higher life attentively, with or without expectations, is capable of obtaining the fruits thereof. Because Jayasena was pleased with this explanation, he entertained Bhūmija to a midday meal. Bhūmija reported this discussion to the Buddha who approved of what he had said to Jayasena, and further developed the theme. Right outlook is absolutely essential to the winning of the fruits of the higher life; it is just as impossible to get oil out of sand or milk from a cow's horn as it is to obtain the fruits of the higher life with a wrong outlook (*M*. III, pp. 138–144).

U. K.

BHŪMIJA SUTTA (2) occurs in the *Dasabala-Vagga* of the *Nidāna-saṃyutta* (*S*. II, pp. 37 ff.). Bhūmija tells Sāriputta of the different views held by mendicants regarding happiness and sorrow and asks him for the Buddha's opinion. Sāriputta's reply is that the Buddha has explained that happiness and sorrow come to pass through a cause, viz., contact (*phassa*). This discussion was overheard by Ānanda who reported it to the Buddha. The Buddha approved of Sāriputta's exposition and explained further that in the case of deed, word and thought, personal weal and sorrow arise as results of the will there is in the deed, word and thought, respectively. These deeds, words and thoughts can be two-fold, deliberate or instigated by others, and they are all conditioned by ignorance. But, with the eradication of ignorance those deeds, etc., which give rise to personal weal and woe, cease to exist. The commentary, by way of explanation, adds that the deeds of an arahant for instance, could not be classified as good or bad as they bear no fruit (*avipākattā* : *SA*. II, p. 58). The contents of this sutta have much in common with those of the *Aññatitthiyā Sutta* which precedes it and the *Upavāna Sutta* that succeeds it.

L. R. G.

BHŪMIMATI, name of a bodhisattva mentioned in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* in a long list of bodhisattva. Māyā claims maternity to all of them (*Gvyū*. p. 442).

BHŪMISAMBHĀRABUDARA, another name found in a ninth century inscription, for the Barabuḍur stūpa. The term seems to be a combination of names into a single compound to express the idea of the great monument. The Barabuḍur might have been referred to by a term like Bhūmisambhāra, which has a faint reference to the various bhūmis found in the Mahāyāna texts in reference to the cosmic nature of the world. (D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South East Asia*, London, 1964, p. 53; see also C. Sivaramamurti, *La Stupa du Barabudur*, Paris, 1961; S. F. Stutterhein, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, Hague, 1956).

The monument itself, which is considered to be a representation of the cosmic mountain, is terraced to form several tiers to signify bhūmis which, probably, had a mystic symbolism not uncommon in Mahāyāna. A clear understanding of the epithet Bhūmisambhārabudara would be helpful to glean more knowledge about the purpose and the original idea of the construction of the Barabuḍur Stūpa. There was a time when Mahāyāna shrines were being referred to by such mystic terms (e.g., Jñāna-Kāya) by scholars and pilgrims, as evident in the intinerary of Buddhagupta who refers to three stūpas, whose identification has been a puzzle to modern scholars owing to the mystic terms used to denote them (G. Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu," *IHQ*. VII, pp. 683–702; R. N. Ranjan, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, University of Calcutta, 1936, p. 86 f.). See further BARABUḌUR.

A. D. T. E. P.

BHŪMISPARŚA MUDRĀ, 'the earth touching posture.' In this posture, the Buddha is represented as being seated cross-legged, with the right arm pendent over the right knee. The hand, with the palm turned inward, has all its fingers extended downwards, almost touching the ground. The left hand lies on the lap, with its palm turned upward. (See Pls. VII, VIII, IX).

The earliest reference to this posture is found in the *Mahāvastu*, which contains a graphic account of the battle between the bodhisattva and Māra, when the former was on the verge of attaining Enlightenment. There it is said that when Māra with his army was about to attack the bodhisattva, the latter thrice stroked his head, the seat on which he sat and the earth and that as soon as he did so, the earth roared and echoed deeply. Māra's followers, who were frightened by this miraculous event, scattered and dispersed. The *Mahāvastu* does not state why the bodhisattva made this gesture (*Mhvu*. II, p. 282, 412 f.). The *Lalitavistara*, which gives a more animated description of the battle, says that the bodhisattva, when challenged by Māra to summon witnesses to establish the fact that he had made great sacrifices in the past, stroked his whole body with his right hand and gracefully stroked the earth.

The earth, when touched by the right hand of the bodhisattva, trembled six times. The Earth-goddess, called Sthāvarā, made her appearance, praised the bodhisattva and threatened Māra (*Lal.* p. 232 f.).[1] The *Jātaka-nidānakathā*, which gives an almost similar account makes no mention of the goddess, but says that a voice came forth from the earth saying, 'I am witness to thee' (*J.* I, p. 74).

The accounts of the contest between the bodhisattva and Māra are developed from an earlier tradition of which traces are found in the *Padhāna Sutta* (*Sn. vv.* 425–49), also in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* II, p. 261 ; III, p. 260) and the *Theragātha* (*v.* 839) wherein such terms as Māra's army (*mārasenā*), Māra's retinue (*māraparisā*) and the victor of Māra (*mārābhibhū*) occur. But none of these traditions refer to the Buddha's act of summoning the earth as witness. It may be surmised, therefore, that this particular incident is a comparatively late development, and that, this posture of the hands became one of the accepted mudrās still later. It should be noted that though at the beginning this particular posture was displayed by the bodhisattva, it later became an accepted mudrā of the Buddha. It is also the mudrā of the Dhyānibuddha Akṣobhya. See also MUDRĀ.

S.K.N.

BHŪMIYA, name for Nāgasamāla (q.v.) thera in a previous birth, as a king.

BHUMMĀ, a class of deities. The name suggests that they were conceived of as being terrestial. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 119) gives them as the first to report, with a cry of exultation (which the other gods, beginning with the *Cātumahārājika devā* and ascending upto the Brahmas, take up in turn) the attainment of full realisation by any disciple of the Buddha.

B. J.

BHUMMAJĀLA, a kind of science by which a person is able to say the fitness or unfitness of land for some purpose. A sage by name Kapila who lived in the Himālayas and who knew this science was approached by King Okkāka's sons before they decided upon the spot to build their city, which was subsequently named Kapilavatthu (*SnA.* I, p. 355). See also BHŪRI-VIJJĀ.

W.G.W.

BHŪMYAVACĀRAṆĀNUGAMA, name of the dhāraṇī, by the light of which the bhikṣu Sāgaramegha is said to have learnt in one day a very great number of chapters from a Buddhist text called the *Samantanetradharmaparyāya* (*Gvyū.* p. 66).

BHŪNAHU. This word occurs as *bhrūṇaha* in Brahmanical literature[2] to signify "embryo-killer." But, its usage in Buddhist works assumes different shades of meaning in different contexts,[3] though they all have a close connection with its original connotation. The etymological derivation of this term is not very clear. The *PED.* (p. 508 a) surmises that it is an old misspelling for *bhūtaghna*, (from *han*,) and means "destroyer of beings." The Pali form of the term occurs at *Suttanipāta*, *v.* 664 in the vocative case and at *Jātaka*, V. p. 266 in the plural. Buddhaghosa in his commentary to the *Suttanipāta*,[4] explains it as "*bhūtihanaka vuddhi-nāsaka*," "destroyer of what is prosperous or glorious." The *Jātaka*[5] too gives a similar meaning : '*attano vuddhiyā hatattā bhūnahuno.*'

In the *Māgandiya Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*[6], the paribbājaka Māgandiya reproaches the Buddha calling him *bhūnahu*. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Pali word *bhūnaha* is traceable to the Sanskrit word, *bhrūṇaha:* "killer of the embryo"[7] or "causing abortion." Again the word *bhrūṇa* in Sanskrit is applied to a learned

1 In later folk-lore the story of the 'earth-touching' gathered to itself many details. In Ceylon, it is said that the Earth-goddess appeared in person, up to her waist, bearing on her head a vase of flowers to give evidence for the bodhisatta's claim, which is also found in the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal.* p. 232 f.). The next development is that the goddess manifested herself in full stature. Burmese and Thai legends say that the goddess rebuked Māra for having doubted the bodhisatta's words. She went on to state that on every occasion the bodhisatta gave a gift to someone, he would ask the recipient to hold out his right hand and pour water on it (*dakkhiṇodaka*) as token of dedication. The water dropped on to the earth and so numerous were the occasions on which this happened that her hair became quite drenched. In proof thereof, she let down her hair and rinsed it. So great was the volume of water which flowed from the goddess's hair that it created a flood and Māra and the elephant on which he rode were washed away!

G. P. M.

2 *Mahābhārata*, ed. Vishnu S. Sukthankar and others, Poona, 1954, pp. 78, 32 and 33.

3 Cp. *bhunahu* in *Sn. v.* 664 with that in *M.* I, pp. 501 ff.

4 *SnA.* p. 479.

5 *J.* V. p. 266.

6 *M.* I, p. 501 ff.

7 *Mahābhārata*, ed. Vishnu S. Sukthankar and others, Poona, 1954, pp. 78, 32 and 33

brāhman. As such. it suggests an indirect reference to the Buddha's denunciation of some of the social and religious institutions which gave a predominent place to the brāhmans.[1] In this particular context, therefore, the term lends itself to a variety of interpretations. But, the contents of the suttas[2] make it clear that what Māgandiya means by the term is one who has ceased to have development and growth in all the six sense-spheres.

In his comments on this sutta, Buddhaghosa[3] explains it as: *hatavaḍḍhino mariyādakārakassa.... vaḍḍhihato mariyādi-kārako* (a killer of growths, the maker of stringent controls or rules). He further remarks[4] that, while Māgandiya holds that there should be development in all the sense-spheres. the Buddha holds that there should be restraint of them. It is clear, therefore, that in this particular context *bhūnahu* does not refer to one "who has destroyed what is prosperous and glorious"[5] but to one whose sense-organs and mind do not hanker after their corresponding sense-data and mental states.[6] Thus, one can see here that a different content of meaning is given to the word *bhūnaha*. Curiously enough, Māgandiya admits that this is the meaning he himself had in his mind and maintains that it occurs in this sense in the sacred scriptures of the paribbājakas as well (*evaṃ hi no sutte ócarati*).[7] In this sense, of course, the term *bhūnahu* can be aptly applied to the Buddha. The reply given by the Buddha to Māgandiya reminds one, of another episode recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[8] where the brāhman Verañja reproaches the Buddha as a *venayika*. There, too, the Buddha defends himself by giving a different interpretation to the term *venayika*. Both instances show how the Buddha's views differed from those of the paribbājakas with regard to sense-desires.

Y. KR.

BHUÑJATĪ, wife of Vessavaṇa. According to the *Sakka-pañha Sutta* (*D*. II, p. 271), Sakka tells the Buddha that he had asked Bhuñjatī to gain an interview for him with the Buddha when the latter was staying at Sāvatthi. She is depicted there as a devout follower waiting upon the Buddha. Sakka asks the Buddha whether Bhuñjatī saluted the Buddha in his honour when seeking the interview. The Buddha says she did.

According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA*. III, p. 705), she had attained the second Fruit of the Path and had cultivated indifference to celestial pleasures.

B. J.

BHŪPA, a yakṣa, converted to Buddhism by the Buddha while the latter was sojourning in the locality known as Nandivardhana, close to Kaśmīr (*GM*. III, i, p. XVIII).

BHŪRIDATTA JĀTAKA, a former birth story of Gotama the Buddha, when he was born as a nāga called Bhūridatta. His original name was Datta, but Sakka added Bhūri in recognition of his wisdom.

The story was related in reference to some laymen of Sāvatthi who kept the fast diligently. It is a very long story and begins with the bodhisatta's grandfather, Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī.

Brahmadatta lived on the banks of the Yamunā, exiled from his father's kingdom. He wore the garb of an ascetic but his heart was not in the ascetic life. When a nāga-maiden tried to seduce him, he easily succumbed. Their children were Sāgara-brahmadatta and Samuddajā.

When his father died, Brahmadatta returned with his children to Bārāṇasī and his nāga wife went back to the nāga world. While playing about in a lake, the children of Brahmadatta discovered a tortoise, Cittacūḷa, and were much frightened. The tortoise was brought before the king who ordered him to be cast into the Yamunā, that being the direst penalty the king could envisage. Caught in a whirlpool, Cittacūḷa was carried to the realm of the nāga king, Dhataraṭṭha, and, when questioned, had the presence of mind to say that he had been sent from Bārāṇasī to propose a marriage between Dhataraṭṭha and Samuddajā. Nāga messengers were sent to Bārāṇasī to make arragements and they laid their proposal before the King.

1 See suttas 91–97 of the *Brāhmaṇavagga* in *M*. I.

2 *M*. I. p. 503 ff.

3 *MA*. III, p. 211.

4 Ibid.

5 *SnA*. p. 479 : *bhūtihanako vuddhi-nāsako*.

6 *Cakkhum kho Māgandiya rūpārāmaṃ rūparataṃ rūpasammuditaṃ, taṃ Tathāgatassa dantaṃ guttaṃ rakkhitaṃ saṃvutaṃ*..............Similarly, with *sota* (ear), *ghāna* (nose), *jivhā* (tongue). *kāyo* (body) and *mano* (mind) with regard to their respective objects.

7 *M*. I. p. 503.

8 *Pdrdiikd-pdli* p.

Brahmadatta was horrified at the proposal and did not fail to say so, whereupon Dhataraṭṭha was so incensed that he laid seige to Bārāṇasī with his nāga hosts. To avert total destruction Samuddajā was given to Dhataraṭṭha. She lived with him for a long time without discovering that she was in the nāga world, since everyone, on the king's orders, had assumed human form.

Samuddajā had four children by Dhataraṭṭha: Sudassana, Datta, Subhaga and Ariṭṭha (Kāṇāriṭṭha) and one step-daughter, Accimukhī.

Datta, who was the bodhisatta, used to visit Virūpakkha, the ruler of the nāga hosts, and one day went with him to pay homage to Sakka. In the assembly, a question arose which only Datta could answer, and Sakka was so pleased with him that he gave him the name of Bhūridatta. Anxious to be born in Sakka's company, Bhūridatta took vows and observed the fast, on the top of an ant-hill. At the end of the fast, nāga maidens would come and take him back.

One day a brāhman villager and his son, Somadatta, went hunting in the forest and spent the night on a banyan tree near where Bhūridatta was. Bhūridatta entered into conversation with them and invited them to the nāga world where they passed a whole year, enjoying great luxury. Owing to lack of merit, the villagers grew discontented and returned to the world of men.

Some time later, Somadatta and his father met a brāhman, Ālambāyana, who had learnt from an ascetic, Kosiya, the Ālambāyana spell which had the power to tame nāgas. Ālambāyana had a magic jewel with him. Somadatta's father, wishing to obtain that jewel, suggested that if Ālambāyana would give him the jewel, he would show him the abode of Bhūridatta. Somadatta, realising the treachery of his father, rebuked him and left him.

Ālambāyana went with the villager and captured Bhūridatta, crushed his bones, and put him in a basket. Taking Bhūridatta with him, he travelled about making him dance before large audiences. The jewel which Ālambāyana gave to the treacherous villager slipped from the latter's hand and returned to the nāga world.

On the day of the capture of Bhūridatta, his mother had a terrifying dream. As Bhūridatta had been absent for a month, she grew very ānxious and a search was instituted: Kāṇāriṭṭha was sent to the deva world, Subhaga to Himavā, Sudassana and Accimukhī to the world of men. Sudassana went disguised as an ascetic, and Accimukhī, assuming the form of a frog, hid in his matted hair.

They found Ālambāyana making ready to give an exhibition of Bhūridatta's dancing before the king of Bārāṇasī. Sudassana took up his stand at the edge of the crowd. When Bhūridatta was back in his basket after dancing, Sudassana challenged Ālambāyana to prove that his magic powers were greater than those of Sudassana. This challenge was accepted, and Sudassana called out to Accimukhī who, uttering the frog's cry, stood on his shoulder, and having spat drops of poison on to his palm, went back into his hair. Saying that the country would be destroyed if the poison fell on the earth, Sudassana had three holes dug and filled the first with drugs, the second with cowdung, and the third with heavenly medicines. He poured the poison into the first hole; a flame instantly burst out, spread to the second and, having travelled to the third, consumed all the medicine and was extinguished. Ālambāyana who was standing near the last hole, was affected by the heat of the poison and he became a leper. Filled with terror, he set Bhūridatta free.

Bhūridatta, Sudassana and Accimukhī assumed radiant forms, decked with all ornaments. The king, on discovering that they were the children of his daughter, Samuddajā, rejoiced greatly and entertained them. Bhūridatta together with the king returned to the nāga world. The king stayed there for some time and returned to his kingdom.

Subhaga, while wandering in the forest, met Somadatta's father, the treacherous villager, and snatched him away into the nāga world, after nearly drowning him into whirlpools of the Yamunā. Kāṇāriṭṭha who was guarding the entrance to the room where Bhūridatta was convalescing after his terrible experiences, protested against Subhaga's ill-treatment of a brāhman, and described the greatness of the brāhmans and the importance of holding sacrifices and of learning the Vedas. The nāgas who were listening were grealty impressed. Bhūridatta, seeing them in danger of accepting false doctrines, sent for Kāṇāriṭṭha, confuted his arguments and converted the nāgas to the right view.

Some time later, Bhūridatta together with his parents visited his grandfather Brahmadatta who had become an ascetic. There they met Sāgara Brahmadatta, Bhūridatta's uncle, now king of Bārāṇasī. Great was the rejoicing over their reunion. After some time they went back to the nāga world where they lived happily.

The story ends with an identification of the characters. Devadatta is identified with Ālambāyana, Ānanda with Somadatta, Uppalavaṇṇā with Accimukhī, Sāriputta with Sudassana, Moggallāna with Subhaga and Sunakkhatta with Kāṇriṭṭha (*J*. No. 543, VI, pp. 157–219).

The story is also found, in an abridged form, in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* as an illustration of the *sīlapāramitā*, under the name of *Bhūridattacariya* (*Cp*. II, ii, *vv*. 1–9).

A broken piece of sculpture at Amarāvati shows in two panels the prince as viceroy and the prince with the nāgī. The sculpture is thought to belong to the so-called " third period " (circa 150 A.C.). A reproduction can be found in the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* (New series, IV, 1942).

U. K.

BHŪRI-KAMMA, an ancient magical practice mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta*. See BHŪRI-VIJJĀ.

BHŪRIṆĪ, one of the eight goddesses who occupy the eight petals of the lotus of the universe (*viśva-padmacandra*). Pink in complexion, Bhūriṇī holds a blue lotus and occupies the western petal (*Sādh*. I, p. 75). See PADMANARTTEŚVARA SĀDHANA.

BHŪRIPAÑHA JĀTAKA, (No. 452), a name given to a section of the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* which describes how Mahosadha lived with a potter when the king started ill-treating him after listening to his other ministers. At this time, the goddess of the king's parasol put four questions to the king which his ministers failed to answer. Then, the king sent messengers in search of Mahosadha, whom they found living in a potter's hut. They brought him to the king and the king was surprised to see that Mahosadha had no enmity towards him. Mahosadha pointed out to the king that wise men are neither ungrateful nor mean in their behaviour. When the king told him about the four questions he answered them all. The goddess was so pleased with his answers that she presented him with a precious casket full of seven precious things (*J*. VI, pp. 372–6 ; See MAHĀ UMMAGGA JĀTAKA).

I. K.

BHŪRISATTVA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the ninth bhūmi (*Mhvu*. I, p. 139).

BHŪRI SUTTA occurs in the *Mahāpaññā-vagga* of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* (*S*. V, p. 412). Four conditions—associating with the good, hearing the doctrine, systematic attention, and living in accordance with the teachings, if cultivated and developed, lead to extensive (*bhūri*) insight.

BHŪRI-VIJJĀ is mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta* (*D*. I, p. 9) as one of the ' low arts ' (*tiracchāna-vijjā*) practised by certain recluses and brāhmans of the Buddha's time. Abstention from these low arts, the Buddha states, was regarded by the uninitiated as one of the qualities which made the Buddha superior in virtue. Buddhaghosa explains the terms as denoting 'a knowledge of charms to be recited by one living in an earth-house ' (*bhūri-vijjā ti-ghare vasantena uggahetabba-manto : DA*. I, p. 93). He explains *bhūrikamma*, another of the ' low arts ' mentioned in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta* list (*D*. I, p. 12) in the same way, as practices to be observed by one living in an earth-house (*bhūri-kamman ti bhūrighare vasitvā gahita-mantassa payogakaraṇam : DA*. I. p. 97). H. Kern (*Toevoegselen op't Woordenboek van Childers*, Amsterdam, 1916, s.v. *bhūri-kamma*) suggests that the two terms may have denoted two different magical practices but that this difference may not have been known to the commentator. Kern's suggestion is that *bhūri-vijjā* might have been a secret science which was believed to aid in the discovery of gold or hidden treasure while *bhūri-kamma* might have been a kind of alchemistic practice devoted to the making of gold. T. W. Rhys Davids, translating *bhūri-kamma* as ' repeating charms while lodging in an earth-house ' (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 25) and *bhūrivijjā* as ' knowledge of the charms to be used when lodging in an earth-house ' (op. cit. 18), raises the question whether the earth-house (*bhūrighara*) was associated with the idea of a place sacred to Mother Earth.

It has also been suggested (*PED*. s. v.) that the term *bhummajāla* is connected with these two magical practices. The *Suttanipāta* commentary (*SnA*. p. 353) gives it as the technical term of a *vijjā* or magic art used probably in the discovery of hidden treasure.

See also CHARMS, TIRACCHĀNA-VIJJĀ.

B. J.

BHŪRUṆḌA, a word probably of Dravidian origin, the name of a nāga king, occurring in *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, p. 18 (*BHS*. p. 411 b).

BHŪṢAṆENDRAPRABHA, name of a *kiṃnara* listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (p. 173.8) under *kiṃnarā yatho*.

BHUSUKU, name of a samādhi mentioned in a legendary account of Śāntideva's. life, found in three palm-leaves written in the 14th century Newārī hand at Katmandu (No. 9990 of the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

Śāntideva is also called Bhusuku on account of his attaining to that samādhi (*IA*. XLII, p. 50). See ŚĀNTIDEVA.

U. K.

BHŪTA (1), an arahant. During the time of the Buddha Siddhattha, he was born in a brāhman family and was named Soṇa. When he grew up, he saw the Buddha and, being greatly pleased with him, he praised him in four verses. On account of his good deed he gained birth among gods and men and during this Buddha period, he was born as a son to the treasurer of Sāketa, having fabulous wealth. A demon who had vowed vengeance on the treasurer used to devour his children as soon as they were born. When this child was born, therefore, people kept close vigil over him. The demon, too, being away attending on Vessavaṇa, could not come in time to destroy the child. He was named Bhūta, as they thought he was spared because of being dear even to non-human beings.

Brought up in the cradle of luxury, one day he paid a visit to the Buddha at Sāketa, and having listened to his teachings, renounced the world as a monk. He lived in a cave on the bank of the river Ajakaraṇi and before long realised arahantship. Having realised arahantship he went to Sāketa to see his kinsmen and lived in the Añjanavana for a few days, being waited upon by them (*Thag*. *vv*. 518–26 : *ThagA*. II, pp. 216–7). Bhūta thera is probably identical with **Parappasādaka** thera of the *Apadāna* (I, p. 113).

W. G. W.

BHŪTA (2), "spirit." This seems to be the most general term used in Indian languages, specially in Pali and Sanskrit, to mean invisible spirits. The belief in such spirits is almost universal and it would appear that such beliefs constitute a particular stage in the evolution of human thought. It is a part of primitive religion, a stage which seems to mark the transition from animism to pantheism. Almost always the belief in such invisible spirits and the preformance of various rites to propitiate them or to worship them are practices observed in popular religion.[1]

India, the native land of Buddhism, was no exception to this phenomenon and even after the Buddha, this popular "religion" did not disappear. Ordinary people entertained such beliefs and performed various practices.[2] These beliefs were so popular that later they were incorporated into a separate Veda, called the ***Atharvaveda***. However, these beliefs and practices could not find a prominent place in early Buddhist literature, though they are referred to at random. Although references to spirit-belief are not rare in the Piṭakas, the term *bhūta* in the sense of spirits is not common.[3] References to spirit-belief are quite common in the *Jātakas* but not specifically under the term *bhūta*. The term yakkha is more common.

In the reference to *bhūtas* in Pali literature, two attitudes are noticeable. One is that of propitiating them with offerings (*bali*) and the other is of exorcising them by charms and spells.[4] In the introductory verses of the *Ratana Sutta* (*Sn*. *vv*. 222 ff.), which even today is regarded as a protective spell against evil spirits by the Ceylon Buddhists, the *bhūtas* of the earth and of the sky are requested to be well-disposed and to listen to the sutta which is about to be recited.[5] They are further requested to have compassion

1 The pretas, nāgas, yakṣas rākṣasas, pisācas and the bhūtas of India and Ceylon, the *nats* of Burma, the ***peys*** **of** Siam, the *kami* of Japan and the *shen* of China are only a few names in a list which might be extended indefinitely.

2 Compare the five brāhmanic *mahāyajñas* or great offerings with the list of *bali* offerings given in the ***Aṅguttara*** *Nikāya* (p. III, 45) as discussed by B. C. Law in *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, London, 1936, p.3.

3 The term occurs in this sense at *Sn*. *vv*. 222, 235 ; *D*. I, p 9; *Miln*. pp. 23, 168, 387 ; *J*. II, p. 215 ; III, p. 511 ; IV, p. 245

4 See *D*. I, p. 9, where *bhūtavijjā* or the art of exorcism occurs in a list of low arts. See also the *Milindapañha* (p. 23), where in a simile, the term *bhūtavejja* (exorcist) occurs : "like an evil spirit in the presence of an exorcist : ***bhūtavejja-samāgato viya pisāco***. The implication is that the pisāca is utterly frightened in the presence of the exorcist.

5 This is a typical protective spell in that the stanzas of the sutta praise the virtues of the Triple Gem and invoke blessing on the hearers as an act of truth. The two introductory verses and the last three verses in which the *bhūtas* are referred to seem to be late insertions.

on humanity. Here, no attempt is made to exorcise them or to frighten them, but they are asked to be kind and benevolent towards men who pay homage and make offerings to them, day and night.[1] Since this sutta is recorded as having been preached by the Buddha at the request of the Licchavi princes to rid the city of Vesāli of the triple dangers of plague, famine and evil spirits, it is natural that the introduction to the sutta should contain these ideas.[2] Buddhaghosa explains the term *bhūta* of the *Ratana Sutta* as non-humans (*amanussa : MA.* I, p. 31). And since they are requested to accept the homage and offerings of men and to protect them with compassion, it implies that the term *bhūta* here signifies devas in general. It is in this sense that they are explained at length at *KhpA.* pp. 166 ff. where the beings inhabiting the deva worlds from Yāma to Akaniṭṭha are explained as *bhūtas*[3] living in the air and those beings who dwell from Sineru to earth (i.e., those living on trees, creepers, mountains, etc.) as terrestial ones. All these beings are collectively called *amanussa*.[4]

Peopling the trees, creepers and mountains with spirits is an animistic belief and this belief, coupled with belief in the devas, seems to lie at the base of the term *bhūta* as used in the *Ratana Sutta.* This is a clear instance of popular religious beliefs being involved with early Buddhism ; and as the *Ratana Sutta* itself is a charting (*paritta*), the whole concept appears to be a part of popular Buddhism.

There is another point of interest, recorded in connection with the *Ratana Sutta.* It is said that, as soon as Ānanda uttered the first stanza of the sutta, all the evil spirits that plagued the city fled. Here, the commentator uses the term *amanussa* (*KhpA.* pp. 161, 164) which, as shown earlier, has been used synonymously with *bhūta.* This category of beings seems to have been regarded as entirely evil.

According to a simile used by Nāgasena in the *Milindapañha* (*Miln.* p. 168), when a person becomes possessed by an evil spirit the people around him see only the symptoms of the person's sickness, whereas the *bhūta* is visible only to the diseased. Psychologically, possession by spirits and the consequent abnormal behaviour of the one possessed constitute a form of insanity. The victim can have a mental hallucination finding outward expression in various forms of abnormal behaviour. The Buddha's cure for such a disease would be a psychological purging, by cleansing the mind of its impurities (*kilesa*), and by developing insight until one obtains complete knowledge and enlightenment (*yathābhūtañāṇa : ñāṇadassana*). This is the higher life (*brahmacariya*) which culminates in the cessation of all conflicts (Nibbāna). From the Buddha's point of view, all emotional disturbances are traceable to ignorance (*avijjā*) and craving (*taṇhā*) and the belief in *bhūtas* is very closely connected with the emotion of fear. The perfected man has neither fear nor craving. It is such a person who can be said to have obtained complete sanity ; he is the saint. All others are in various degrees of "insanity," and the so-called spirit-possession is an instance for extreme psychological disorders. There is a passage in the *Cullaniddesa* (*Nd.* II, p. 221) which explains the term *bhūta* in this sense. Here, the *bhūtas* are not distinguished from those who are possessed by them. The *bhūtas* are broadly divided into two catagories as *tasā* and *thāvarā* : the literary meaning of the two terms would be 'moving' and 'motionless.' Metaphorically, they constitute those who are in fear and, therefore, trembling (*tasā*), as distinguished from those self-possessed and firm (*thāvarā*) beings (i.e., arahants : *KhpA.* p. 245) who are not disturbed by the things of the world. The *Niddesa* passage describes the moving *bhūtas* as those who are not free from craving and, therefore, not free from fear, either. They are called moving or trembling because, being subject to craving and fear, they tremble, they get frightened, excited, terror-stricken and completely bewildered.[5] In ordinary language, a person who behaves in this manner would be described as insane. Hence this short Pali passage gives a very simple psychological analysis of the so-called *bhūta*-possession of popular belief. When it describes those who are free from craving (*taṇhā*) and as such free from fear, as perfected men who have achieved complete security, the cure for the disease is also implied. It is the complete eradication of the emotion of craving or desire, which removes fear and all the other unwelcome emotions of the human

1 This is more or less the *do ut des* attitude of the Ṛgvedic religion.

2 See also *EncyBsm.* 1, pp. 500–1.

3 Compare *Miln.* p. 387 where, space (*ākāsa*) is said to be full of such beings as seers, ascetics, spirits and birds (*isitāpasabhūtadija-gaṇānusañcārita*). The seers and ascetics probably refer to those human beings who had developed the powers of levitation.

4 *MA.* I, p. 31 and *KhpA.* p. 166. The term *amanussabhūta* is also used in the *KhpA.* ; it literary means non-humans.

5 *Yesaṃ tasiṇā taṇhā appahīnā yesaṃ ca bhayabheravā appahīnā. Kiṃ kāraṇā vuccanti tasā ? Te tasanti uttasanti paritasanti bhāyanti santāsam āpajjanti taṃ kāraṇā vuccanti tasā.* This description tallies with one who is in an epileptic fit or under an extreme emotional disturbance. The opposite type of this description is called *thāvara*.

mind. The term *taṇhā* would be more intelligible to the modern mind if it were described as unfulfilled desire, which is a major cause for psychological disorders according to modern psychology. It is these unfulfilled desires, when come to a climax, that are popularly believed to be spirits (*bhūtas*). From this it follows that, according to Buddhist psychology, the *bhūta* concept is a psychological phenomenon, needing a psychological cure. But, in popular Buddhism where there is very little rational and scientific thinking, the case is different. This is quite understandable, because what is meant by popular Buddhism is more or less a collection of popular and superstitious beliefs, among which the Buddha stands as a superhuman and godlike personage. The Buddha himself never prohibited such beliefs and it is seen from literature that he made concessions to them whenever needed. He never denied the existence of spirits and even during his lifetime such beliefs were there as part of popular religion.[1] The higher life which he practised and advocated had nothing to do with such beliefs and practices and the truth of his teaching is not dependent on such supernatural beings and the attempts to use their influence by sacrifices, oracles etc., are regarded as unbecoming of intelligent men.[2] The following observation of Sir Charles Eliot may be quoted, " The mythology and cosmology associated with early Buddhism are really extraneous. The Buddha's teaching is simply the four truths and some kindred ethical and psychological matter. It grew up in an atmosphere of animism which peopled the trees and streams and mountains with spirits. It accepted and played with the idea, just as it might have accepted and played with the idea of radio-activity." [3]

The available literary references to offerings made to spirits which are very numerous in the *Jātakas* are a part of popular religion as explained above.[4]

A.G.S.K.

BHŪTA. (3), derived from *bhavati*, to grow, to become, is frequently used for 'nature', the result of such becoming. Thus, it stands for the process of actuality, to see and comprehend which (*yathā-bhūtā-ñāṇa-dassana*) is the realisation of the truth. And so, *bhūta* becomes synonymous with the 'true' as opposed to the 'false' (*bhūtaṃ vā : Sdmp.* p.227). Reality in Buddhism is not a hypercosmic entity, but the natural process of the arising and cessation of phenomena without the abiding substance of a soul or self. The understanding of the universality of impermanence (*anicca*), coupled with the comprehension of soullessness (*anatta*), leads to the realisation that all conflicts (*dukkha*), although actual, are based on a misconception (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), and have no 'real' existence. Such is the true nature of life in all its aspects. This 'such-ness' (*bhūtatathatā*, q.v.) forms the quintessence of Mahāyāna according to Aśvaghosa (*Mahāyāna-śraddhotpādaśāstra*, Suzuki's trsl. p. 53, Awakening of Faith). For, it is that which all aspects of the process have in common, whether they are stirred up like waves in the water of the stream of actuality, or submerged in the tranquillity of the void.

Bhūta, as past participle of *bhavati*, means literally 'that which has come into existence.' There are, however, several specialised meanings of a technical character, such as nature itself, or the group of five aggregates of existence (*pañcakkhandha: M.* I, p. 260; *PED.* s.v.), or beings of non-human nature, such as 'ghosts' (*amanussā : Sn.* v. 222). Sometimes the term *bhūta* is limited in its context to the animal kingdom (e.g., *D.* II, p.157) or to the vegetable kingdom (e.g. *Vin.* IV, 34). But, most frequently, and in particular in its neuter plural form, *bhūtāni* or *mahā-bhūtāni*, the term has acquired the meaning of 'great' or 'chief essentials,' indicating the four primary qualities inherent in all corporeality. Another similar word is (*dhātu*) 'element' which, however, has wider application and is better discussed under that name. *Bhūta* is entirely material, whereas *dhātu* may be also mental, and hence a clear distinction is desirable.

The four primary physical essentials (*mahā-bhūta*) are the essential characteristics of matter, present in every material object, although in varying degrees of predominance. They are not elements in the sense of the ultimate substances in chemistry which defy further analysis, but rather in the sense of rudimentary principles of essential characteristics. Matter (*rūpa*) cannot be analysed in the sense that it cannot be separated and divided into its principal component parts, for these essentials (*bhūta*) do not have an individual existence independent of each other. Of the 26 characteristics of matter (see RŪPA) the four primaries are non-derived (*anupādā*) and each has the other three as its proximate cause (*padaṭṭhāna : Vism.*

1 Suttas like the *Ratana*, *Metta*, *Āṭānāṭiya*, *Mahāsamaya* and the *Parittas* in general could be cited as instances.

2 The art of exorcism (*bhūtavijjā*) occurs in a list of condemned arts in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (I, 9).

3 *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921, I, p. 332.

4 For a discussion on the spirit belief in the Jātakas see *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X, 1914–15, pp. 257 ff. and B.G Gokhale, *Buddhism and Asoka*, Baroda, 1948, pp. 116 ff.

xiv, § 35, p. 375). They are not found inside each other or outside, although they are dependent on each other for support, and each becomes for the others a condition of conascence (*Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā*, Vidyodaya Ed. 363).

The four principal characteristics of matter (*mahā-bhūtāni*) are referred to and enumerated in many canonical texts, e.g., in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D*.I.p. 76), in the fifth sutta of the *Ānanda-vagga* (*A*.I,p. 222), in the *Upādāna-parivaṭṭa Sutta* (*S*. III.p. 59), in the *Natthi Sutta* (ibid.p. 207), in the *Āsīvisa Sutta* (*S*.IV,p. 174), in the *Saṅka Sutta* (*M*.I.p. 515), etc., and such commentarial works as the *Atthasālinī* and the *Visuddhimagga* abound in further explanations. But they are never referred to as purely concrete elements, or as purely abstract essences. The name 'matter' (*rūpa*) is given to certain mechanical, chemical, electrical or organic phenomena which produce the appearance and disappearance of material 'things.' "Matter is that which appears or manifests itself (to the senses)" (*ruppatī'tirūpaṃ*) [1] without ever suggesting either reality or stability, substance or substratum, essence or entity.

Hence, the 'constituents' of such matter although elementary in their basic functions, are only components in the sense of co-operative factors in the 'appearance' of actuality. Though devoid of discriminative consciousness (*avinibhoga*), yet matter and material elements are not segregated from the mental, for the components are appearances, i.e., sensations and perceptions. Matter is the external, not opposing the internal, but affecting it. And, the material essentials are not mere abstract ideas, even though they are not real in themselves; for they are actual, they are food for the mind, the object for the subject, which cannot be segregated in actuality.

Contemporaries of the Buddha in West Asia and in Greece, and Indian sages many centuries before them, formulated various speculations regarding the constitution and properties of matter, Thales of Miletus (640–546 B.C.) sought amid the variety of things a single material cause. Observing the three stages of water in its solid, liquid and gaseous forms, as ice, water and vapor, respectively he concluded with typical induction that all degrees of condensation were due to the element of water in them. Aristotle suggests that Thales was led to his fundamental dogma that 'all things are water' by his observation of the part which Moisture plays in the production and maintenance of life. Anaximenes, also from Miletus (second half of the 6th cent. B.C.), was struck more by the perpetual movement in matter, expanding with heat and contracting with cold; and he held that in these changes of density are to be found the source of all that exists. Thus, he held that air was the primary substance, for, continual motion and change, although characteristic of all matter, are most evident in air. Yet this very instability of matter impressed Heraclitus (540–475 B.C.). In his acceptance of the unity of nature, although denying the 'theory of being of the Ionian school, he maintained that the very opposites maintain the unity of the whole. And the sole activity of the whole is its constant change, the incessant process of evolution and involution: all things are becoming. Now, according to Heraclitus that which has least stability and tolerates it least in others, must be the essence of all things: and that is fire. As the world arose from fire, so it will return to fire by conflagration. The Atomists explained differences in size and weight as being due to the manner of combination of atoms which leave more or less empty inter-space. According to them only weight, density and hardness belong to the things themselves. Now, these terms earth, water, fire and air as the primary elements of matter do not have in Buddhism the same meaning as was adopted by Atomists and Physicists. There is also a definite advance from the doctrine of the Upaniṣads where we find an enumeration of the three *guṇas*, fire, water and earth, produced from the absolute (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vi, 2), for, in the teaching of the Buddha they are not the constituent elements of matter, but essential qualities, "that stretch and cleave and burn and move" (*Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 23). They are not projections of an unformed primitive matter which is without beginning, and which is an ultimate reality in nature (*Ṛgveda*, x, 129), also adopted in the Sāṅkhya philosophy, as *prakṛti*. For, there is in Buddhism no absolute (*asaṅkhata*), i.e., no unconditioned, no unformed, no uncomposed, apart from Nibbāna, which is transcendent (*lokuttara*) to all matter and mind.

Thus, the *bhūtāni* of Buddhist conception are elementary material qualities, which are different forms of energy. These forms cannot exist individually and separate from each other. They are not produced by one another, but in their different proportions they qualify energy and give it the form known to us as matter. They are functional qualities and characteristic marks of an essential nature. They continue to bear the ancient names

1 The meaning of *ruppati* is not clear. Etymologically it seems to mean that which disintegrates, breaks up, destroys itself.—G.P.M.

of earth, water, fire and air, although these are merely indicative of their respective functions of extension, cohesion, caloricity and oscillation.

Thus, the characteristic of earth (*paṭhavī*), i.e., of extension, is the primary material quality of impenetrability, a property in virtue of which two bodies cannot occupy the same place at the same time. It does not stand only for geometrical extensions of length, width and height, but also for solidity and hardness. "Whatever is hard and solid is the element of earth" (*kakkhaḷaṃ kharigatam . . . ayaṃ vuccati paṭhavī-dhātu : M.* I, p. 185). And thus the various degrees of being hard and soft, smooth and rough, heavy and light, rigid and slack, polished and jagged are all included in the primary quality of extension, which gives the power of resistence due to impenetrability and a more or less fixed locality to solid bodies. It is a repellent energy which gives to matter the characteristics of dimension, expansion, weight and pressure.

The characteristic of water (*āpo*) is the primary material quality of cohesion, a property in virtue of which the different particles of a body are not scattered about, but cling, cleave and adhere together. It is the binding quality of matter (*bandhanattam rūpassa : Dhs.* § 652; *DhsA.* p. 335). It is this quality which gives a body its density and its quantity in a unit of bulk, conserving its internal nature and resisting any interference and change through its character of viscosity. "Cohesion is that which diffuses itself throughout its co-existent qualities ; or that which increases the bulk of them" (*āpeti sahajātarūpāni pattharati ; appāyati vā brūheti vaḍḍhetīti āpo : Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī*; p. 167). Thus, although fluidity (*paggharaṇa*) is its distinctive characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*), yet cohesion is its particular function (*kicca : Dhs.* loc. cit.). It is interesting to note that this quality of cohesion is not perceptible to the sense of touch or sense contact, for it is an entirely 'internal' quality which does not exert its energy in a way which can be apprehended by the sense organs. Therefore, if one were to dip one's hand in a bucket of water one will perceive the quality of extension (*paṭhavī*) in resistence, the quality of temperature (*tejo*) in the heat or coldness of the water, and the quality of oscillation (*vāyo*) in the pressure exerted by the water ; but one does not feel the water-element (*āpo*) as this is only the internal cohesion of matter.

Caloricity (*tejo*) is the essential material quality of thermal energy or temperature in its various aspects and degrees of cold (*sītatejo*) and heat (*uṇhatejo*). This, too, is a primary quality inherent in all matter. Both extension (*paṭhavī*) and cohesion (*āpo*) are essentially affected by changes in temperature ; for heat can expand and even melt solids, while liquids are congealed by cold ; evaporation and condensation are produced by changes in temperature and variations of caloricity. It was only in the 19th century that science found it possible to agree with Buddhism, when it was discovered that temperature was due to motion : the kinetic theory. Caloricity, then, is that essential material quality which gives 'life' to matter, without which the other primary qualities could not function. It stands for the maturation of diseased matter, for digestion and assimilation of food, for evolution as well as involution. Where extension and cohesion gave rise to a certain stability in matter, there caloricity is the primary condition for change in mutation and oscillation.

The last of the four primary material qualities is the essential characteristic of oscillation (*vāyo*) or vibration, both internal and external. This is not to be understood merely as the movement of air, or of an object in space, but far mor as the continuous adjustment between the two opposing forces of extension (*paṭhavī*) which repels and cohesion (*āpo*) which attracts. This oscillation between attraction and repulsion causes a natural friction which is the generator of heat. Thus oscillation (*vāyo*) is as much a condition for the arising of caloricity (*tejo*), as caloricity is a condition for the origination of movement. It is through vibration that extension is felt as pressure ; through vibration also cohesion becomes magnetic and centripetal. In a way, vibration is the most important of the four *bhūtas* as it is mainly through this essential quality that matter is known to us. Objects are seen by the eye not through contact with the solid aspect but through light radiation. Sound is perceived in the ear organ, not through contact with the source but through medium of sound waves.

But although each of those four essentials seems to be most important in its particular sphere, none of them is dispensable and the characteristic functioning of each is dependent on the co-nascence (*sahajāta*) and the mutual association (*aññamañña*) of the other three related, conditioned and yet essential, material qualities. Frequent reference is found, in later works and commentaries, of five elements when the 'element of space, (*ākāsa*) is added to the usual four essential qualities. A hint of this, however, is already found in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 55). There Ajātasattu, the reigning king of Magadha, relates to the Buddha his experience with various teachers, and gives as part of the teaching of Ajita Kesakambalī his theory of annihilation : A human

being is built up of four essential qualities (*cātum-mahābhūtiko ayam puriso*), but when his time is fulfilled whatever there is solid in him returns to and relapses into the earth, liquid to water, heat to fire, vibration to air, while his sense-faculties pass into space (*ākāsam indriyāni saṅkamanti*). It is quite obvious that Ajita, the annihilationist, did not take 'space' as an element not even as an essential quality, but rather as a synonym for emptiness, void, nothingness. And it is exactly in this sense that *ākāsa* is later adopted as an element (*dhātu*) together with the other four essential qualities, and yet remains sharply distinct from them, as space from air.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BHUTĀ, a nun whose gift of a railing to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscripition on that railing (A. Cunningham. *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, p. 140).

H. R. P.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA, name of a deity (See Pl. VI, Fig. B) mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* pp. 512 ff.) which describes him as terrible in form, with canine teeth and a garland of skulls. He is wrathful in appearance, radiating flames from his body. He is as black as collyrium and is four-armed, wielding in one of his right hands the thunderbolt (*vajra*) and showing on the left a threatening forefinger or *tarjanī-mudrā* (see MUDRĀ). He wears as ornaments eight masks, in addition to his garland of skulls. He stands, his left leg outstretched, while the right is slightly bent and placed behind, i.e., in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude. His two principal hands exhibit the *bhūtaḍāmara mudrā* also referred to as the *ḍāmara-mudrā*.[1] This mudrā, peculiar to the deity, is exhibited by him while he tramples under his feet the god Aparājita. His powers are described as being great enough to destroy the three worlds.

Bhūtaḍāmara is the principal deity in the Bhūtaḍāmara maṇḍala of the *Nispannayogāvalī* (ed. Bhattacharyya, *GOS*. No. 109). He is here seen trampling upon the prostrate Aparājita. His pose is the same *pratyālīḍha*, but shows in addition to the *tarjanī-mudrā* a noose on the left. The mudrā of his principal hands, too, is the same.

It is deduced from the *Nispannayogāvalī* (op. cit. p. 74) the spiritual father of Bhūtaḍāmara is Akṣobhya.

Bhattacharyya cites Clerk (*Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Harward University Press, 1937, Vol. II, pp. 152, 242) for the fact that in China he is known as Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi. The god is also depicted as an expert in destroying the pride of Indra, Brahma and Kubera. Bhattacharyya maintains that the deity, though claimed by the Hindus, is thoroughly Buddhist in origin (*An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp.117, 163)[2].

According to the *BHS* (s.v. Ḍāmara), Ḍāmara is probably identical with Bhūtaḍāmara.

B. J.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA-MAṆḌALA-VIDHI-NĀMA (also *Śrī-°*) the name of two Sanskrit works, extant in their Tibetan translation under the title *Dpal-ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-byed-kyi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga śes-bya-ba*. The editorship of both texts is attributed to Blo-bzaṅs skyoṅ, and the translators of both texts are Non-ni paṇḍit and Rin-chen dpal (var. U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen dpal). The Tibetan translation is included in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* (*TM*. Nos. 2677, 2905). These two texts are not included in the Peking edition.

I. K.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA-SĀDHANA, two sādhana texts occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* II, Nos. 265, 267). According to the *Sde-dge* edition, which mentions only one of these texts, Dā. Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja) translated it into Tibetan. It is included in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-byed-kyi Sgrub-thabs* (*TM*. No. 3303; *Cordier*, II, p. 339). These texts are not included in the Peking edition.

The texts deal with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the deity Bhūtaḍāmara. The author begins the first text with a salutation to the deity. According to him, the worshipper (*sādhaka*) who has been initiated in the *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra*, should with his teacher's permission, prepare himself for the sādhana at a prescribed spot, the meeting of rivers, cemetery, under a single tree, etc. Next is set out the procedure the worshipper should follow before he utters the magic spell that destroys all evil. A series of different magic spells and the connected mudrās

1 Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 153, n 1; A.K. Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, New York, 1939, p. 20.

2 For further information, see " The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara " (*Man in India*. 1931 Vol. XI, p. 83 ff.).

with their names and descriptions are next enumerated. The worshipper should visualize Bhūtaḍāmara as wrathful in appearance, from whose body radiate fierce flames. The author then gives a detailed description of the deity. Thereafter are enumerated a large number of magic spells for the attainment of perfection (*siddhi*) along with the different mudrās with their names and descriptions.

In the second text the procedure for the devotee is thus set out. He should enter the magic circle (maṇḍala), worship the Bhagavān with incense, etc., and confess his transgressions with a given stanza. Then follows a description of the different rites, connected with the worship, in the course of which various mystic syllables are mentioned. The worshipper is expected to identify himself with Bhūtaḍāmara. The latter part of the sādhana contains a series of magic spells and a description of the different mudrās pertaining to them.

I. K.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA - SĀDHANA - VIDHI, see **BHŪTAḌĀMARA-SĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ.**

BHŪTAḌĀMARA-SĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ, the full title of which is *Saṅkṣipta-sampūrṇa-vispaṣṭa-krama-saṅgata-Bhūtaḍāmara-sādhanopāyikā*, is one of four sādhanas mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* dedicated to the worship of the deity Bhūtaḍāmara (*Sādh.* II, No. 266). This work is translated into Tibetan in two texts entitled *Ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-byed sgrub-thabs-kyi cho-ga* occurring in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4125; Vol. 81, No. 4464). While the author of the first text is unknown, the authorship of the second text is attributed to Dam-pa thams-cad ḥdren-paḥi Ḥjig-rten gsum-gyi rdo-rje (Paramasarvanāyaka Trilokyavajra), which is confirmed at the end of the text. He is said to have compiled it for the purpose of taking across all beings (to emancipation). The translators of the first text are named as Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja) and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja) is said to have translated the second text. According to the *Sde-dge* edition, one of these Tibetan texts is included in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 3642), and in this catalogue the Sanskrit title of the work has been reconstructed as *Bhūtaḍāmara-sādhana-vidhi*.

The author pays obeisance to Bhūtaḍāmara, whom he describes as the destroyer of the pride of demons, and proceeds to write the sādhana, in the course of which he deals with the different rites connected with his worship. The author says that the worshipper should conceive himself as Bhūtaḍāmara who is wrathful in appearance and whose person radiates fierce flames. A detailed description of the god follows a description of the mudrā: the two ring fingers should be entwined, the two index-fingers slightly bent, while the middle and little fingers should be pressed with the thumb. Thereafter are enumerated various mantras and the appropriate mudrās with names and descriptions, for the attainment of perfection (*siddhi*). Bhagavān Vajradhara finds mention in this sādhana.

I. K.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA-SAṄKṢIPTA-SĀDHANA, a sādhana, professedly of an abridged character, devoted to the worship of the deity Bhūtaḍāmara. Its full title is Śrī Bh°, and is included in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* II, No. 264). This Sādhana was translated into Tibetan and the two Tibetan works entitled *Dpal ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-byed-kyi sgrub-thabs mdor bsdus-pa*, and *Dpal ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-byed-kyi mdor-bsdus-paḥi sgrub-thabs*, occur in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4124; Vol. 81, No. 4463). According to the *Sde-dge* edition and the Cordier's catalogue, these two works are included in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur* (*TM.* Nos. 3302, 3641; *Cordier*, II, p. 399, No. 164). The first work is said to have been translated by Dā, Abhaya and Tshul-Khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhvaja), and the latter was translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Kīrtidhvaja). Its authorship is attributed to Vairocana (*Sādh.* II, p. 514).

The author pays homage to Bhūtaḍāmara whom he describes as being an expert in destroying the pride of Śakra, Brahma, Kuvera and others. He then proceeds to write the sādhana which he proclaims is aimed at overpowering the demons. He prescribes the procedure the devotee should follow before uttering the mantra. He should meditate on voidness (*śunyatā*). Then follow a full description of the god and of his mudrā, etc. The mantra to be uttered in this sādhana is *Huṃ vajra phaṭ*.

I. K.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA TANTRA is, as the name implies, a Tāntric work in Sanskrit dedicated to the deity Bhūtaḍāmara and deals with the different

rites connected with his worship.[1] According to this work, the devotee who invokes Bhūtaḍāmara is able to gain power over various classes of spirits and non-human beings who can be made to supply him with all his needs, wealth and comforts in this life and noble birth among brāhmans and kings in the next life. The work contains a number of mantras for the incantation of the different types of non-human beings. The principal figure in the tantra is Bhūtaḍāmara (q.v.) who is described at length. A detailed description of his maṇḍala is met with twice in this tantra.

The first chapter begins rather abruptly without much introduction with a description of the assembly of the faithful. The chief speaker is Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara and among the important personages in the assembly is Mahādeva at whose request the Bhagavān chants a mantra for the coercion of divers kinds of spirits and demons. As a result they become consumed in the fire of the rays that issue from the body of Vajradhara. Then he recited the *Mṛtasañjīvanī Mantra* and revives the demons. They begin to tremble and place themselves unconditionally at his mercy. Their chief, Aparājita, falls at his feet and asks for protection. The Bhagavān lets them off only after extracting a promise that they will protect the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa from enemies, and supply them with all their needs. Vajradhara later causes the eight principal spirits to reveal their *hṛdaya-mantras*. Detailed instructions are given for the reciting of the different mantras in order to attain the different perfections.

In the second chapter, the Mahābhūtinī Śmaśānapraveśinī worships Vajradhara and imparts her mantras. She further discloses the eight mantras for the eight presiding deities of the different charnel grounds. Next follows the description of the different mudrās and sādhanas for the attainment of perfection (*siddhi*).

In the third chapter, Mahāraudrabhūtinī Caṇḍakātyāyanī makes known her mantra. Eight different mantras are given along with descriptions of the mudrās and rites connected with them.

In the fourth chapter, Vajradhara describes in detail the *krodha-maṇḍala*. Bhūtaḍāmara is the central figure and his many companions are placed in four rows round him. The procedure for entering the maṇḍala is next given and the *mantras* pertaining to the maṇḍala for attaining various perfections, with their accompanying mudrās.

In the fifth chapter, Vajrapāṇi preaches on the merits accruing from the mere sight of the maṇḍala and by the mere mention of the name of Vajradhara, and perfections to be attained by following the different practices. He next enumerates sādhanas for the subduing of a number of divinities, viz., Mahādeva, Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Śakra, Gaṇeśa, Bhairava, Narteśvara, Mahākāla and others.

Next, the tantra gives mantras for the subduing of the eight *bhūtinīs* and making them serve and protect the worshipper. Thereafter mantras and sādhanas for overpowering the eight apsarases are dealth with.

In the eighth chapter, eight yakṣiṇīs worship Vajradhara and make known their mantras. Instructions are given regarding the procedure the worshipper should follow to subdue the yakṣiṇīs.

In the next section, eight nāginīs touch the feet of Vajradhara and reveal their *hṛdaya-mantras*. The (perfections) *siddhis* that can be obtained from them are next described.

In the section that follows, six kiṃnarīs rise up, worship Vajradhara and disclose their *hṛdaya-mantras*. The sādhanas, mudrās and mantras are described in the usual manner. The description of the maṇḍala is repeated here along with the directions for entering it and the connected mantras.

The last section, which is fairly long and greatly detailed, deals with the rites for conquering the eight *bhūtas* and the sādhanas, mantras and mudrās connected with them. The eight *bhūtas* are Aparājita, Ajota, Puraṇa, Apuraṇa, Śmaśānādhipati, Kalaśa, Bhūteśa and Kiṅkarottama. The work comes to an end after giving a list of sixteen different varieties of *śūnyatā*.

As compared with the Hindu tantra of the same name consisting of sixteen chapters (*paṭalas*) the Buddhist tantra does not have the chapters systematically demarcated, and chapter colophons are given only in the first four and the eighth chapters. The two versions of the *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra* have much in common and the Hindu version appears to be a revision of the original Buddhist text.

The author of the *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra*, is not mentioned. The work, though in a *saṅgīti* form, does not conform to all the requirements of a *saṅgīti* and for this reason has been dated not earlier than the seventh or eighth century.

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1 B. Bhattacharyya, "The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, Patna, Dec. 1930, pp. 349 ff.

The work was translated into Tibetan by Buddhākaravarma and Chos-kyi śes-rab. Its Tibetan title is *Ḥbyuṅ-po ḥdul-ba shes-bya-baḥi rgyuḍ-kyi rgyal-po chen-po* and has been incorporated in the *Rgyud ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) section of the Tibetan *Kangyur* (*TT*. Vol. 8, No. 404; *TM*. No. 747). Here, the original Sanskrit work has been referred to as *Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantrarāja-nāma*. It was also translated into Chinese. The translation bears the title *Fu-shuo-ching-kang-shou-p'u-sa-chiang-fu-i-ch'ieh-pu-to-ta-chiao-wang-ching* (C. 5) and is included in the *Sūtra Piṭaka*. The translator was Fa-t'ien of the later Sung dynasty (960–1127 A.C.; *Taishō* No. 1129; *Nanjio*, No. 1031).

L.R.G.

BHŪTAKOṬI, 'the essence of being.' This is one of the many synonyms for ultimate reality enumerated in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, p. 30). It is rendered into Tibetan as Yaṅ-dag-paḥi-mthaḥ meaning 'real end.' N.Dutt, in his *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* (London, 1930, p. 203) says that when truth is referred to as *bhūtakoṭi* it is implied that, on analysis of phenomena which are false designations, one arrives finally at the reality, beyond which it is impossible to pass and which alone is true. In other words it is the ontological aspect of the truth. See ABSOLUTE, BHŪTATATHATĀ.

W.G.W.

BHŪTAMAṄGALAGĀMA-VIHĀRA, a Buddhist monastery of the 4th century A.C. in the Coḷa country in south India, on the bank of the river Kāveri. The monastery was built, as is described in the colophon of the *Vinayavinicchaya* (ed. A. P. Buddhadattā, 1952), by a person named Veṇhudāsa, and is said to have contained a large cetiya. Buddhadatta thera, the author of the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Vinayavinicchaya*, etc., compiled several of his treatises while staying there (loc. cit.).

H. R. P.

BHŪTAMUKHA, a yakṣa mentioned in *Mahāmāyūrī* as a resident of Pāṭaliputra (*Mkm*. p. 67; *JAs*. V). In the Tibetan version of the above text, *Byuṅ poḥi gdon*, Pou-to-mau-k'o, occurs as the cognate form of the Sanskrit, Bhūtamukha.

BHUTAN, an independent state in the eastern Himalayas lying between Tibet and India with both of which its boundaries run concurrently for some length. On its west are Darjeeling district and the independent state of Sikkim. Bhutan which is about 20,000 square miles in extent is rugged and mountainous, with a very wet and forested area on the extreme south. The northern section has a cold climate, with its snowy ranges rising up to 24,000 ft. It is the valleys in between these two that are most suitable for habitation and which, in fact, contain the bulk of the population. The figures of population are not precisely known, but probably run into no more than a few thousands. The fertile central regions are believed to be capable of supporting by agriculture as many as two million people. The area covered by all Bhutan is reckoned to be about 18,000 square miles and nearly all of it is virtually inaccessible. The roads are mere tracks up steep mountains and, except for its hardy people who journey on foot, others have invariably to travel on the backs of ponies or mules.

In such a land as this there are necessarily found different racial types. The large majority are known as Bhutias (Bhotias) and belong to Tibetan stock. They have given their name to the country whose label is actually a contraction of Bhotanta, the Indian word which signifies the end of Bhot (Tibet). Bhutias speak a dialect of Tibetan. In religion they follow the form of lamaist Buddhism which has stemmed from Tibet, their spiritual home. They acknowledge the Dalai Lama as their spiritual leader. The Bhutanese are also known as Druk-pa or Thunder People.

The history of this virtually closed land is obscure. China once claimed suzerainty over Bhutan, so did Tibet; but there was no *de facto* control of it by either. From the end of the last century until the early decades of present one British authorities in India, on the other hand, established some sort of influence; this was noticeably in Bhutan's relations with foreign powers. When India became independent, India took over the handling of Bhutan's foreign relations. In 1958, the Chinese Communist government included part of Bhutan within Chinese boundaries on maps printed by that government.

In former times there were two authorities who were supreme in Bhutan. One of these was the spiritual head, the Shab-tung Rim-po-che or Druk Gye-po (Indian: Dharma-rāja). The other was the Deb-rāja who, with a council of permanent ministers, was at the head of temporal affairs. The former was regarded as an incarnation, in the manner of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. Upon the demise of this leader, a fresh incarnation used to be sought for in the same way as for the heads of the great monasteries of Tibet. But, there was a

distinct difference. In Bhutan the incarnation was believed to occur within a ruling family. The Deb-rāja was, in theory, elected by the council ; in fact, however, he was the nominee of the most powerful of the governors of east and west Bhutan. A governor was called *penlop*, or, more properly transliterated, *pönlob*, a word meaning "teacher and pupil." This system has since been replaced by the rule of Mahārāja whose office is hereditary in the family of the Tongsa Penlop. The first signs of the impending change could be traced to the year 1885, to the Penlop Ugyen Wang-chuk who was then only twenty-four years old. He was knighted by the British twenty years later. In 1907 he assumed the new title for the first time in the history of the country and with the sworn fealty of the people's other leaders. Apart from his own exertions to achieve leadership and his outstanding capabilities there was a special circumstance which vitally affected the traditional system. After the death of the last Shab-tung Rim-po-che, it was not possible to find his incarnation. In this situation the high duties of spiritual office also devolved on the holder of the temporal office. The latter, the Deb-rāja, soon came to show other inclinations. He withdrew from all wordly activities and retired into a solitary life of contemplation. The seal of the spiritual leader is used on all the important documents of state.

The particular lamaist sect which may be regarded as distinctive of the Bhutanese is the Lho-druk-pa. This sect was founded by the Shab-tung Rim-po-che who built the Bhra-shis-rdzong (Fortress of Auspicious Doctrine) in Pa-ro. There are monasteries, nunneries, chortens and other religious buildings as in the case of those countries following the lamaist form. One of the most amazingly constructed monasteries is Tak Tsang (Tiger's Nest) which overhangs a fearful precipice and is an example of architectural ingenuity which is not often seen outside the Himalayan terrain. Tradition attributes it to Guru Rim-po-che himself. The copy on earth of the Guru's paradise is said to be the neighbouring Sang-thog Palri which caps the sharp point of a wooded peak close by. A nunnery, at Kyila, one of the several reported in Bhutan, is said to have a very small number of residents. Perhaps the best known of the *chortens* is at Pa-ro: it is actually a compound one, the inner being encased by another. The surface walls in between are covered with elaborate paintings offered as a work of piety. The several baronial castles known as *dzongs* or *jongs* (forts) also enclose temples and monasteries. The number of religious buildings, as also of their inmates, is unknown. The Pon (Bon) cult of the propitiation of, and sacrifice to, personified elemental forces, more especially in their fearsome forms, prevail in Bhutan to a much greater extent than elsewhere. This is noticeable in more ways than the lamaist ritual dances. However, a trend towards rational Buddhism has been evident in recent years in the association of important Bhutanese with the activities of the Maha Bodhi Society of India and the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

D. T. D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : Pedro Carrasco, *Land and Polity in Tibet*, Seattle, 1959; Ronaldshay, *Lands of the Thunderbolt*, Constable 1923; Sir Charles Alfred Bell, *Tibet, Past and Present*, Oxford, 1924.

BHŪTAPĀLA, an arahant thera. He was the son of a poor carter of Rājagaha. One day the carter went into the forest in search of wood with his little son. Having collected a heavy load of wood he came near the city gate. As the two oxen which had been set loose had entered the city, the father left the child near the cart and went in search of the oxen, but before he could return, the city gates were closed. The child was alone during the whole night. The cart was left near a cemetery, but no demon could harm him as he was in his last birth. Later, he entered the Order and attained arahantship (*Vism.* xii, §29, p. 319). Bhūtapāla is quoted in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (*Ps.* II, p. 211) and (*Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* p. 319) while discussing *ñānavipphārā iddhi*, i.e. the power of penetrating knowledge.

W. G. W.

BHŪTA-PARIVEṆA, a monastery in Ceylon built by king Aggabodhi VIII, (804-15 A.C.). The king also furnished it with the necessary revenues and donated it to his own teacher and three hundred other monks (*Mhv.* xlix, p. 46 f.). The monastery was probably attached to the Bhūtārāma (q.v.) and is an unidentified place in the Rājaraṭṭha (*JCBRAS.* New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 190).

H. R. P.

BHŪTARAKṢITA, a resident of Khujatidakhiya, whose gift of a railing-pillar to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscripition on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, p. 132.)

BHŪTĀRĀMA, a monastery in Ceylon constructed by king Kaniṭṭhatissa (167–86 A.C.). A monk named Mahānāga dwelt there and the king was well pleased

with him (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *vv.* 7, 14). The site is located in the Rājaraṭṭha, but is unidentified (*JCBRAS. New Series*, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 190).

H. R. P.

BHŪTARAŚMĪ, the name of a bodhisattva which occurs in a list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Gvyū*, p. 442).

BHŪTĀRTHAKETU, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139).

BHŪTATATHATĀ, (var. *tathatā* such-ness), which literally means such-ness of existence, is synonymous, from the ontological point of view, with *paramārthasatya* (transcendental truth). It is the essence of the philosophy of absolutism advocated by Aśvaghoṣa [1] in his *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda śāstra.*[2] According to Aśvaghoṣa, the "soul" or the quintessence and the source of every thing, the absolute reality which is uncreate, eternal and immutable, the cosmic principle of sameness (*samatā*) underlying all diversity is *bhūtatathatā*. However, it is known by different names in accordance with the different phases of its manifestations. Thus, it is dharma when it is considered as the norm of life ; it is bodhi (enlightenment) when it is considered as the source of intelligence; it is Nirvāṇa itself when it is considered as bringing eternal peace; it is dharmakāya (lit. body of law, cp. D. T. Suzuki, *Awakening of Faith*, Chicago, 1900, p. 62, *n.* 1) when it is regarded as the source of love and wisdom; it is bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment) when it is considered as the awakener of religious consciousness; it is *prajñā* (wisdom) when it is regarded as directing the course of nature; it is *śūnyatā* (voidness) when it is considered as transcending all particularisations ; it is *bhūtakoṭi* (essence of being) when its ontological aspect is taken into account ; it is *mahāyāna* when it is regarded as embracing the "souls" of all living beings: it is the *tathāgatagarbha* (womb of Tathāgata) when considered in analogy with mother earth ; it is *kuśalamūla* (root of merit) when its ethical side is emphasised and it is also the *madhyamamārga* (the middle path) when regarded as being above the limitations of individual existence (see, D. T. Suzuki, *Some Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 99).

Yet, above all, as the transcendental truth (*paramārthasatya*), it is beyond verbal expression and range of perception and, also, is devoid of distinctive features. As already stated, it is the 'soul' of everything. Therefore Aśvaghoṣa says, ". . . all things in their fundamental nature are not namable or explicable. They cannot be adequately expressed in any form of language . . . they possess absolute sameness (*samatā*). They are subject neither to transformation nor to destruction. They are nothing but one soul, for which suchness (*bhūtatathatā*) is another designation. . . the term suchness is all that can be expressed in language" (ibid. pp. 56-7). Therefore, every attempt made at explaining this profound philosophical concept is bound to be incomplete. However, Aśvaghoṣa, knowing very well that all verbal expressions are mere representations without any reality, attempts to explain the concept of *bhūtatathatā* for the sake of those who lack in intellectuel powers of their own but yet rejoice in studying and cultivating enquiries which bring out the many sidedness and the universality of the doctrine in concise form (cp. ibid. p.52). He says, "what is meant by the soul as suchness (*bhūtatathatā*) is the oneness of the totality of things (*dharmadhātu*), the great all including whole, the quintessence of the doctrine. For the essential nature of the soul is uncreate and eternal" (ibid. pp.55-6). He further adds "suchness (*bhūtatathatā*) is neither that which is existence nor that which is non-existence, nor that which is at once existence and non-existence ; nor that which is not at once existence and non-existence; that it is neither that which is unity, nor that which is plurality, nor that which is not at once unity and plurality" (ibid. p.59). *Bhūtatathatā* exists in every thing and remains unchanged in the pure as well as in the defiled and it neither increases nor decreases. In it there is no distinction between mind (*citta*) and matter (*rūpa*), intelligence (*prajñā*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*), being (*bhāva*) and non-being (*abhāva*). This *bhūtatathatā* is the sole reality, and all forms of

1 D. T. Suzuki (*Awakening of Faith*, Chicago, 1900, pp. 2–17) is of opinion that he is the same as the author of the *Buddhacarita-kāvya* and that he was a contemporary of king Kaniṣka. He further adds that at the most Aśvaghoṣa's date cannot be placed later than 1st century A.C. However, R. Kimura is of opinion that this is another Aśvaghoṣa (whom he calls Aśvaghoṣa II) who probably lived in the 5th century A.C. (*Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, University of Calcutta, 1927, p. 181).

2 The Sanskrit original of the work is presumably lost. But there are two Chinese versions, one by Paramārtha and the other by Śikṣānanda (*Nanjio*, Nos. 1249 and 1250). There are two English translations of the work. One is by Timothy Richard published by the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, 1907, and the other by D. T. Suzuki, entitled *Awakening of Faith*, (or the *Aśvaghoṣa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*) published by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1900 This article is mainly based on this latter mentioned translation.

particularisation are produced by our confused subjectivity (*smṛti*)[1] with the annihilation of which there would be no trace of individuation.

Yet in this concept of *bhūtatathatā*, if viewed from the point of its explicability, there is a twofold aspect. The first is the negative (*śūnya*) aspect and the second is the positive (*aśūnya*) aspect. It is called *śūnya* in the sense that it is free from the attributes of all things that are unreal, that in its metaphysical origin it has nothing to do with things that are defiled, that it is free from distinctions prevalent among phenomenal objects and that it is independent of unreal, particularising consciousness. Therefore, the negative aspect of *bhūtatathatā* cannot be grasped by the particularising consciousness of beings. It is *aśūnya* in the sense that it contains infinite merits, that it is self-existent and that, when subjectivity is understood to be empty and unreal, the soul manifests as the eternal reality. However, as this aspect, too, is not a product of confused subjectivity, it is to be grasped by transcending subjectivity (*smṛti*).

Then the question arises as to how one could conform to and have insight into *bhūtatathatā*. To this question, Aśvaghoṣa himself provides the answer. "As soon as you understand that when the totality of existence is spoken of, or thought of, there is neither that which speaks nor that which is spoken of, there is neither that which thinks nor that which is thought of ; then you confirm to suchness (*bhūtata-thatā*) ; and when your subjectivity is thus completely obliterated, it is said to have the insight" (ibid.p.58).

The above description shows the nature of *bhūtatathatā* when viewed from the ontological point of view. But, when considered from the phenomenological viewpoint, the 'soul' (i.e., *bhūtatathatā*) becomes the principle of birth and death (i.e.. saṃsāra). Aśvaghoṣa says, "In the one soul we may distinguish two aspects. The one is the soul as suchness (*bhūtatathatā*), the other is the soul as birth and death (saṃsāra). Each in itself constitutes all things, and both are so closely interrelated that one cannot be separated from the other" (ibid. p.55). This is *bhūtatathatā* itself, which in its relative or transitory aspect has become the principle of birth and death. This aspect of *bhūtatathatā* is considered in accordance with its three characteristics, namely, its substance, attribute and activity. The fact that substance is a characteristic of the relative aspect of *bhūtatathatā* proves that it has primarily evolved from the *bhūtatathatā* itself. The other two characteristics are destructible and on this depends the main difference between the two aspects of the absolute (i.e., *bhūtatathatā*).

The abstract 'soul' too, being influenced by its relative aspects (i.e., birth and death which is in other words comparable to ignorance), assumes a concrete aspect by its self-affirmation, and in this form it becomes known as *ālaya-vijñāna* (store-consciousness or all conserving mind) which has a twofold significance as the organiser and producer of all things. This *ālaya-vijñāna* embraces two principles, namely enlightenment and non-enlightenment. Enlightenment is divided into two parts as *a priori* and *a posteriori*. The latter which denotes our empirical knowledge is further subdivided as perfect and not perfect.[2] Of these the latter has three divisions, namely, the enlightenment of the common people (*pṛthagjana*), apparent enlightenment and approximate enlightenment. As Aśvaghoṣa defines it, perfect enlightenment is the state when the mind is enlightened as to its own nature and imperfect enlightenment is its opposite state.

The *a priori* enlightenment is mainly sub-divided into two, as pure enlightenment *a priori* and enlightenment *a priori* implicated in the domain of defilement. The latter has two branches as pure wisdom (*prajñā*) and activity (*karma*). Pure wisdom is defined by Aśvaghoṣa as "that when one, by virtue of the performing power of the Dharma, disciplines himself truthfully (i. e., according to the Dharma) and accomplishes meritorious deeds, the mind (i. e., *ālaya vijñāna*) which inplicates itself with birth and death will be broken down, and the modes of the evolving consciousness (*pravṛtti-vijñāna*) will be annulled ; while the pure and the genuine wisdom of the Dharmakāya (i. e., *bhūtatathatā*) manifests itself" (ibid. p. 67). Activity (*karma*) which also proceeds from pure wisdom (*prajñā*) produces all excellent spiritual states, or, in other words, makes the womb of the Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*), reveal itself to all beings in accordance with their predispositions and brings about innumerable spiritual benefits to them. Pure enlightenment implies the state of mind free from ignorance, and when all sorts of defilements are rooted out by the internal power of suchness and the external powers of the doctrine. This, also, is further subdivided into four stages.

1 This term is generally translated as remembrance, thinking of, calling to mind, reminiscence. But Suzuki says that Aśvaghoṣa used it in a different sense and that it is to an extent synonymous with ignorance (*avidyā*; cp. *Awakening of Faith* Chicago, 1900, p. 56, *n*.1).

2 For the divisions and sub-divisions of enlightenment and non-enlightenment, see ibid. p. 62 *n*., 1.

The other principle of *ālaya-vijñāna*, namely, non-enlightenment (ignorance), is produced by the failure to recognise the oneness (*samatā*) of the totality of things. There are three aspects of this non-enlightenment. The first is ignorant action (*avidyā-karma*) which is produced when the mind (*ālaya-vijñāna*) is disturbed by non-enlightenment. When the mind is thus disturbed there appears an ego which perceives an external world and this is the second aspect. The third aspect is creation of an external world which does not exist in reality. Being conditioned by the external world six kinds of phenomena arise in the mind. The first phenomenon is intelligence or sensation, for, when the mind is affected by the unreal external world, it becomes conscious of the difference between what is agreeable and what is disagreeable. The second phenomenon is called succession or memory, for it retains in a continuous succession of subjective states the sensation that is already produced. Through retention of sensations there arises clinging which is the third phenomenon. Through clinging arises the fourth phenomenon, which is called attachment to names, (*samjñā*). The fifth phenomenon, namely, the performance of deeds (karma) arises out of attachment. Through karma arises suffering, being entangled in which the mind loses its freedom.

Therefore, it should be grasped that all phenomena are produced by ignorance or non-enlightenment. Aśvaghoṣa says that the relation between enlightenment and non-enlightenment is on the one hand a mere identity and on the other a non-identity. To illustrate the identity he cites the simile of all kinds of pottery which, though different, are made of the same clay and he adds that similarly the undefiled (*anāsrava*) and ignorance (*avidyā*) and their various transient forms come from the same entity. The non-identity is illustrated by the difference seen among the various kinds of pottery. Thus, it is quite clear that it is the truth itself by a touch of ignorance, that assumes all phenomenal forms.

When *ālaya-vijñāna* is affected by ignorance, there evolves an ego (*manas*), that which perceives, that which represents that which apprehends an objective world and also that which constantly particularises. This ego is called by five different names in accordance with its different modes of operation. The first name is activity consciousness (*karma-vijñāna*) in the sense that on account of ignorance an unenlightened mind becomes disturbed. When the mind is so disturbed there evolves that which sees an external world and in this sense it is called evolving consciousness (*pravṛttivijñāna*), which is its second name. The third name is representation consciousness in the sense that the ego (*manas*) thus evolved represents or reflects an external world. For example, if it happens to be confronted with the five objects of sense it represents or reflects them instantaneously, just as a mirror reflects any image. In its other mode of operation it begins to discriminate between things defiled and things pure and, therefore, it is called particularisation consciousness. The fifth name is succession consciousness (i. e., memory). In this state the ego (*manas*), being directed by awakening consciousness (*manaskāra*), retains and never loses or suffers the destruction of any past karma, good as well as evil, whose retribution it matures either in the present or in the future; it also unconsciously recollects things of the past and in imagination anticipates things to come. This shows that the three domains, namely, the world of pleasures (*kāma-loka*), the world of forms (*rūpa-loka*) and the world of formlessness (*arūpa-loka*), are merely self-manifestations of the mind (*ālaya-vijñāna*) produced through ignorance (*avidyā*) and subjectivity (*smṛti*). When the mind is disturbed by ignorance and becomes defiled, a multiplicity of things appear and, when it is calmed a multiplicity of things disappear. Aśvaghoṣa mentions six different phases of the defiled mind. When the mind is in these defiled states it begins to believe the external world and in turn becomes oblivious of the principle of sameness (*samatā*) underlying all things. Therefore, non-enlightenment is the cause (*hetu*) of saṃsāra, and the external world, which is produced by subjectivity, is the condition. It is only when the cause is annihilated, that the condition, too, is destroyed.

Due to the inter-perfuming[1] of the four powers, namely, suchness (*bhūtatathatā*), ignorance (*avidyā*), activity-consciousness (*karma-vijñāna*) and the external world (*viṣaya*), there takes place a constant production of things defiled and pure. This reciprocal perfuming is explained by Aśvaghoṣa: "determined by suchness (in its relative aspect), ignorance becomes the *raison d'être* of all forms of defilement. And this ignorance perfumes suchness, and by perfuming suchness, it produces subjectivity (*smṛti*). This subjectivity in its turn, perfumes

1 Aśvaghoṣa defines the term 'perfuming': "By 'perfuming' we mean that while our worldly clothes (viz. those which we wear) have no odour of their own, neither offensive nor agreeable, they acquire one or the other according to the nature of the substance with which they are perfumed. In the same way the power that which is perfumed acquires the quality of the power that which perfumes." Aśvaghoṣa speaks of various divisions in this process of perfuming such as suchness-perfuming, which is further divided into Essence-perfuming and Activity-perfuming, Subjectivity-perfuming and its divisions, etc.; for details, see ibid. p. 85.

ignorance. On account of this (reciprocal) perfuming, the truth is misunderstood. On account of its being misunderstood, an external world of subjectivity appears (viz., a conception of particulars as particulars). Further, on account of the perfuming power of subjectivity, various modes of individuation are produced. And by clinging to them, various deeds are done and we suffer as result miseries, mentally as well as bodily" (ibid. p. 85).

But on the other hand, suchness also perfumes ignorance and on account of this the mind involved in subjectivity is made to loathe the misery of saṃsāra and seek Nirvāṇa. This longing for Nirvāṇa and loathing of saṃsāra in turn perfume suchness and on account of this, one is able to believe that one is in possession, within oneself, of pure and immutable suchness; at the sametime one, also, recognises that the external world is unreal. When the truth is grasped in this manner, ignorance becomes annihilated and the mind becomes calm. Thus, when ignorance, subjectivity and the belief in an external world are annihilated by correctly comprehending the principle of *bhūtatathatā* one, is said to attain Nirvāṇa.

However, it should be remembered that, though all beings are equally in possession of suchness, the influence of ignorance and subjectivity in them vary considerably and, therefore, they are in different stages of the path that leads to Nirvāṇa. The mere possession of suchness, which is the cause (*hetu*), is not sufficient to realise the transcendent truth. The conditions (*pratyaya*), such as meeting Buddhas and bodhisattvas, which help this realisation, should also be present and it is only when these two are fully actualised that one is able to comprehend the sameness underlying all things. How this cause and conditions are fully actualised is explained by Aśvaghoṣa as follows. "Now, there is an inherent perfuming principle in one's own being which, embraced and protected by the love (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas, is caused to loathe the misery of birth and death, to believe in Nirvāṇa, to cultivate their root of merit (*kuśalamūla*), to habituate oneself to it and to bring it to maturity. In consequence of this, one is enabled to see all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and, receiving instruction from them, one is benefited, gladdened, induced to practise good deeds, etc., till one attains to Buddhahood and enters into Nirvāṇa" (ibid. p. 91).

Aśvaghoṣa speaks (ibid. p. 113 f.) of three methods, namely, (i) aspiration through the perfection of faith, (ii) aspiration through knowledge and practice and (iii) aspiration through intellectual insight, which bring about the actualisation of the cause (*hetu*) and condition (*pratyaya*).

The concept of *bhūtatathatā*, as it is explained by Aśvaghoṣa, has many similarities with the *brahman* concept of the Upaniṣad, and specially with the Vedāntic interpretation of the *brahman* concept. As Aśvaghoṣa was a learned brāhman, he would have had a very deep understanding of Upaniṣadic doctrines and this understanding could have influenced his interpretation of Buddhism. This is why his interpretation of the concept of *bhūtatathatā* has acquired most of the characteristic features found in the Upaniṣadic interpretation of *brahman*. The main concept underlying the doctrine of *bhūtatathatā* is the identification of the phenomenon with the noumenon. This is also the basis of the Upaniṣadic *brahman* concept, for it is said, "verily, all this is brahman (*sarvaṃ khalvidaṃ brahma*)." Aśvaghoṣa's conception of ignorance is almost the same as that of *māyā* (illusion) in the Advaita philosophy of Śaṅkara. This also indirectly shows that Aśvaghoṣa's interpretation of Buddhist philosophy was greatly influenced by Upaniṣadic doctrines.

According to R. Kimura[1] the concept of *bhūtatathatā* is based on the concepts *vimala-citta-svabhāva* of the Mahāsāṅghika school and the *svabhāva-nityaṃ* of the Prajñāpāramitā school (*Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, University of Calcutta, 1927, p. 85). But as P. T. Raju (*Idealistic Thought of India*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1953, pp. 235 ff.) points out, the idea of *tathatā* is not new to Buddhism, for such an idea was held by the Uttarāpathakas (see *Kathāvatthu*, II, p. 583). S. N. Das Gupta points out that this doctrine seems to be more in agreement with the view of an absolute reality as the ultimate truth than with that of the nihilistic idealism of the Laṅkāvatāra which admitted an ultimate reality merely as a make-believe to win over the heretics who favoured such a postulation (*A History of Indian Philosophy*, I, Cambridge, 1922, p. 138).

The fundamental teachings of various schools of Buddhism such as the Tien-Tai, Avataṃsaka, Dhyāna, Sukhāvatī-vyūha are to a great extent based on the doctrine of *bhūtatathatā* (Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, University of Calcutta, 1912, p. 252 f.). Some scholars have attempted to compare this concept with certain modern western philosophical concepts. Thus, E. Steinilber-Oberlin (*The Buddhist Sects of*

1 Further, he holds the view that the philosophy of *bhūtatathatā* is a combination of doctrines of *dharma-tathatā* of the Mādhyamikas and *ālaya-pratītya-samutpāda* or *sarva vijñānavāda* of the Yogācāras (op. cit. pp. 156 and 181).

Japan, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938, p. 85) compares the concept of *bhūtatathatā* with the *substance* of Spinoza, the *absolute idea* of Hegel, the *will* of Schopenhauer and the *non-conscient* of Hartmann and says that it is almost identical with them.

S. K. N.

BHŪTAVĀLIKA, a son of a merchant who is referred to as an example of a devout follower of the Buddha (*AA*. II. 159). He is probably identical with Bhūtapālaseṭṭhi.

BHŪTA-VIJJĀ, is described in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta* (*D*. I, p. 9) as one of the 'low arts' (*tirachchānavijjā*, q.v.), abstention from which, the Buddha states, is considered by the unconverted man to be one of the virtues possessed by the Buddha for which the Buddha should be praised. But the Buddha himself considers it to be only a minor virtue. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA*. I, p. 93) explains the word as meaning 'a charm concerned in the art of exorcism' (*bhūtavijjā-manto*), or 'charm practised by exorcists' (*bhūta-vejja-manto*). Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 18) translates the word *bhūta-vijjā* as 'laying ghosts."

The *Vinaya* (*Vin*. IV, p. 84), the *Jātaka* (e.g., *J*. II, p. 215; III, p. 511) and the *Milindapañha* (*Miln*. p. 23) use the term *bhūta-vejja* to denote a practitioner of exorcisim, a charmer of spirits. Of the *Jātaka* references that of the *Kāmanīta Jātaka* (*J*. II, p. 215) is interesting, for it highlights, in typical Buddhist spirit, the limitations of the exorcist's art, in that it cannot heal the sufferings caused by craving (*taṇhā*). A stanza in this *Jātaka* states, "The wise can heal the wounds that demons make. But, what cure is there for the back-sliding soul?"

A similar spirit is reflected in a sub-story of the *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka* (*J*. III, p. 511) where a *bhūta-vejja* (exorcist), brought in to arrest a yakkhinī, proves to be powerless over a human being. The woman in the story outwits the exorcist.

B. J.

BHŪTESAR, a locality near Mathurā where several Buddhist railing-pillars have been discovered from a mound which formerly was the site of a Buddhist stūpa. These pillars, some of which are now in the Mathurā Museum, are quite noteworthy for their bas-reliefs, illustrating several Jātaka stories and incidents from the life of the Buddha.

Each of these pillars is about 5 feet in height, 11 to 12 inches in breadth and 6 to 7½ inches in thickness. The principal face of each pillar bears a nearly naked female figure, about life-size, standing on a crouching, grotesque figure. Above this female figure is an amorous couple in a balcony, indicated by railing, with only upper parts of their body being visible. This is a typical feature of the Mathurā railing-pillars. (See Pl. X, Fig. A).

The reverse side of each of these pillars is divided into three parts, each part illustrating a different scene in bas-relief. Some of these bas-reliefs have been identified as illustrating scenes from the life of the Buddha and from Jātaka stories. (See Pl. X, Fig. B).

Among the Jātakas so represented are said to be the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the *Vyāghrī Jātaka*, the *Valāhassa Jātaka* and the *Sivi Jātaka* (*ASIAR*. 1909–10, p. 72 f.). Another scene has been identified by A. Cunningham (*ASIAR*. III, p. 21) and J. Ph. Vogel (*ASIAR*. 1909–10, p. 72) as depicting a different version of the legend of the submission of the elephant Nālāgiri by the Buddha at Rājagṛha. The story is depicted in three scenes. The topmost panel shows the tempter of the elephant inducing the Buddha to go forth to meet the elephant. In the middle panel the elephant kneels down to pay homage to the Buddha. In the lowest panel the tempter himself is being killed by the enraged elephant (*ASIAR*. III, p. 21).

Some of the bas-reliefs on the Bhūtesar pillars have not yet been identified (*ASIAR*. 1909–10, p. 73).

Regarding the meaning and the purpose of the female figures on the principal face of the Bhūtesar pillars, Cunningham (*ASIAR*. III, p. 26) remarks that they "represent dancing girls, posting themselves in various attitudes, some of them more or less immodest, during the intervals of the dance." Vogel (*ASIAR*. 1906–7, p. 14[illegible] f.), who disagrees with Cunningham, assumes them to represent yakṣiṇis who, like those of the Bhārhut stūpa, are guardians of the sacred monument to which they belonged. The dwarfs on which they stand, on the other hand, are, according to him, meant for their male counterparts.

From the Bhūtesar mound has been discovered a single specimen of a very large railing-pillar, 7 feet high. The Ariyan letter *h* engraved upon the rail of this pillar, according to Cunningham (*ASIAR*. III, p. 21 f.), was the figure for 100 in use at Mathurā

during the Indo-Scythian period and he conjectures, therefore, that there must have been no less than 100 of these large railing-pillars which, with their rails, would represent a length of not less than 300 feet.

H. R. P.

BHŪTI, name of a brāhman, a resident of Śrāvastī. and father of Subhūti (*Avś.* II, p. 127. 12).

BHŪTISUNDARĪ-SĀDHANA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur*, under the title *Ḥbyuṅ-mo mdses-maḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TM.* No. 2067; *TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2924). In the *sde-dge* edition the authorship is attributed to Śes-rab skyoṅ. Prajñāpāla (Prajñāpālita) has also been cited as the author of the Sanskrit original (*Cordier*, II, p. 186).

It is a very short text of five lines dealing with the methods of effecting the propitiation of the female spirit Bhūtisundari (Ḥbyuṅ-mo mdses-ma). According to the author, the ceremony should be started with the chanting of the magic formula *Oṃ śrī mahā bhūtakula Sundarī hrīṃ.* After drawing a maṇḍala, the meditator is instructed to strew the flowers, burn the incense (Skt. *dhūpana*, Tib. *gu-gul*), and chant the magic formula for one thousand and eight times after which he would visualise Bhūtisundarī. The meditator is also asked to consider the female spirit as his wife (Tib. *chuṅ-ma*) during the night, and it is said that she would in return bestow him with hundred gold coins in the following morning. This ceremony should be performed daily.

I. K.

BHUVANEKABĀHU (1), a monk of the Paṃsu-pabbata vihāra in Ceylon. The author of the *Anāpatti-dīpanī*, a little tract which discusses cases where the infringement of *Pātimokkha* rules does not result in sin, calls himself a pupil of this thera. The *Vuttamālā*, written in the fifteenth century, mentions a Bhuvanekabāhu thera, in a list of theras whom he praises for their eminence in learning (G. P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, pp. 247, 254).

W. G. W.

BHUVANEKABĀHU (2), a name which occurs in different contexts in the history of Buddhism in mediaeval Ceylon. Seven kings of the name are known to have ruled in the country; there was one prominent royal prince who held high office as *yuvarāja* (sub-king).

As far as Buddhism was concerned, the first king of the name had the whole of the Tipiṭaka copied out and presented each principal vihāra with a copy of it. He held several festivals for the admission of members to the Saṅgha, and decreed a daily service for the Tooth Relic which was brought to his capital at Yāpahuva from Polonnaruwa. He also provided the Saṅgha with the four requisites.

The second king was his son. He ruled from Kurunāgala as his capital. He decreed a ceremony of admission to the Saṅgha regularly every year, and instituted the continuous provision of alms to the Saṅgha. The fourth of the name, who ruled from the city of Gampola (Gaṅgasiripura) was responsible for the building of Laṅkātilaka Vihāra, one of the two most splendid temples of the later historical times in the country. His long rock inscription on the spot describes the details of the embellishments and also of the endowments (*JCBRAS.* X, pp. 83 ff.). The fifth king, who had Kotte (or Jayawardhanapura) as capital, exerted himself as piously in the name of the religion. He took drastic steps against unworthy members of the Saṅgha and forcibly ejected them from a community they had disgraced by their reprehensible conduct. He donated a costly casket in honour of the Tooth Relic.

There is nothing to note about the other kings who bore this name.

Bhuvanekabāhu (*yuvarāja*), who was the uncle of the first named king, was well versed in the Tipiṭaka which he learnt as required by his royal father. The king's purpose was that the prince should teach it to monks, and this was carried out. The prince had the Bhuvanekabāhu-pariveṇa erected in Kuruṇāgala. His remains were cremated here later on, and one of his nephews (king Vijayabāhu IV) erected a three-storeyed building on the spot, enshrining therein a Buddha image. He further set up a statue of the prince and endowed the vihāra with a village.

D. T. D.

BHUVANEKABĀHU PARIVEṆA, name of two monasteries in Ceylon, one at Billasela-vihāra in the Kegalla district and the other at a vihāra in Hatthigiripura, modern Kuruṇāgala. The Pariveṇa at Billasela-vihāra was constructed by Bhuvanekabāhu, younger brother and *yuva-rāja* of Parākramabāhu II, (1236–70 A.C.,) on the instructions of the latter. It was embellished with mansions (*pāsāda*)

and pavilions (*maṇḍapa*) and was known after the name of its builder (*Mhv.* lxxxv, *vv.* 59–60). Sinhala literature of the mediaeval period (e.g., *Pūjāvaliya*, ch. xxxiv) refers to this monastery as a royal temple (*raja-mahā-vihāra*) at Beligal-pāya. The site was excavated by H. C. P. Bell (*Kegalla Report*, 1892).

The Pariveṇa at Hatthigiripura was constructed and named by king Vijayabāhu IV (1270–72 A.C.) in memory of his uncle Bhuvanekabāhu, builder of Bhuvanekabāhu-pariveṇa at Billasela-vihāra. It is said to have been constructed in a vihāra built by his uncle himself at Hatthigiripura, probably where Bhuvanekabāhu built the Mahāmahindabāhu-pariveṇa (*Mhv.* lxxxv, *vv.* 62, 63). Here, Vijayabāhu IV erected a three-storeyed image-house and made a great image of the Buddha for it. He also made a fine statue of his uncle and adorned it with all ornaments. Then he assigned the villages around the image-house for its maintenance with people for its service (*Mhv.* lxxxviii, *vv.* 54–59).

Malalasekera's inference (*DPPN.* II, p. 385) that the two monasteries are identical seems incorrect as the Billasela-vihāra is not in the Kuruṇāgala but in the Kegalla district.

H. R. P.

BIDAGAT TAIK, a monastery in Burma. It housed the thirty elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures in Pali, which king Anawrahta brought from Thaton in 1058 A.C. It was restored by king Bodawpaya in 1178 A.C.

The building measures 51 feet square, with three stairways on its eastern face. Inside, there is a central chamber in which the Pali scriptures are said to have been kept. Three stone windows on each side, other than the eastern, provide light and ventilation. The building has five multiple roofs of wood surmounted by a *dubikā* (i.e., elongated capital). Plaster carvings of peacock-like finials ornament the building (*ASIAR.* 1906–7, p. 32). See also Plate XI.

H. R. P.

BIDHOR (var. Bidor), a place in Sumatra, where an eight-armed bronze image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara (6th–8th cent. A.C.) has been discovered. See Pl. XII) The image shows clear traces of influence of the sixth century Gupta images of Sārnāth, transmitted through the early bronzes of Nālandā. This image, which has been described as a product of great artistic merit, is now in the Perak Museum, Malaya (*ArtA.* XIX, p. 274, fig. 4, p. 275; Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, London, 1964, fig. 146, p. 127).

H. R. P.

BIDON-SHŪ, the Japanese name of one of the thirteen main Buddhist sects in China. See PI-T'AN-TSUNG.

BIGAMY. See MARRIAGE.

BIHĀR, an Indian province in the north-west corner of Bengal with Nepal on its northern border. It has an area of 67,071 sq. mls. and a population of nearly 40 million. The capital is Patna and the chief language is Hindi (see *India*, 1959, A Reference annual for statistics).

Bihār is important in Buddhist history for in it are found such prominent cities and sites as Buddha-Gayā, Nālandā, Odantapuri, Pāṭaliputra, Rājagaha, etc., (which are described each in its own place). Demarcated into northern and southern areas by the river Ganges, it comprised in the latter, the ancient Magadha kingdom. Mithilā, the famous seat of Sanskrit learning in ancient times, and Vaiśālī were both in the northern territory. There is also a southern Bihār.

The origin of the name in use today is attributed to the invading Muslims of the Middle Ages who were struck by the existence of numerous vihāras which they saw, especially in the vicinity of Odantapuri (Bihārsharif) so that, the entire province came to be called after these seats of the Buddhist Saṅgha. Bihār is memorable in the history of the Jains as well as of the Ājīvakas. Thus, the province has had a long history.

In the 4th cent. A.C., Bihār came under the political authority of the Hindu Gupta dynasty. When Hsüan-tsang visited India, north Bihār was divided into Vrīji (north) and Vaiśalī (south). The Buddhist dynasty of the Pāla kings, founded by Gopāl in the 8th cent. A.C., included the province in their Bengal dominions. The last ruler was defeated by Muhammad-i-Bhaktyār-Khiljī, the Turki free-lance, about the year 1197. His solidiery wrought havoc in the great city of Odantapuri where the assembled bhikkhūs were massacred by the invaders.

Bihār became a separate administrative unit, with the status of a sub-province, only in the early part of the 13th cent. when it was formed into a

subāh under the Muslims. (In a settlement of 1582, it was divided into eight *sarkārs*, and a portion of it was incorporated in the *subāh* of Bengal.) About 1330 south Bihār was joined to the administration of Delhi, whilst the north seems to have continued under Bengal for some time longer. In 1397 all Bihār was absorbed into the kingdom of Jaunpur. A century later the Delhi emperors again took it and thus its fortunes changed with those of other portions of the country where various rulers or their powerful vassals contended for supremacy among themselves. Among its overlords there were Hindu dynasties, as well as kings of Afghan descent, who were mostly Pathān and Turkī. Under the Mughal rulers the capital was the city of Bihār, and the whole province took its name from it. British rule succeeded to that of Muslims in 1765.

The early history of this interesting Indian province still remains to be comprehensively written. An old fort, the remains of which cover some 300 acres of ground, stands amidst a profusion of ruined Buddhist and Brahmanical buildings. They are a testimony of the historicity and age of this erstwhile centre of Magadhan religious and cultural life.

D. T. D.

The Buddhist architectural and sculptural remains in Bihār are an eloquent testimony to the flourishing state of Buddhism and the nature of Buddhist thought which once existed there. In the time of the Buddha in the sixth century B.C. Buddhism flourished in Bihār under the patronage of the kings of Magadha, Vesālī and other dominions which comprised the modern region of Bihār. But since there was not much progress in fine art during this period and since most of the buildings had been constructed of wood, there is not as much of archaeological evidence as literary evidence for the flourishing state of Buddhism. However, the foundations of the Jetavana-vihāra at Sāvatthi and those of the Jīvakambavana-vihāra at Rājagaha have been excavated.

The reign of Asoka (3rd century B. C.), with his capital at Pāṭalīputra, (modern Patna) in Bihār was again a period when Buddhism, flourished in this region. Several of his monolithic pillars, viz., those at Lauriyā-Arārāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, Rāmpūrva and Besārh-Bakhira, are in the province of Bihār. Other architectural remains of Asoka's reign in Bihar include the altar (*Bodhi-maṇḍa*) at Buddha-Gayā (q.v.).

The period of Suṅga rule in Bihār (185–75 B.C.), especially that of the founder of the dynasty, Puṣyamitra, marks an important stage in the history of Buddhism in this region. The Suṅgas were followers of Vedic Brahmanism and as a result their relations with the Buddhist Saṅgha were not cordial. This eventually led to the decline of Theravāda Buddhism and to the rise of the Mahāyāna. This trend was accentuated in the Kuṣāna period with the patronage of Kaniṣka. During the Suṅga period the holy Bodhi-tree of Buddha Gayā was embellished with an elaborately carved railing. In the time of Kaniṣka, the art styles of the Kuṣānas began to influence those of Bihār.

The Guptas (319–750 A.C.), who held political authority in Bihār after the Kuṣānas, were followers of the Brahmanic faith but were tolerant towards Buddhism. The fact that they were great patrons of fine art led to the production of numerous stone and metal images and stucco and terracotta plaques of excellent beauty, some of which have been discovered from Patna, Rājgir, Nālandā, Vesālī and Buddha-Gayā. Of them the Buddha-Gayā image of the Buddha of the year 64 of Mahārāja Trikamala (4th century A.C.) is the earliest datable Gupta sculpture. The beautiful, colossal bronze Buddha image, now in the Birmingham Museum (Pl. XIII) was discovered from Sultanganj. From the facade of the fifth-period temple of stūpa site III at Nālandā have also been discovered many elegant stucco sculptures of the Buddha and bodhisattva images, dating from the sixth century. To the eighth century belong a few figures of Avalokiteśvara, also from Nālandā.

It was also during the period of Gupta rule that the two celebrated international centres of learning Nālandā and Vikramaśilā, both in the Bihār region, flourished and it is noteworthy that it was Mahāyāna that predominated at both these centres.

After the Guptas fell from power, the long rule of the pro-Buddhist Pāla kings was again favourable for the spread of Buddhism in Bihār from the 8th to the 13th century. But during this period Mahāyāna form of Buddhism in Bihār developed into the more complicated Tantric form with Nālandā and Vikramaśilā as the greatest centres of Tantrism. This trend is apparent in the Buddhist sculpture of the time for a large number of images of Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, Bhṛkuṭī, Parṇasāvarī, Vajrapāṇi, Vajrasattva and other Tantric gods and goddesses have been found in both northern and southern Bihār where they were

worshipped. Towards the closing years of the Pāla period these Tantric religious practices led to other more intricate types of religious beleifs and observances in Bihār which ultimately led to corrupt and immoral behaviour and thus to the inevitable decadence of Buddhism. Such was the state of Buddhism in Bihār, when the Muslim invasion of 1199-1200 A.C. led to its final destruction.

H.R.P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Cunningham, *ASI. Report*, XV; *The Imperial Gazeteer of India*, VII ; R. R. Diwakar, *Bihar through the Ages*; Bombay, 1959 Sir John Houlton, *Bihār, the Heart of India*. Bombay. 1949.

BĪJA, subtle elements, good or evil or indeterminate, existing in an individual stream of consciousness (*santāna*) to which the Saumtrāntikas resorted in explaining the operation of *kuśala* and *akuśala* in a given wordly being (pṛthagjana). As all evil volitions (*akuśala karma* or *cetanā*) are essentially rooted in, and spring from one or other of the three basic passions (*mūla-kleśa, akuśala-mūla*), namely, lust (*lobha*), ill-will (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), they have to be annihilated completely before one attains arahantship ; or conversely, they are not annihilated until the attainment of arahantship. As the *akuśala-mūlas* are incompatible with the *kuśala-mūlas*, they cannot co-exist or co-operate. If that is so, how is one to explain the operation of *kuśala-mūlas* or of *kuśala*-volitions in a mundane existence. They cannot operate successively, for succession demands a certain element of homogeneity between the preceding and the succeeding moments. If a *kuśala-citta* were to follow an *akuśala-citta*, then it will depend for its nature on a heterogeneous cause. This will amount to an admission of the unacceptable position that good springs out of evil or *vice versa*.

Different schools have attempted to solve this problem by postulating different theories. The Theravādins avoid this dilemma by postulating a theory that the *kusala* and *akusala-cittas* never follow each other without an intervening indeterminate thought (*avyākata-citta*), i.e., a resultant consciousness (*vipāka-citta*). An evil thought process (*akusala-citta-vīthi*) can be succeeded by a good thought process (*kusala-citta-vīthi*) only after the intervention of a *bhavaṅga-citta* which is necessarily a *vipāka-citta*.

The Vaibhāṣikas seek a solution by postulating a force (*saṃskāra*), which is dissociated from both mind and matter (*rūpa-citta-viprayukta*), called *prāpti*, which controls the collection of a particular kind of elements and another force called *aprāpti* which prevents such a collection. Thus, for instance, when an *akuśala-citta* is followed by a *kuśala-citta*, the latter is brought into operation by the *prāpti* of the *kuśala-dharmas* which is at the same time assisted by the *aprāpti* which prevents the rise of *akuśala-dharmas*.

The Sautrāntikas reject both these theories. They do not accept the theory of the Theravādins, presumably on the grounds that an indeterminate (*avyākṛta*) *citta* is not more helpful than the *akuśala-citta* inasmuch as both are equally ineffective to produce a *kuśala-citta*. They reject the Vaibhāṣika theory of *prāpti* and *aprāpti* on the grounds that these in turn need to be produced by another *prāpti* and *aprāpti*, a position which leads to an infinite regress. They explain the operation of *kuśala* and *akuśala-dharmas* by postulating a theory of *bīja*, seed. There are three kinds of seeds of evil (*akuśala-bīja*) also called *anuśaya*, seeds of good (*kuśala-dharma-bīja*), and the seeds which are indeterminate (*avyākṛta*).

The Sautrāntikas say that the *akuśala-bījas* or *anuśayas* as well as the *kuśala-bījas* co-exist side by side in the form of "seeds," but only one of them operates at a time. When the *akuśala-bīja* operates, the mind is *akuśala* and when the *kuśala-bīja* operates the mind is *kuśala*.

When a *kleśa* which is akuśala, like *rāga*, is dormant it is called *anuśaya* ; when it is awakened it is called *paryavasthāna* (*Vibhāṣāprabhā-vṛtti* on *kārikā* 261 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*). When it is dormant, it does not appear, but persists in the form of a seed. This form of seed is simply an inherent power of mind to produce a new passion which is itself born of a past passion (ibid. *Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* of Yaśomitra, p. 444).

The Vaibhāṣikas, criticising the Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*, say that this *bīja* could either be identical with or different from the mind. If the former, there is no point in speaking about it; if the latter, then it must be an associated (*samprayukta*) or a dissociated (*viprayukta*) element (dharma), a position unacceptable to the Sautrāntikas. If it is maintained that the *bīja* is neither identical with, nor different from, the mind and thus conforms to a middle course ; this is also denied, for such a middle course is impossible in the case of a *bīja* which is an unreality like a stick made of "sky-flowers" (*Vibhāsāprabhāvṛitti* on *kārika* 261 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*).

Saṅghabhadra, another Vaibhāṣika, severely criticises this theory of *bīja* in his *Nyāyānusāra*. Yaśomitra quotes a long passage from the latter and defends the Sautrāntika position. Saṅghabhadra's

main criticism is that it could be either different from, or identical with, the mind. If it is a separate dharma, then it is *prāpti*, for the dispute then is only on naming it. If it is identical with mind then it will result in the fault of mixture or confusion (*sāṃkarya-doṣa*) of good and evil seeds. The Sautrāntika will admit that a mind possesses seeds of both good (*kuśala*), and evil (*akuśala*), of *sāsrava* and *anāsrava* dharmas. If they are all accumulated in one *citta*, what is there to determine the nature of a particular *citta* as *kuśala* or *akuśala* or *avyākrta?* (*Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, pp. 147–8) Yaśomitra's reply to this criticism is that the fault of mixture or confusion would arise only if the *bījas* were identical with the mind. But we maintain, he says, that a *bīja* is neither identical with nor different from mind because *bīja* is not a separate entity (dharma) but only a nominal (*prajñapti*) dharma (ibid.).

Yaśomitra further states that, even if a *bija* is considered identical with *citta*, there is no fault, for a *kuśala-citta* which has arisen would in that case implant its seed in a subsequent *citta* of its own stream (*santāna*), the latter *citta* being either of the same kind (i. e., *kuśala*) or of the opposite kind (i.e., *akuśala*). Thereafter, the second *citta* would arise as determined by the first only in accordance with the principle that a specific effect arises from a specific cause, i. e., if the second *citta* is of a different kind, the *bīja* lies dormant. Nor does the fact that a specific power (*śakti*) is inplanted by a *kuśala-citta* in an *akuśala-citta* entail that the *akuśala* becomes *kuśala*, or *vice versa*, since it is only a specific power (i.e., it cannot produce effects which it, by its very nature, is not competent to produce), also called *bīja* or *vāsanā*. These are all synonyms (*Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, pp. 147 ff.).

Even the Vaibhāṣikas, he says, must resort to some such theory to explain the phenomenon of the succession of two heterogeneous *citta*. They also believe that an *akuśala* can be succeeded by a *kuśala*. Do the Vaibhāṣikas here agree that the *kuśala* is produced by an *akuśala* ? If they do not agree, then they must explain what kind of power it is that produces a *kuśala-citta*. If this power is *akuśala* it cannot produce *kuśala*. If it is a *kuśala* then it cannot remain in an *akuśala-citta*. It is, therefore, wrong of the Vaibhāṣikas to accuse us of maintaining that an *akuśala* seed becomes the cause of a *kuśala-citta*. We do not maintain that a *kuśala* seed, deposited in an *akuśala-citta*, transforms the latter, but merely that this *kuśala*-seed remains there and produces either immediately or subsequently a corresponding *kuśala-citta*. The power of producing a new *citta* is what we call a *bīja*. It is not an independent entity but only a nominal thing (*prajñapti-mātra*, ibid.).

It would appear from this that the theory of *bīja* was employed by the Sautrāntikas primarily to replace the Vaibhāṣika-dharma called *prāpti* in explaining the phenomenon of immediate succession between two *cittas* of heterogeneous nature and secondarily to reconcile the abiding nature of the stream of consciousness (*santati*) with the momentary flashes of dharmas. Their theory that the *bījas* are neither identical with, nor different from, the mind bears a close resemblance to the Vātsiputrīya theory of *pudgala* which is also described as neither different from, nor identical with, the five aggregates (*skandha*). But, whereas the Vātsīputrīyas claim reality for this *pudgala*, the Sautrāntikas insist on the nominal nature of the *bījas* and thus escape the heresy of which they accuse the former school. On the other hand, their theory that the mind is a depository of good and evil seeds, capable of yielding new seeds in the series of mind (*santati*) foreshadows the theory of *ālayavijñāna*, also called *mūla* or *bīja-vijñāna* of the Vijñānavāda school.

There are passages in the Pali Nikāyas favourable to the Sautrāntika theory of *bīja*. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* contains a sutta dealing with the operation of *kusala* and *akusala-mūlas* in six kinds of persons. In the case of the first three persons a comparison is made with good or bad seed sown in a fertile or stony field. In the case of the first person, for instance, it is said : " There is a person endowed (*samannāgata*) with *kuśala* as well as *akusala-dhammas*. In course of time, his *kusala-dhammas* disappear, and *akusala-dhammas* appear.

But since his *kusala-mūlas* are not completely annihilated, new *kusala-dhammas* appear from that *kusala-mūla*. Thus, this person becomes in future one who does not fall from the noble life. His *kusala* is comparable to whole seeds (*akhaṇḍa-bīja*) sown in a cultivated fertile field, capable of yielding abundant fruit " (*A.* III, p. 404 ff.). This sutta supports the contention that the *kusala* and *akusala* co-exist in the form of seeds or roots which give rise in a subsequent time to their corresponding kusala or *akusala* thoughts, and thus determine the nature of a particular series of *citta* (*santati*) as subject to decay or growth.

The Vaibhāṣikas, while accepting this sutta, maintain that it refers not to the theory of *bīja*, but to the theory of *prāpti*. When the sutta says that a person is endowed (*samanvāgata*) with *kusala* and *akusala-dhammas*, it means that he has the *prāpti* of these dharmas, since *samanvāgata* and *prāpti* are

synonyms (*Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, pp. 188–89; *Vibhāṣāprabhā-vṛtti* on *kārikā* 129 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*). A person cannot be endowed with kuśala and akuśala in one and the same moment, because these two are *cittasamprayukta-dharmas*, elements associated with mind. But their *prāpti* being *cittaviprayukta-dharma*, i.e., an element dissociated from the mind, can co-exist with the mind and thus cause the rise of kuśala and akuśala-dharmas in favourable circumstances.

In support of this contention, the Vaibhāṣika quotes the following passage from the same sutta. A person is endowed with kuśala as well as akuśala-dharmas. His kuśala-dharmas disappear. But there is in him the root (*mūla*) of kuśala not destroyed. Even this *kuśala-mūla* is, in course of time, completely annihilated whereupon he comes to be designated as a person in whom roots of kuśala are uprooted (*samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*: *Vibhāṣāprabhā-vṛtti* on *kārikā* 199 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*).

Here arises a problem regarding the rise of new *kuśala-citta* in the *santati* of such a person. The Vaibhāṣikas solve it by postulating the theory of *prāpti* which ushers in a new *kuśala-citta* independently of the seeds of kuśala. But, according to the Sautrāntikas, a *kuśala-citta* can arise only out of its seeds. In the absence of the latter, therefore, a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* will have no possibility of having a *kuśala-citta*. Consequently he will be doomed to have only *akuśala-cittas* till eternity.

Indeed, the Theravādins, on account of their view that a kusala cannot succeed an akusala and of their non-recognition of the theory of *prāpti*, arrived at such a conclusion. They maintained that such a *samuchchinna-kusala-mūla* was incapable of producing a *kusala citta*. A person possessed of entirely black akusala states is one who is once immersed and is immersed for ever (*Pug.* vii, 1). Commenting on this, Buddhaghosa says that the term entirely black (*ekanta-kālaka*) means those grave wrong views (*micchā-diṭṭhi*) which deny the result of kamma (*natthikavāda, akiriyavāda* and *ahetukavāda*). A person like Makkhali Gosāla who holds these views becomes the food of fire of the lower and lower hells. For such a person there is no emergence from worldly existence (*PugA.* vii, 1).

Neither of these alternatives, viz., the theory of *prāpti* and of eternal doom, is acceptable to the Sautrāntikas: They distinguish between two kinds of kuśala-dharmas : (1) those which are innate, which do not presuppose any effort (*ayatna-bhāvī*), but are always present in any given condition (*upapatti-lābhika*), and (2) those which are obtained only by effort or practice (*prāyogika*). The former are never annihilated. When a person, on account of holding a grave wrong view, becomes *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla*, he destroys only kuśala obtained by practice. His innate kuśala remains in the form of *bījas* intact in his *santati* from which arise new kuśalas under favourable circumstances (*Abhk.* ii, 36; *Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, p. 147).

This definition of *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* is identical with that of the Yogācāra school. According to this school only imminent liberation is denied to a *samucchinna-kuśala-mūla* (*Sūtrāl.* I, p. 12). Such a person is not completely devoid of *kuśala-mūlas*. This suggests that he may attain Nirvāṇa in the distant future. This is a characteristically Mahāyānist view, inasmuch as it holds an assurance of ultimate liberation even for a person like Makkhali Gosāla who did hold the gravest of wrong views.

Unlike the elements of akuśala, which are exclusively defiled (*sāsrava*), the elements of kuśala are of two kinds, viz., defiled (*sāsrava*) and undefiled (*anāsrava*). The former pertains to the good "sensuous" existence (*kuśala kāma-bhava*) and to the material (*rūpa*) and immaterial (*arūpa*) existences. The *anāsrva-kuśalas* are those which produce the supra-mundane states like arahantship and Buddhahood. These seeds of undefiled kuśala (*anāsrava-kuśala-bīja*) leading to Nirvāṇa (*mokṣa-bhāgīya*) may be identified with subtle seeds of kuśala (*sūkṣma-kuśala-bīja*) of the Sautrāntikas. They are incorruptible and are existing from time immemorial without changing their nature, transmigrating from one birth to another. This again may be identified with the seed of liberation (*mokṣa-bīja*) that is mentioned in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. The power of fathoming the innate capacities of beings for liberation is one of the ten powers (*daśa-bala*) peculiar to Buddhas. Illustrating this power, Yaśomitra cites the case of a person who was desirous of obtaining *pravrajyā* ordination. Śāriputra could not see any roots of kuśala leading to liberation in him and refused to admit him to the Order. The Buddha, however, noticed it and said : "I see his extremely subtle seed of salvation (*mokṣa-bīja*) like a seam of gold hidden in metal-bearing rock" (*Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakoṣa-vyākhyā*, p. 644).

The theory of an innate, indestructible and pure element (*anāsrava-dharma*) existing in the midst of destructible, phenomenal and impure (*sāsrava*) elements shows an affinity with the Mahāyāna doctrine of *prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta* according to

which mind is essentially and originally pure but becomes impure only by adventitious afflictions. This naturally pure *citta* is further described as identical with the *dharmatā*, *tathatā* and, therefore, with the dharmakāya of the Buddha (*Sūtral.* ch. viii, *kārikā* 19).

The term *pabhassarā-citta* occurs also in the Pali *Nikāyas* (*A.* I, p. 10); but it has been interpreted by the Theravādins as a *bhavaṅga-citta* (*AA.* I, p. 60), i. e., a rebirth-linking (*paṭisandhi*) *citta*. Beyond this they did not develop this concept of *pabhassara-citta*.*

U. K.

BĪJAKA (1), the son of Sudinna Kalandakaputta by the wife of his lay days. After he became a bhikkhu, Sudinna was prevailed upon by his mother to cohabit with his former wife, in order to leave an heir to the family property. She gave birth to a son who was named Bījaka (offspring), after the word used by Suddinna's mother. Bījaka's mother came to be known as Bījakamātā and Sudinna, Bījakapitā. At a later stage, both Bījaka and his mother entered the Order and became arahants. We are told that it was Sudinna's misdeed which led to the promulgation of the first pārājikā (*Vin.* III. pp. 18 ff.). The commentary adds that Bījaka was about seven or eight years old when he and his mother were ordained (*VinA.* I, 215).

L. R. G.

BĪJAKA (2), a slave of Videha, present when the ascetic Guṇa expounded his doctrine to king Aṅgati, and it was approved by Alāta. Bījaka also agreed that Guṇa's teaching accorded with his own experience. He remembered his previous life, when he had been born as Bhāvaseṭṭhi of Sāketa and had done many acts of virtue and piety. But at present he was the son of a poor prostitute leading a wretched life. Even so, he always gave half of his food to any, who might desire it, kept the fast, and led, in every way, a virtuous life. When he realised that these virtuous deeds bore no fruit, he said that virtue was useless and wept. Thereupon, the king Aṅgati said that Bījaka's sufferings were due to evil actions done in earlier lives (*J.* VI, pp. 227–229, 233, 235). The scholiast explains (*J.* VI, p. 228) that in the time of Kassapa Buddha, while Bījaka was seeking for a lost ox, a monk who had lost his way requested him to direct him in the correct path, then Bījaka kept silent, and when the bhikkhu requested him to show the way the second time, he got angry and abused the bhikkhu calling him a slave. He was born as Bhāvaseṭṭhi as a result of a good deed done by him in a previous birth, but in this birth he became a slave. Bījaka is identified with Moggallāna (*J.* VI, p. 255).

I. K.

BĪJA-MANTRA (or Bīja-akṣara), germ-spell, -syllable or-letter. These are mystic letters or syllables used in Tantric Buddhism as a means of meditating on or invoking a particular god or goddess.

While the mantra element is a characteristic feature in Tantric Buddhism, suttas such as the *Ratana* or the *Āṭānāṭiya* (found in the Pali *Nikāyas*), could easily be regarded as a kind of mantra. Except for such scattered instances, however, the mantra element was neither a prominent feature in early Buddhism nor was it developed as a separate branch. But, we should not forget the fact that the Sarvāstivādins are supposed to have possessed a separate *Piṭaka* of dhāraṇīs or short spells. And, in the hands of the Tantric Buddhists the mantra element was developed as a part of their symbolism, ritualism and meditation, sometimes becoming the main theme of their faith, going under the name *mantra-naya* or *mantra-yāna*.

The concept of *bīja-mantras* was, in a way, a natural development from the belief in mantras in general, which in turn was a result of the belief in the efficacy of sound as a source of power or as power itself. This point will be discussed later. For the present let it be mentioned that the mantra-concept in Buddhism is inextricably intermingled with its philosophy, theology, psychology, mythology and specially with meditation or yoga. This is natural. The invocation of deities, both for mundane and supra-mundane purposes, has been a prominent feature in Indian religious thought, specially in its later developments. And even early Buddhism, although it brought down the gods from the high pedestal on which they had been placed, did not deny their existence altogether and, as was mentioned above, the mantra-element was not totally absent in its popular aspects, as illustrated by the belief in *paritta* (q.v.). However, the spirit of early Buddhism is quite foreign to that kind of belief. Vedic mantras are well known as means of propitiating gods. They were primarily used for the purpose of getting something done in return for

* This article is mainly based on the Sautrāntika Theory of Bīja by Padmanabh S. Jaini in *BSOAS*. Vol. XXII, part 2, pp. 236–49.

the eulogies offered. But in Tantric Buddhism that is not the only purpose of mantras, where the *bīja-mantras* also serve the purpose of achieving union with a god or a goddess or even with ultimate reality, conceived in the form of a god or a goddess.

There seems to have been a number of phases in the development of the form of the *bīja-mantras*. First, the long sūtras were shortened into what are known as the dhāraṇīs. A long sūtra was reduced to a line or two for easy memorisation by the ordinary believer, who was expected to repeat it regularly with pure faith. The reciter was expected to derive much merit therefrom. The *Prajñāpāramitā Sūt a* could be cited as an illustration. The whole sūtra being too voluminous to be mastered by an ordinary follower was first reduced to a few stanzas and was known as the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*. This was further reduced to the *Prajñāpāramitā-dhāraṇī*, which, in turn, was further simplified into the mono-syllabic *bīja-mantra 'praṃ'*, symbolising the entire *Prajñāpāramitā*, like a seed (*bīja*).

The practice of allocating various *bīja-mantras* to the members of the Tantric pantheon is associated with the belief in the power of sound (*śabda, nāda*) as conceived by the ancient Indians. The belief in a letter or a syllable as representing a deity is quite old in Indian religious thought. The belief in the syllable *oṃ* as representing monistic Brahman is a concept much older than the Tantric mantras. The sound is the eternal, invisible power of the universe and the letters are the symbols representing that power. The letters (*varṇa*) of the alphabet are not mere diagrams drawn on paper, but living, conscious sound-powers. The mantras are formed by combining these letters. Hence, when a particular divinity is regarded as a concentration of power, the *bīja-mantra* representing that deity will be his power-symbol. They are called *bīja* or seed, because they are the seeds or germs symbolising a whole divinity and it is by contemplating on deity's particular *bīja* that he could be invoked. In other words, the deity's form grows in the worshipper's mind when he contemplates on him with the aid of his *bīja-mantra*.

The *bīja*-concept forms an essential part of the general Tantric sādhana, which is a kind of ritual and spiritual exercise wherein the elements of worship and of concentration play an important role. Theology, meditation and ritualistic worship are all combined together. Once a *bīja-mantra* is allocated to a particular deity, he or she has to be invoked by means of this mantra. The votary can select his or her own favourite deity (*iṣta-devatā*) on the advice of his spiritual guide (guru) and then perform the sādhana, strictly following the rules and regulations as laid down by his guru. The purpose of the sādhana may vary according to the needs of the worshipper. It may be a general invocation for acquiring merit or the deity may be invoked for a particular purpose, such as getting a wish fulfilled or harming one's enemy. It may also be done for the acquisition of various magical powers (*siddhi*). The most important purpose is when the worshipper's aim is union with a particular divinity, important because it is in this aspect that *dhyāna* and yoga are most prominent. This is the high Tantric sādhana, the end and aim of which is the realisation of unity in apparent duality—the *advaita tattva*. Now, the *bīja-mantra* being the sound-expression of the divinity, it has to be regarded not as an unmeaning combination of letters but as the divinity itself. The *bījas* are the subtle bodies of the gods. By using the *bījas* properly in intense meditation the worshipper can make the god manifest in his mind and transform him into the divinity in a kind of self-hypnotisation.

The hereditary professional gurus are the authorities of this mysticism. It is they who initiate the neophyte (*sādhaka*) with the sacred *bīja-mantras*. Entry into this mystic curriculum begins with this initiation. Various sacramental observances follow and the *sādhaka* retires to a suitable spot and begins the invocation of his chosen deity. First, he has to divest his mind of all mundane thinking and make it a vacuum. He visualises the deity with all his attributes and paraphernalia. He thinks of nothing but the deity, and his maṇḍala. Throughout the process he has to continue uttering the *bīja-mantra* with correct pronunciation and utmost concentration, until he enters into a self-hypnotic state and becomes the god himself.

The concept of *bīja-mantras* is chiefly based on the doctrine that letters and syllables have a powerful influence both for the human organism and the universe. The syllable *oṃ* is regarded by the Upaniṣads as the quintessence and, therefore, the *bīja-mantra* of the universe. This implies the acceptance of some mysterious connection between cosmic evolution and sound. Sound is identified with the power behind the cosmos. Man is regarded as a miniature of the universe. The universe is the macrocosm and man the microcosm. The inherent power in both is the same. The same powers rule the corresponding parts in the two schemes. And when this power is identified with sound, it follows that the letters and syllables are symbols of this

power, and when this power is conceived in the form of some divinity it becomes easy to allot a particular *bīja* to the divinity. The individual's task is to accept these principles and to make use of them, specially the *bīja-mantras,* to realise his identity with the divinity. This is the self-realisation for which the true *sādhaka* should strive. The *bīja-mantras* serve as aids for the realisation of this supreme goal.

Another concept closely connected with this doctrine is that the human body contains many lines or channels, called *nāḍi*, along which the nerve-force travels. And there are physiological centres called *cakra*, distributed from the hips to the head. A force that is identical with the cosmic force resides in the lowest centre. Each *cakra* has a presiding deity and a separate *bīja*. In the meditative process, in which the *bījas* play an important role, the yogin attempts to rouse this force and makes it ascend. When it reaches the highest centre the meditator enjoys bliss and obtains emancipation. Mere knowledge of the *bīja-mantras* and their symbolism will not produce results. The whole process is a spiritualisation of our body in which the symbolism of the *bīja-mantras* occupies a significant place. It is by constant practice that this self-realisation could be achieved. The entire doctrine is nothing but the expression of the eternal quest of the Indian mind which sees unreality in what is impermanent and seeks union with what is permanent and real. This idea tinges the whole of Indian religious thought down the ages. The method varies according to the temperament and the needs of the time, yet the essential doctrine remains the same.

The power of the *bīja-mantra* in the realisation of the unity between the cosmos and the individual is a psycho-physical process wherein the *bīja-mantra* serves as aid. Without intense concentration and meditation a mantra is powerless. It is not mere magic. It is a doctrine of self-culture, of mental development (*bhāvanā*), a way of realising the higher self (*adhyātma*). The mantra helps the *sādhaka* to detract his mind from worldly things and thereby to obtain the object of his worship and to feel one with it.

The selection of the *bīja* must be in accordance with the temperament of the individual. This is the responsibility of the guru who has to vitalise and energise the *bīja* in his own mind before a disciple is initiated with it. Once the disciple is initiated with the appropriate *bīja-mantra*, he has to practise with great energy and perseverance under the guru's instructions, until he assimilates the mantra-power in his inner consciousness and becomes accomplished (*siddha*). The aforementioned *cakras* are not mere 'stations' but are symbolical representations of different planes of consciousness. The objects of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*) and the various attainments (*samāpatti*) of early Buddhism may be compared with this doctrine.

Tantric symbolism teaches that the *bījas* have some inherent power which fortifies the will power of the *sādhaka*. By developing this power, he realises his unity with the same, for the divinity is potential in the *bīja*. The task of the *sādhaka* is the realisation of the true self. The divinity, the means (sādhana) of its realisation and the realisation (*siddhi*) itself are all symbolised by the *bīja*. These mantras are not a language as we understand it, for they convey no meaning according to the normal use of language. They are the symbols of cosmic power conceived as sound. Whoever and whatever may be the Highest Being, the *bījas* represent that supreme energy, which is regarded as the cause of the visible world. They are the seeds not only of gods but of other mantras as well, and this power lies in their sound and not in their lettered form. For the *bīja* to be powerful, it has to be awakened in the consciousness of the individual by deep meditation. Consciousness is the power of the mantra, which is the instrument, the tool of awakening that consciousness. The power of the individual's consciousness, the cosmic power and the mantra power all are the same. Once this power is awakened by the *sādhaka*, any form of liberation, from the lowest magical powers (*siddhi*) to Nirvāṇa will be within his reach. Success depends on the efforts and the efficiency of the devotee. A sādhana properly performed is bound to yield good results. Whether the object is to do good or harm to oneself or to others does not count. Proper performance of the sādhana, which needs much discipline and asceticism, is the only thing needed. The *bījas* are both the means and the symbols of liberation, which is self-realisation.

These mantras never act mechanically in which case even a tape-record would be sufficient. Divorced from their psychological associations and spiritual background, the *bījas* would be mere dead letters, and the whole concept would be mere superstition. They can be useful only if they are regarded as symbols of ever-present, immediate reality and also as means of conjuring up that reality for the spiritual advancement of man. The votary's responsiveness, devotion and spiritual attitude are absolutely essential.

Otherwise he would not be able to identify himself with the universal power of which he is an integral part. The *bījas* will help him to uncover the sheath of *māyā* that envelops this identity.

It was explained earlier that the human organism was regarded as a replica of the universe and the various nerve-centres were treated as centres of power (*cakra*). Each of these *cakras* was allocated with a *bīja* and a presiding deity. These deities represent various aspects of *prajñā* or wisdom. By way of illustration, it may be useful to give a few *bījas* that are allocated to these centres. For instance, the root-centre (*mūlādhāra*) has the Dhyānibuddha Amoghasiddhi as the lord and the *bīja* pertaining to him is *āḥ*; the second centre (*maṇipura*) is presided over by Ratnasambhava whose *bīja* is *traṃ*; the third (*anāhata*) belongs to Akṣobhya with the *bīja hūṃ*; the fourth (*viśuddha*) has Amitābha with *hrīḥ* and the fifth (*sahasrāra*) Vairocana with *ōṃ*.

There is no uniform system of allocating *bījas* to various deities. A particular letter or a syllable has no permanent symbolical idea fixed to it. They may vary according to the devotee, the purpose and so on. What is important in the concept of *bījas* is their symbolical value and the psychological associations and their consequent practical value as means of mental development, whereby the spiritual self-realisation of the individual could be achieved. Their value lies not in the symbolism in itself but in the underlying principles. It would not be of much profit to go into the details of all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet that have been given numerous meanings suiting a particular context. Only a patient practiser would be able to derive the benefits. Whether it is a vowel or the series of vowels (*āli*), a consonant or the series of consonants (*kāli*) or any seed-syllable like *āṃ*, or *hūṃ* or the well-known mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, all are mystic symbols signifying deeper truths and values than what meets the eye in their lettered form.

The struggle for emancipation from what is transitory and unreal and for union with what is permanent and real by self-effacement or rather self-realisation has been a distinguishing feature of Indian religious thought. The methods vary according to the times and the temperaments but this idea permeates Indian thought in general. In Tantric mysticism, too, the purpose of the higher sādhana, in which the *bījas* play an important part, is the same. It is a self-realisation by a psycho-physical process, leading the practiser to the realisation of his oneness with the essence of the universe, resulting in bliss and emancipation, the goal of almost all Indian creeds.

It has also to be mentioned that the purpose of the sādhana is not always this noble ideal, for the mantras were used not only for the attainment of magic powers but also for other purposes such as harming others. This kind of abuse is inevitable. Some of the so-called Tantric adepts are supposed to have promulgated the dangerous doctrine that they can do any evil with impunity. This kind of abuse is due to nothing but the fact that the complex Tantric symbolism was misinterpreted in certain quarters and thereby it lost its deeper meanings.

A. G. S. K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arthur Avalon, *Principals of Tantra*; Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* London. 1959; S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, University of Calcutta, 1958.

BĪJA SUTTA (1), preached by the Buddha to explain two opposite beliefs, namely, wrong belief (*micchā-diṭṭhi*) and right belief (*sammā-diṭṭhi*).

While the former causes evil states to arise and helps develop such states as are already arisen, the latter gives rise to good states and develops such states as already exist. Distracted attention (*ayonisomanasikāra*) is caused by wrong belief and proper attention (*yonisomanasikāra*) is caused by right-belief. Further, while he who harbours wrong belief would be reborn in hell after death, the person who holds right views would be destined for heavenly happiness. Any deed done with wrong belief would be unprofitable and unpleasant like the *nimba*-seed or a seed of *kosātaki* creeper or cucumber which produces bitter fruit, and right views would produce profitable and pleasant results, like the seed[1] of sugarcane, paddy or grape which produces delicious fruit (*A.* I, pp.30, 32).

I. K.

BĪJA SUTTA (2), preached by the Buddha in Sāvatthi (*S.* III, pp. 54–55). Just as the five kinds of seeds, namely root-seed, trunk-seed, seed from shoots, seed from joints and grain-seed, if unspoiled,

[1]F. L. Woodward, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (*Aṅguttora Nikāya*), Luzac & Company, London, 1951, Vol. I, p. 29.

when planted in good soil and nourished by wind and water would sprout and grow in abundance, in the same way, the four stages of conciousness (*viññāṇa*) and the lure of lust would grow in abundance and would cause rebirth. By the abandonment of lust, one could put an end to rebirth.

I. K.

BĪJA SUTTA (3), the second sutta of the *Balakaraṇīya-vagga* of the *Magga-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, pp.46–47).

Just as earth is essential to seeds and vegetation, so is virtue (*sīla*) essential to the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path.

BĪJA SUTTA (4). Only a few people abstain from destroying the different sorts of seeds and plants, and many do not abstain from doing so owing to their lack of realisation of the Four Noble Truths (*S.* V, p. 470).

BĪJA SUTTA (5). Just as bitter seed, such as *nimba*-seed, although planted in moist-soil, produces bitter fruit, so do deeds done by one having such qualities as wrong view, wrong thinking, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong living, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness, wrong concentration, wrong knowledge and wrong release, produce evil and suffering. On the other hand, the same deeds would produce happiness and good result, when done by one who is endowed with the opposite qualities, just as the seed of sugarcane or paddy or grape when planted in moist soil produces sweet fruit (*A.* V. p. 212).

BIKHU (*bhikṣu*), the Newari term for hereditary silver and goldsmiths among Nepal Buddhists (Bauddha-mārgīs, q.v.). They are a class of inferior "priests" who perform the duties of assistants, in esoteric worship, to the Vajra Ācāryas, that, is the lay priestly class of the highest group of Bauddha-mārgīs who are themselves inferior only to the rare celibates of their grade. These Bikhus lead family lives. It would seem from some accounts that a member of the higher social grade who failed to be initiated into Vajra Ācāryas before marrying or, at least, before becoming a father, was degraded to the rank of Bikhu. Some scholars think that the term merely indicates a profession, and more. (See K. P. Chattopadhyay in "An Essay on the History of Newar Culture," *JASB.* New Series, XIX, p. 465 ff.).

D. T. D.

BI-KHYĀ-TA-DE-BAS THUGS-RJE-CHEN-POḤI GRUB-PAḤI GTAM-RGYUD, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See **VIKHYĀTA-DEVA-MAHĀKĀRUṆIKA SIDDHI-LĀBHĀKHYĀNA.**

BIḶĀLAPĀDAKA, a rich man of Sāvatthi. Once, a wise man of Sāvatthi invited the Buddha and his entire retinue of bhikkhus for a meal. Then, he went round the village asking the householders to share in the alms-giving. Biḷālapādaka who was annoyed at his request, called him and gave him rice, etc., as much as could be grasped by three fingers. Hence his name "Cat-foot". The person who had organised the almsgiving mixed Biḷālapādaka's contribution also with the others. The latter suspecting that he might be disgraced in public, went to the almsgiving with a knife concealed on his person, ready to kill the man if he should mention his gift in ridicule. But he heard the man offer the alms to the Buddha, expressing the wish that all who had joined in the almsgiving should receive a rich reward. Moved by the man's largeness of heart, Biḷālapāda fell at his feet confessing his guilty intentions and begging for pardon. The Buddha thereupon preached to Biḷālapāda, who, at the conclusion of the sermon, became sotāpanna (*DhpA.* III, p. 17 ff.).

I. K.

BIḶĀLIDĀYAKA (1), an arahant. Ninety-four kappas ago he gave *biḷāli* stalks to a sage who was meditating at the foot of the mountain Romasa not very far from the Himālayas. The sage being greatly pleased gave him his blessings, and predicted that on account of his meritorious act he would not experience birth in an evil state (*Ap.* I, p. 232).

BIḶĀLIDĀYAKA (2), an arahant. He was born in a noble family during the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and, realising the dangers of household life, renounced the world as an ascetic and practised severe austerities in the Himālayan country. The Buddha out of great compassion paid him a visit. Greatly pleased at the sight of the Buddha, he made to him an offering of *biḷāli*-stalks. As a result of this good act, in his wanderings in saṃsāra he was born among gods and men. Fifty-four kappas ago he was a world ruler by name Sumekhali (*Ap.* I, p. 145; *ApA.* p. 417). Biḷālidāyaka thera is probably identical with Kosalavihāri thera of the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* (I, p. 142 f.)

W. G. W

BILAṄGIKA-BHĀRADVĀJA, a brāhman, one of the Bhāradvāja brothers. When he heard that his brother had entered the Saṅgha, he visited the Buddha at Veḷuvana, angry and displeased. The Buddha, discerning the brāhman's state of mind, spoke to him on the futility of doing wrong to the blameless and pure. Bilaṅgika-Bhāradvāja was converted, sought ordination and in due course attained arahantship.

According to the commentary, Bilaṅgika-Bhāradvāja earned large profits by selling various preparations of congey (*bilaṅga*). He was, therefore, given the sobriquet of Bilaṅgika by the recensionists at the Third Council. The commentary further explains that Bhāradvāja, the husband of Dhanañjanī, Akkosaka-Bhāradvāja, and Asurindaka-Bhāradvāja (whose suttas precede that of Bilaṅgika-Bhāradvāja) were Bilaṅgika's elder brothers. He was so furious at the news of their ordination that when he went to see the Buddha he sat silent unable to speak for rage (*SA*. I, p.230. See also *DhpA*. IV, p.163. var. Vilaṅgikaṅ°, Bilaṅgaka°, Vilaṅga°, Vilaṅgaka°, Viliṅgaka°).

L.R.G.

BILAṄGIKA SUTTA, of the *Arahanta-vagga* of the *Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta*, records the story of the conversion of Bilaṅgika-Bhāradvāja (q.v.) after he met the Buddha at Veḷuvana. Bilaṅgika was seething with rage at the conversion of his brother, and the Buddha preached to him on the folly of doing wrong to an innocent man—it comes back to him like fine dust thrown against the wind. Delighted at the Buddha's words Bilaṅgika-Bhāradvāja entered the Saṅgha and in due course became an arahant (*S*. I, p. 164). The verse contained in this sutta appears earlier in the *Devatā-saṃyutta* (*S*. I, p. 13).

L. R. G.

BIḶĀRA JĀTAKA(No. 128), related by the Buddha with reference to a hypocritical monk to show that it was not the first time he had been a hypocrite.

The bodhisatta was once a leader of a multitude of rats. A jackal, desiring to eat them, took up his stand near their home, poised on one leg, facing the sun and feigning great saintliness. Impressed by his piety, the bodhisatta and his following paid him their respects every morning and evening. Each time the jackal would let the rats pass and devour the last one of them. Seeing their numbers diminish, the bodhisatta suspected the jackal and one day he himself went last. When the jackal tried to seize him, he sprang at his throat and killed him while the other rats fed on the carcase (*J*. I, p. 460 f.).

Although the story speaks of a jackal, the Jātaka is named after the word *bilāra* (cat) occurring in the verse. It is interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata* version of this story also relates to a cat.

L.R.G.

BIḶĀRA SUTTA, the tenth sutta of the *Opammasaṃyutta* (*S*. II, p. 270 f.). It was preached on account of a bhikkhu who spent too much time in the houses of laymen.

Once, a cat stood on the refuse heap of a house-drain waiting to catch a mouse. As the mouse came out, the cat pounced on her and swallowed her alive. But the mouse gnawed the guts of the cat until he died.

Similarly would a bhikkhu, entering a village for alms with unrestrained senses, come to grief.

L. R. G.

BIḶĀRIKOSIYA JĀTAKA (No. 450). Once, the bodhisatta was a rich and generous merchant of Bārāṇasī. He built an alms-hall and distributed much food to the poor. At the end of his days he requested his son to continue this practice and after death was reborn as Sakka. His son followed him and was born as a deva Canda by name. So did the others who came after him and in turn they were reborn as devas named Suriya, Mātali and Pañcasikha. But the sixth in line, Biḷārikosiya turned out to be a miser. He burnt up the alms-hall and gave nothing at all by way of charity. Sakka, observing this, one day appeared before his house along with Canda and the others in the guise of brāhmans begging for a meal. Biḷārikosiya refused them any food at all. But each of the brāhmans in turn repeated a verse about the evil consequences of miserliness after which Biḷārikosiya was led to admit them inside the house.

At first he doled out a measure of paddy (unhusked rice) asking them to have it cooked elsewhere, but the brāhmans refused it. Next he offered them uncooked rice which again they rejected, as what they wanted was a cooked meal. Then the merchant had cows' fodder given to them. The five brāhmans took a mouthful each, and then letting it get stuck in the throat, fell down as if dead. Biḷārikosiya became alarmed and fearing that he would be spurned by the people for his niggardliness, had rich food served in the brāhmans' bowls and declared to the people that the brāhmans had in their greed eaten too much of the choice food and died. But the brāhmans rose, spat out the cows' food and revealed the truth to the people. Sakka

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then disclosed his identity and that of the other four. He rebuked Biḷārikosiya for breaking the family tradition and preached on the rewarding effects of giving. The repentant Biḷārikosiya paid homage to Sakka and promised that thenceforth he would not partake of any food without sharing it with others. He practised great generosity and after death was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa.

This *Jātaka* was told in connection with a bhikkhu who would not even take water without sharing it. The Buddha identified him as Biḷārikosiya who had at first been hard-hearted and miserly but later on had made a solemn determination to practise charity. He continued this habit of giving even in subsequent births. Sakka in the *Jātaka* is the Buddha himself and he identifies the devas Canda, Suriya, Mātali and Pañcasikha with his disciples Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Kassapa and Ānanda, respectively (*J*. IV, p. 62 ff.).

L. R. G.

BILE (*Pitta*), secretion of the liver through the gall-bladder into the intestines, to aid digestion.

Buddhaghosa distinguishes two kinds of bile: localised (*baddha-pitta*) and free (*abaddha-pitta* : *Vism*. viii, § 127, p. 215). The localised bile is said to be situated near the flesh of the liver, between the heart and the lungs, and is found in the gall-bladder (*pitta-kosaka*). The free bile spreads like a drop of oil on water. When the secretion is not properly functioning (lit., 'disturbed', *kupita*), there is a tendency of the eyes becoming yellow, a symptom of jaundice which is caused by obstruction of bile. A psychological result of such disorder is the excitability of a choleric temperament, or a melancholic depression. Having an 'upset bile' (*pittaṃ te kupitaṃ* : *J*. II, p. 114) is synonymous to being in a bad mood.

Bile is one of the thirty-two parts of the body, on which one is to concentrate in the meditation exercise of mindfulness on the body (*Kāyagatāsati Sutta* : *M*. III, 90), which leads to awareness of the repulsive nature of the body and, through analysis, to the realisation of its insubstantiality (*anatta*).

In connection with the use of a tooth-stick (*dantakaṭṭha*), pointed at one end as a tooth-pick and frayed at the other end as a tooth-brush, this was recommended by the Buddha to his monks, as it purified the channels of taste, preventing bile and phlegm being attached to the food (*pittaṃ semhaṃ bhattaṃ na pariyonandhati* : *Vin*. II, p. 137).

H. G. A. v Z.

BILLAPHALIYA, designation of an arahant thera. In the time of Buddha Kakusandha he was an ascetic who lived on the bank of the river Candabhāgā. He offered the Buddha a *billa* fruit (wood-apple) from a tree which grew in his grove (*Ap*. II, p. 397).

BILLASELA, situated in Otara Pattuva of the Kegalle District, Ceylon. The rock of Billasela (as known in Pali writings) and the village in which it lies are called Beligala in the Sinhala language. The fame of the place rests on the circumstance that the relics of the Buddha's tooth and the alms bowl reposed here in the thirteenth century A. C. when the country had been devastated by Māgha of Kaliṅga who was ruthlessly antagonistic to Buddhism. The venerated relics were brought to the rock, from the fastnesses of Kotmalē (Kotthumala) where they had been concealed for some twenty years. They remained here for about thirty years, carefully tended by the national kings who assumed personal responsibility for them. The chronicles describe the sumptuous shrines and their adjuncts erected in honour of the nation's treasures, as well as the splendid festivals held in connection with them. Only the bare holes cut in the rock remain as traces of these buildings. At the foot, however, there are a few sculptural remains probably brought down from their ruins, or those which had embellished Vijayasundarārāma, Bhuvanekabāhu Pariveṇa and other religious buildings which had been erected on the summit and below in the first half of the thirteenth century. The memory of these ancient events is perpetuated by the existence of a modern vihāra.

D. T. D.

BĪMARĀN, best known for a reliquary of great importance to Buddhist art which was found, by C. Masson in the years 1834–7, in an ancient Buddhist site in the small village of Bīmarān in Afghanistan. The village is six to seven miles west-north-west of Jalālābad which has been identified with the ancient Nagarahāra. In the centre of the village was a big stūpa and several smaller stūpas were found in the immediate neighbourhood. It is in what Masson listed as No. 2 of the latter group that his excavation yielded a globular steatite vase inscribed with Kharoṣṭhī letters. Within it was the famous golden and gem-encrusted reliquary.

Sten Konow edited the inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol. II) in the year 1929. There were two inscriptions, but actually they were, more or less, the same, having merely been incised

in two places, one round the body of the vase and the other on the lid. His reading of the former was :

Śivarakṣit(r)asa Mu(ṁ)javadaput(r)asa daṇamuhe ṇiyadide Bhag(r)avat(r)a Śarirehı sarva-budha(ṇa) puyae. (Gift of Śivarakṣita, the Mūjavat scion, given in substitution, for the relics of the Lord, in honour of all Buddhas).

The inscription on the lid was read thus :

Śivarakshit(r)asa Muṁjaṇaṁdaputrasa daṇamuhe bhag(r)avat(r)a śarirehi. (Gift of Śivarakshita, the Mūjavat scion, for the relics of the Lord.)

Konow remarked that the name Śivarakṣita, as applied to a person, was found in the Shahdaur inscription and on a seal from Taxilā, but that nothing could be said as to the identity or otherwise of the present name with the other two. He also thought that there was no *a priori* right to assume anything beyond the probability that Śivarakṣita had given only the casket ; the relics, as also the gold reliquary, may have been older.

Along with the vase there were assorted deposits, namely, pearls, beads of sapphire, agate, coral and emerald. There were also four copper coins which were found to have been excellently preserved.

The Bīmarān reliquary, as it is popularly known, is now in the British Museum. It is a round bowl of pure gold *repoussé* inlaid with balas rubies, that is, the rose red variety of the spinal ruby. There was a container for the relics. It has generally been regarded as marking a very important chronological stage in the evolution of the Buddha image in ancient India. It was the coins of an Indo-Parthian (Śaka) ruler by the name of Azes which were found in association with the reliquary. On the assumption that this king was the first of the name, the casket had long been dated to the first century B.C.. However, one scholar, L. Bachhofer, in revising his original opinion, tended to think that the coins could also have belonged to Azes II, the last Śaka king, (L. Bachhofer, 'Greeks and Sakas in India', *JAOS.* LXI, p.229), which would bring down the chronology to the first century A.C. A third view is that the association of coins with other finds is not absolutely conclusive evidence (B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Great Britain, 1956, pp. 78–9). Although the chronology itself is not fixed, the representation of the Buddha on the casket is considered a link in tracing the origin of the image itself.

The reliquary is yet more valuable for (stylistically) dating the Gandhāra style and its origins. The figures of the Buddha and others (Brahmā and Indra) are regarded as demonstrably Hellenistic. The arches above them, i.e., the cusped niches enclosing the figures, have been considered to be of the familiar ogee form of the caitya-window ; the motif is characteristic of the drums and bases of stūpas in north-west India (West Pakistan) and Afghanistan where it is frequently found. The full blown Indian lotus is also shown beneath the base. The earliest date has been suggested as the first, and the latest the third, centuries after Christ. (B. Rowland, op. cit.) Bachhofer is emphatic that the work was not that of a Greek.

D. T. D.

BIMBĀ, another name of Yasodharā, the wife of Prince Siddhattha and the mother of Rāhula. See YASODHARĀ.

BIMBĪ, (var. Bimbi, Pimbi, Bimpi, Vimbī), an eminent female lay disciple of the Buddha, mentioned in a list of twenty-seven (*A.* IV, p. 347 ; *AA.* IV, p. 160). King Bimbisāra's mother was also known as Bimbī, according to Tibetan sources (W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, Trubner, 1884, p. 16).

BIMBIJĀLIYA, an arahant. During the time of Padumuttara Buddha he made an offering of bimbijālika flowers to him with great devotion. As a result of this good act he never experienced birth in an evil state since then. Sixty-eight kappas ago he became a cakkavattin four times by the name of Kiñjakesara (*Ap.* I, p. 225).

W. G. W.

BIMBISĀRA, king of Magadha. During his entire life of 67 years he was contemporaneous with the Buddha who was born five years earlier and survived him by eight years.

The name of Bimbisāra's family is not known for certain. The old orthodox view, based on Purānic evidence, is that Bimbisāra was a descendant of a king named Śiśu-nāga, and belonged to what is known as the Śaiśu-nāga dynasty. But the Pali chronicles of Ceylon clearly distinguish the royal line of Bimbisāra from that of Susu-nāga, according to Geiger and Bhandarkar, by representing Sisunāga as a late successor and not as an ancestor of Bimbisāra (cp. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *IHQ.* 1925, p. 86).

Bimbisāra's father, Bhāti, and Suddhodana, the Sākiyan rājā of Kapilavatthu, politically subordinate to the king of Kosala (*A.* I, p. 276 ; *Sn. v.* 422), were friends, and so were their sons, Bimbisāra and

Siddhattha (*Mhv.* ii, *v.* 25). According to Tibetan sources (W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, Trubner, 1884, p. 16) Bimbisāra's mother was called Bimbī.

At the age of only fifteen years Bimbisāra was anointed king by his father, and when after almost another fifteen years it happened that Siddhattha as an ascetic passed through Rājagaha, (See Pl. XIV) it is not surprising that Bimbisāra did not recognise his childhood playmate, although he was greatly struck by:

" that man, so handsome, tall and calm,
of goodly gait, with gaze a plough's length on,
with eyes on earth downcast, of set intent !"

(*Sn. vv.* 410–11, trsl. Chalmers, *HOS*. xxxvii, p. 99).

Refusing the king's offer of wealth, the bodhisatta nevertheless promised to return to Rājagaha after he had attained the goal of his struggle for truth. In fulfilment of this promise, the Buddha with the thousand monks converted by his preaching of the 'Fire Sermon' (*Ādittapariyāya Sutta*, q.v.) visited Rājagaha again, and stayed at the nearby Palm-grove gardens (Laṭṭhivanuyyāna, q.v.) at the Supatiṭṭha shrine (*Vin.* I, p. 35).

King Bimbisāra, frequently called Seniya Bimbisāra, this being his personal name according to Buddhaghosa (*MA*. I, p. 292) or his clan name according to Dhammapāla (*UdA*. p, 104), went to this place in the company of twelve myriads (*nahuta*) of brāhmans and householders, all paying their due respects to the Buddha. No question was asked, but on seeing Kassapa of Uruvelā, the former ascetic with the matted hair, now with his following of 500, as ordained monks with shaven heads in the company of the Buddha, doubt arose in his mind as to who was the teacher and who the disciple. This doubt was dispelled by Kassapa himself, who bowing down with his head at the feet of the Buddha declared his discipleship (*satthā me bhante bhagavā, sāvako' ham asmi : Vin.* I, p. 36).

Thereupon the Buddha spoke to Bimbisāra and those who had come with him on the value of generosity and morality, on heavenly reward, on the dangers, the vanity and the depravity of the sense-pleasures, and on the advantage of renouncing them. And when he knew that their minds had become pliable and pleased, he spoke to them of the Four Noble Truths, of conflict and its cause, its cessation and the method of cessation. Still seated, Bimbisāra obtained insight into the truth that whatever has originated will by its own nature also cease. Thereby he entered the Path of Holiness (sotāpanna), put aside all doubt and uncertainty with the most complete confidence in the Buddha's teaching. He invited the Buddha and his thousand monks for a meal on the following day, on which occasion he donated the park in the Bamboo grove, Veḷuvana, to the Order of monks with the Buddha at its head.

" From this moment up till the time of his death, a period of 37 years, Bimbisāra did all in his power to help on the new religion and to further its growth" (*DPPN*. II, p. 286).

Time and again Bimbisāra would turn to the Buddha for advice and a ruling with regard to monastic conduct. Thus the rules that no one in the king's service should be ordained as a monk, nor one who, having committed theft, had broken jail (*Vin.* I, pp. 74–5), were laid down at Bimbisāra's suggestion.

The recital of the rules of discipline (*pātimokkha*) on the eighth and the last days of each half month was also initiated on a suggestion of Bimbisāra, who had seen wandering ascetics belonging to other sects meeting and discussing their doctrines on those days (ibid. p. 101). Also, the permission to start the observance of the retreat during the rain-period from the second full moon was given in deference to a wish of Seniya Bimbisāra (ibid. p. 138).

On another occasion, Bimbisāra had convened a meeting of all the superintendents of the 80,000 villages coming under his authority ; and after having instructed them in matters concerning this world, he sent them along to pay homage to the Buddha, who happened to be staying on the Vulture's Peak near the capital Rājagaha, to receive his instructions in transcendental matters (ibid. pp. 79–80).

Not only to the Buddha personally did king Bimbisāra show his affection and respect. Pilindavaccha thera was honoured and served by the king on several occasions. Although a monastery-attendant was promised by the king, it was forgotten till five hundred day's had passed, after which Bimbisāra sent 500 attendants to Pilindavaccha thera's residence. Thereby a distinct village was established which was called the village of the monastery-attendants and also Pilinda-village, where the thera would go for his daily alms-round (ibid. 207).

On the othr hand Bimbisāra did not overlook the fact that the monk's life should be a life of renunciation ; and thus, when he noticed that redundant offerings were stored up by some monks, he was responsible for the rule of discipline that certain medicine should not be stored for more than seven days (ibid. p. 208 ; see BHESAJJA).

That Bimbisāra did not neglect the material welfare of his capital is shown by the fact of his permission to establish in Rājagaha a courtesan, beautiful, charming, with a perfect complexion, clever at dancing, singing and playing the flute, named Sālavatī, in emulation of the famous Ambapālī of Vesālī, who made that town prosperous. Where Ambapālī's fee was 50 kahāpaṇas per night (*VinA*. 1114), Sālavatī asked for a hundred (*Vin*. I, p. 268). Sālavatī, however, was a little careless and had to feign illness to hide her pregnancy. She had finally to abandon her child at birth and had it placed in a winnowing basket. The boy was found by prince Abhaya, Bimbisāra's son, who had him taken into the palace to be brought up. The child grew up to be the famous physician, Jīvaka. It has been suggested that Bimbisāra was Jīvaka's father and that Sālavatī abandoned the child at the palace gate to ensure for him a prosperous future.

This reference to king Bimbisāra's son, Abhaya, brings us to the king's personal relations. His chief queen was the daughter of the king of Kosala and she is known as Kosaladevī who gave the king a son and successor.

Another name in the royal household was Khemā, daugher of the king of Madda in the Punjab, one of the principal consorts of Bimbisāra who was exceedingly beautiful and had a golden complexion. She was so infatuated with her own beauty that she refused to visit the Buddha, lest he should speak disparagingly thereof. But Bimbisāra was able to make her visit Veḷuvana, where she was brought face to face with the Buddha who showed her the transiency of beauty and the vanity of lust. There itself she became an arahant and with the permission of Bimbisāra she entered the Order of nuns. She was ranked by the Buddha as foremost among the women for her great insight (*mahāpaññānam aggā* : *A*. I, p. 25). She does not appear to have given a child to Bimbisāra.

Padumavatī was a courtesan at Ujjenī whom king Bimbisāra went to see, and who bore him a son, named Abhaya. This lady, too, later joined the Order and became an arahant after listening to a discourse of her son who by that time was himself an arahant thera. As a therī she was known as Abhayamātā, Abahaya's mother.

Ambapālī, the courtesan of Vesālī, too attracted the attention of king Bimbisāra, and she gave him a son, known as Vimala Koṇḍañña. On an occasion of the Buddha's visit to Vesālī, Vimala entered the Order of monks and became an arahant soon afterwards (*ThagA*. I, p. 145 f.). A sermon preached by him helped his mother Ambapālī to develop insight and attain arahantship (*ThīgA*. p. 207).

An unnamed sister of king Bimbisāra was married to the king of Kosala, Pasenadi, whose sister, Kosaladevī, was Bimbisāra's chief queen. The great cordiality between the two kings remained unbroken and was reflected in the peaceful relations between the two countries, Magadha and Kosala.

Sīlavā was a son of Bimbisāra and although the name of his mother is not mentioed (*ThagA*. I, p. 536), it may be inferred that he was a son of Bimbisāra and Kosaladevī, for otherwise it is difficult to understand the continued persecution by Ajātasattu, who was at any rate the legal heir and well established on the throne of Magadha. Sīlavā's life was threatened as soon as he had come of age, but the intervention of Moggallāna, the arahant, saved him. He entered the Order, became an arahant, but did not reside in Magadha. Still, even in Kosala, an attempt was made on his life, but Sīlavā converted these men sent by Ajātasattu, and they, too, became monks.

Prince Jayasena, featuring in the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (*M*. III, p. 128) and the *Bhūmija Sutta* (ibid. p. 138), is said by Buddhaghosa to have been Bimbisāra's own son (*MA*. II, p. 932). Living in the midst of sense pleasures and being eagerly in search of them, he was unable to realise that which can only be known by renunciation.

Cundī and her brother Cunda have also been mentioned as possible children of Bimbisāra (*AA*. II, p. 596), for Cundī, the rājā's daughter, comes to the Buddha when he is at Rājagaha, to discuss with him certain statements of her brother Cunda (*A*. III, p. 35).

In the *Jaina-Sūtras* (ed. Jacobi, I, xii—xv) Bimbisāra's queen is named Chellanā, a daughter of a chieftain of the Licchavis. Ajātasattu is her son who is called sometimes Vedehi-putta on that ground. His personal name is given as Kūṇika.

It was this Ajātasattu who became responsible for his father's death, as it was already predicted before his birth. Under the evil influence of Devadatta, he began to thirst for power. And even when power came to him on the abdication of king Bimbisāra after an abortive attempt on the king's life, he did not feel secure until he had Bimbisāra imprisoned with the intention to starve him there to death. Only the queen Kosaladevī was allowed to visit the royal prisoner. But the

queen smuggled food into the prison chamber, first in vessels hidden among her clothes, then concealed in her head-dress, and even smeared over her body, so that Bimbisāra could obtain sustenance by licking it off. When all this was discovered the queen was not allowed to continue her visits.

But Bimbisāra continued to live by walking about his cell meditating. Ajātasattu, hearing of this, sent barbers to cut open his feet, fill the wounds with salt and vinegar, and burn them with coals. (In a previous birth he had walked about in the courtyard of a cetiya with shoes on, hence this punishment ! *DPPN.* II, p. 287). It is said that when the barbers appeared, Bimbisāra thought his son had relented and had sent them to shave him and cut his hair. But on learning their real purpose, he did hot show any resentment, but urged them to do their work as ordered, much against their will.

Soon after, Bimbisāra died and was reborn in the deva-loka of the Four Great Rulers (*cātummahārājika*) in the retinue of Vessavaṇa with the name Janavasabha (*D.* II, p. 200), having only one wish, to become a sakadāgāmin and then to attain the supreme deliverance of Nibbāna.

H. G. A. v Z.

BIMBISĀRA-PRATYUDGAMANA, (var. Bimbisāra-pratyudgamana-nāma-mahā-sūtran, a Sanskrit text preserved in its Tibetan and Chinese translations. Jinamitra, Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes sde translated the work into Tibetan which is incorporated in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Tibetan *Kangyur*, entitled *Mdo-chen-po gzugs-can-sñiṅ-pos bsu-ba shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 289 ; *TT.* Vol. 38, No. 955). The Chinese translation was the work of Gautama Saṅghadeva (397–8 A. C.) of the Eastern Tsin dynasty and forms section 62 of the *Chung-a-han-ching* (*Madhyamāgama Sūtra*) of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*. The earlier Chinese translation of Dharmanandi (384–91 A. C.) is not extant and was already lost in 730 A. C. (*Taishō*, No. 26 (62) ; *Nanjio*, No. 542).

The work gives a description of the Buddha's first meeting, after attaining Buddhahood with Seniya Bimbisāra the king of Rājagaha. When the latter heard that the Buddha had reached Rajagaha and was staying at the palm grove pleasure ground in the Supatiṭṭhita shrine, he visited him with brahmans (Tib. *bram-dse*) and householders (Tib. *khyim-bdag*), greeted him and sat down at a respectful distance. When a doubt arose in their minds as to who was the Teacher out of Kassapa of Uruvelā and the Buddha, the Buddha made them understood that the former was a follower of his. Then the Buddha preached the doctrine of impermanence (Skt. *anitya* ; Tib. *mi-rtag-pa*) etc. After listening to which the king sought refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. He also became free from all desires (*hdod-pa*) and attained emancipation (Skt. *vimukti* ; Tib. *rnam-par sgrol-ba*). Bimbisāra then invited the Buddha and his followers for alms, to which the Buddha consented. The former is also said to have obtained the Buddha's permission to provide him with food, bedding, medicine etc., till the end of his life.

A similar description is also found in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* I. pp. 34–9).

I. K.

BINDU, which varies with Vindu, name of a nāga king, mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*Mhm.* p. 247 : *BHS.* p. 400).

BINDUMATĪ, a courtesan of Pāṭaliputta in the time of Asoka. She was present when one day, the king, standing with his subjects and ministers before the Ganges, asked whether there was anybody who could make the river flow upstream. Bindumatī by an act of truth (*saccakiriyā*) turned the waters back. When the king asked her how she got her power she explained that it was because she was free, alike from fawning and from dislike in serving them who engaged her services whether noble man or slave (*Miln.* p. 121 f.).

L. R. G.

BIOLOGY, the science of life, when seen from a religious and, in particular, from a Buddhist point of view, cannot be content with general scientific conclusions relating to life that may be drawn as the result of study of the structure and activities of all living things.

For, life seems to be more than organic activity as observed in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, in botany and zoology. It would be equally correct to say that the purview of life according to Buddhism is more restricted than the sphere of observation of Biology as a modern science.

Just as Buddhism deals with matter (*rūpa*) and material forces, and yet is not a science like physics and chemistry—for Buddhism is interested in matter only in so far as it is conceptualised (*nāma-rūpa*), and in material qualities only as phenomena which constitute this mentalised matter so Buddhism deals with life and life's

forces only in so far as these are conscious in action and reaction, in the sequence of activities and experiences.

An automatic reaction is in Buddhism not a subject for investigation, even though they are admitted in analysis of 'thoughtless' deeds.

Hence, the necessity to define 'life', before any further comparative study of Biology and Buddhism can be made.

Life is not the same as vitality (*jīvitindriya*) which is a partly physical partly mental phenomenon. As a mental phenomenon (*nāma-jīvitindriya*) it is one of the seven mental factors inseparably associated with all consciousness, viz., sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), mental impression (*phassa*), volition (*cetanā*), vitality (*jīvita*), concentration (*samādhi*) and advertence (*manasikāra*). As a physical phenomenon (*rūpa-jīvitindriya*) it is one of the 24 secondary or derived (*upādā*) phenomena which together with the four essential or elementary qualities constitute the corporeality group (*rūpakkhandha*).

Life (*jīva*), as a vital principle or individual soul, is categorically and repeatedly denied in the teaching of the Buddha, which is referred to as the doctrine of *anattā* (q. v.). Such a principle of life, as an independent, permanent entity, as a substance supporting all properties and phenomena, lies outside the pales of natural and exact sciences and is of no concern to either Biology or Buddhism.

"Life (*jīvita*) is bound up with breathing, it is bound up with the postures and movements of the body, it is bound up with cold and heat, it is bound up with the primary elements and it is bound up with nutriment" (*Vism.* viii, § 27). Any serious interruption causes a failure of the life-process. And failure too may occur owing to excess (ibid. § 28). The faculty of life (*jīvitindriya*) is one of maintenance of conascent kinds of matter *sahajarūpānupālanalakkhaṇa* : ibid. xiv, § 59) and one of the 27 constant and associated factors in various states of consciousness, where, too its characteristic should be understood as its function of maintenance in material composition (ibid. § 138). It is self-preservation, including assimilation growth, movement, etc., but it has no moral connotation as it is essential to every kind of thought, whether rooted in greed, hate, delusion, or their opposites (ibid. §§ 159, 170, 176).

This life-faculty is considered important enough to give its name to a group of nine, the ninefold vitality-unit (*jīvita-navaka-kalāpa*), which without the life-faculty represent the pure eightfold unit (*suddhaṭṭhaka kalāpa*), the most primitive group of so-called dead matter, viz., extension (*paṭhavī*), cohesion (*āpo*), caloricity (*tejo*), oscillation (*vāyo*), colour (*vaṇṇa*), odour (*gandha*), flavour (*rasa*) and nutriment (*ojā*). In other words, it is this *jīvita* which makes all the difference between life and death, biological death being the cessation of organic activity.

Now, the initial question of Biology is the search into the nature and characteristics of living matter in order to determine what constitutes life. It is well known that some protein DNA complex holds the basis of life in plants and animals, but that does not give an answer to the question : what is life? The most common answer is change either as self determination, or in the nutritive process, or in the process of growth and reproduction. Still, there are many instances, where any change of the above description cannot be observed, even under the closest scrutiny, for a long period. Such is the condition of seed, stored in a sealed container, which to all appearances gives no sign of life, where even the production of carbondioxide appears to be at a standstill and which yet proves to be fertile and reproductive when afterwards placed in conditions favourable to growth. Here, the mere absence of decay would indicate the presence of life at least in a dormant manner.

But, does not the expression 'dormant life' involve a contradiction, just as 'static energy'? And can a total suspension of all chemical changes be called life? In so far as there is no decay, there can be no question of death either. It is more probable that the suspension of change was not complete, and that the process of change which might be an indication of life went on imperceptibility. This would confirm the Buddhist point of view that life is not an entity, but a process, rather than a condition, property or qualification ; it is the action upon and reaction to environment.

Conditions can vary, and only when conditions are favourable the process of life starts functioning. Here is no infusion, no agency required, no ultimate beginning of life as a principle, but a constant beginning of life as a process. What is it that constitutes this process which cannot be analysed, in the same way as the process of a wave cannot be analysed without causing the cessation of that very process.

Life then is a process, evolved and constantly evolving from a group of conditions, which are constantly being regrouped in dependence on other conditions, and what is known of life is only its

manifestations. And thus, when a group of phenomena, constituting for the time being an individual process of growth and decay, comes to an end, this is not a cessation which is annihilation, but only a regrouping of phenomena, in which death gives rise to birth. This process is continuing all the time, even within a so-called living organism, where waste matter is being replaced. This process, referred to as metabolism, is sustained by nutrition, which in Buddhism is of prime importance. "All life is sustained by nutrition" (*sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā : D.* III, p. 211), by food for bodily growth, contact (*phassa*), consciousness (*viññāṇa*) and volition (*cetanā*) for individuality.

It is this last kind of nutriment which is the will-to-live, the will-to-express, the will-to-reproduce. When this will-to-live is psychologically dead, a doctor's medicine has no chance to cure a patient, and natural food will no longer be absorbed by the body. The closed circuit of physical and mental co-operation is broken; and with the running-down of reserves the destructive process will predominate.

But this is only so from the relative angle of the individual, for, involution (*vivaṭṭa*) is only a different view of evolution (*saṃvaṭṭa*). Death is not essentially different from life, the most important distinction lying in their non-identity.

It is the identity of an individual which has given to life its supreme importance, and hence it follows that the less identity is observed, the less importance is attached to such individuality. Mineral and vegetable life are of less value than conscious life in animals and rational life in humans. And thus it happens that although the faculty of life (*jīvitindriya*) is a physical constituent of the corporeality group of phenomena, it is only as a mental factor (*cetasika*) that it finds an honoured place among the seven general psychical constituents which go into the making of any thought (*sabbacittasādhāraṇa-cetasika*). This is so quite rightly, for only as a mental factor, combined with volition (*cetanā*), does it have the reproductive force of karmic activity.

The capability of reproduction is generally accepted as a definite condition of living existence, for without reproduction the organic kingdom would soon pass out of existence. It is the universal law of change according to which involution (decay, death) necessitates evolution (birth). This capability of reproduction in its simplest form is brought into effect through cell-division. Assimilation through respiration and nutrition brings about growth, which results in cell-division, in which the parent-cell loses its identity in its progeny.

It is the process of differentiation which brings about individualistic characteristics, which are further refined by a process of selection. Nutriment being the most essential condition for existence, it can be seen that—whereas the inorganic nutriments required by plants are everywhere present (in the air that surrounds the leaves, in the rain-water that bathes the roots and in the soil of their natural environment)—animals have to search for their food, which does not come naturally to them. Thus, animals, apart from their digestive organs, also require the means to carry their body in search of food, and organs to seize it when found. The characteristic of selectivity is still more developed in man and has made him also more individualistic. It does not make him dependent on the food as he finds it, but enables him to prepare that food according to his special requirements, which include taste.

Thus, physically as well as psychologically, the faculty of vitality in its various degrees is characterised by the need to survive and the greed to survive. The need to survive is expressed in absorption and the greed to survive in reproduction. The satisfaction of a need may be a purely passive implementation of a natural and physical reaction, but the satisfaction of greed is an active projection and self-reproduction with the aim of affirmation, continuation and securing of permanency. It is this conscious effort (*chanda*) of the will to live (*cetanā*) which provides a thought with the volitional component (*kamma*) which makes it reproductive (*vipāka*).

Here it may be repeated what was said in the beginning: an automatic reaction is in Buddhism not a subject for investigation, but Buddhist deals with life and life's forces only in so far as these are conscious in action and reaction. From any other aspect, "the life of man is like a dew-drop, insignificant, trifling, fraught with much ill and trouble" (*ussāvabindūpamaṃ jīvitaṃ manussānaṃ parittaṃ lahukaṃ bahudukkhaṃ bahūpāyāsaṃ : A.* IV, p. 137), "Like a bubble on water" (*udakabubbulaṃ*), "Like a line drawn with a stick on water" (*udakadaṇḍarājūpamaṃ* : ibid).

But as an opportunity for moral action it is man's most precious possession, and when a Tathāgata, mindful and self-possessed, cast aside the sum of this life (*āyusaṅkhāraṃ ossajati : A.* IV, p. 313), this earth trembles. It is not a thing to give and take in vain, even though the danger of the span of life is hard to know (*dujjānaṃ jīvitiantarāyānaṃ : Ud.* pp. 7, 8).

Generalising from results of scientific research during the last forty years, it appears highly probable that, when placed under conditions where appropriate food is supplied in the correct amount and where deleterious products in the process of change are promptly removed, all the essential tissues of the body are potentially immortal. The fundamental reason why organisms do not live for ever appears to be that in the organised system as a whole those conditions necessary for continued existence do not always prevail. In other words, biological immortality is not impossible under ideal conditions but as in actuality ideal conditions do not exist, the fact of immortality is not actual. Even logically, the fact that all one's ancestors have died is not proof for the mortality of the last survivor. The fact of life is not proof for the fact of death.

But the condition of life, its composition and dependence on conflicting and changing conditions, are such that no living organism in fact does survive for ever. Conditions are so general and universal that even the duration for life can be prognosticated, although statistics can only provide a general average.

"To him that is born there is no immortality" (*natthi jātassa amaraṇam : A.* IV, p. 137) is a statement based on the knowledge of birth, which is a result of conflict : dependent on the will-to-become arises birth (*bhava-paccayā jāti*). When the will-to-become has ceased, there will be also cessation of birth and death (*bhava-nirodhā jāti-nirodho, jāti-nirodhā jarā-maraṇaṃ nirujjhanti*). And that is the immortality of *Nibbāna* (*amatapada : S.* I, p. 212).

Life is a struggle for life, a natural process, in which birth leads to death. For the born there is no immortality (*natthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ* : *S.* I, p. 108) ; there is no man to whom death cometh not (*natthi maccussa nāgamo'ti* : ibid.), and even though life last a hundred years or more. . . . man yields his life at last (*jahāti idha jīvitaṃ : Sn. v.* 589) ; death is by nature inherent in life (*maraṇadhammojīvite*) as old age is in youth and sickness in health (*S.* V, p. 217).

While it is true that it is birth that leads to death, it is also true that it is death that leads to birth. Physically, of course, according to the law of preservation of energy and matter, nothing is lost in a process of change, not even in the greatest of all, in death. For, biological death is only the end of a cycle of individual life, which normally passes through the successive phases of fertilisation, birth, puberty, growth, senility and death. But, though death marks the end of one cycle, the process moves on and in death itself is found the genesis of many new cycles. In fact, during the process of a single cycle of life, reproduction of cells is a continuous process, fission of single-cell organisms continues its course independently, and the total process of change is one long series of repetition of origination, growth and cessation.

None of these origins is primordial in the sense of creation, and none of these cessations is final in the sense of annihilation. In other words, both birth and death are various aspects of the process of life, just as much as other phases of that process. And it is indeed in this light that Buddhism views the process of life in the cycle of origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*, q.v.), which has no primordial origin of absolute beginning, no starting point in time of creation, no bringing into existence without a relative cause, but an arising which is dependent on conditions. The scheme, as usually presented, consists of twelve links, each one dependent on the previous one without there being a first, and which for easy understanding is spread out over the three phases of time, past, present and future : conditions in the past have given rise to effects in the present, these effects can become in the present further causes for future effects. There is not unity which binds all these events together but as in fission the parent-cell becomes its off spring.

Here the biological field is enlarged to encompass also the psychological, for life is not merely the result of copulation or fission. The volitional fact or which, in inorganic matter, expresses itself as repulsion and attraction, has become relative in organic matter of plant, animal and man. But the basic functions of attraction and repulsion which are the mainstays of individual existence remain the same throughout. The attraction may be only physical, as two drops of water tend to unite ; it may be a sense of completion which attracts the opposite or a lacking quality ; it may be a need of security for an unknown self, or a satisfaction of a basic sex-urge ; but the subsequent activity of a compound nature (*saṅkhāra*), if based on ignorance (*avijjā*), can only lead to an effect which has the full fertility of vitality, resulting in further becoming (*bhava*) in mental and material spheres (*nāma-rūpa*) with its appropriate organs (*saḷāyatana*), contact (*phassa*) and sensation (*vedanā*). These effects can become now new conditions for further action, when the sense-organs grasp at (*taṇhā*) and cling to (*upādāna*) their sense-objections. This renewed activity (*kamma-bhava*) leads to the subsequent reaction of further birth (*jāti, maraṇa*).

Complexity of wilful action is the cause of conflict (*sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*), and this complexity will persist as long as there is a wrong understanding (*avijjā*) of duality, i.e., of self and non-self. For, it is on this duality that all likes and dislikes are grounded. Likes are the nutriment of the self; dislikes are the defensive weapons against the non-self. Thus, the instinct of self-preservation becomes the greatest stimulus for selective activity. Even the natural impulse for propagation of the species is but an extended self-projection into an indefinite future, struggling for survival.

Such activities which are self-produced (*attaja : Dhp. v.* 161) are also born in the same form (*itoja : Sn. v.* 271) for "self breeds dislikes and likes."

Buddhism recognises the biological distinctions between oviparous (*aṇḍa-ja*) and viviparous (*jalābu-ja*) generation, between the once-born beasts (*eka-ja : Sn. v.* 117) and the twice-born birds (*di-ja*) which, although independent of the hen as soon as the egg is laid, still have to be hatched to be fully born (*J.* I, p. 152). The brāhmans, however, who claimed to be twice-born, from Brahma's mouth and from their mother's womb, were ridiculed by the Buddha who did not see any difference between them and other humans (*Thag.* pp. 2, 430). Parasitic plants are said to be born from the trunk of a tree (*khandha-ja : S.* I, p. 207) and lotuses from water (*vāri-ja : Sn. v.* 845). There are also the moisture-born (*sineha-ja : Sn. v.* 272; *S.* I, p. 207).

Apart from all these biological possibilities there is also spontaneous generation (*opapātika*) which is the way celestials and also some Pacceka-buddhas are born.

Rebirth in Buddhism, however, does not follow any biogenetic laws, for rebirth is not of an individual body. Rebirth is not a biological fact at the advent of life, but a reaction to a volitional, conscious act. Such reaction may not have the opportunity of immediate rebirth, and its reproductive energy will pass on into the next action which may still further strengthen the wilfulness of the act, till once the time may come for that vitality to express its own energy in conditions more appropriate for its taking shape. That may not be in similar surroundings, but in the best available. There is always a place where a falling stone comes to rest, although it hardly ever will be a perfectly fitting receptacle. Thus rebirth needs no time, yet the complexity of an expiring life will be so great that practically there will be no one reborn who is not a misfit from certain aspects. Still all the tendencies (*anusaya*) acquired will be there and such tendencies will seek out a proper environment for expression. At different times a person might show inclinations according to the opportunity offered. This kind of heredity does, therefore, not operate according to Mendelian laws. The psychic tendencies and proclivities (*anusaya abhinivesa*) requires physical media for expression, whereby a living organism appears to acquire psychic properties. These physical media would be inherited according to Mendelian laws. Certain physical properties of living organisms, moreover, appear to be more suited than others to allow expression of psychic tendencies, and thus a mutual attraction is inherited in this process of natural selection.

Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) gave his whole-hearted adherence to the doctrine of organic evolution, and attempted to apply this doctrine to the probable of philosophy and religion (*The Riddle of the Universe* [1]). His monistic naturalism sees the cosmos as an infinite whole. Yet, several of his views are corroborated neither in Biology nor in Buddhism. One of the most outstanding is his view of the infinite substance of nature which is not endowed with either genesis or the possibility of annihilation. Still there are many points of great interest and more than that, of contact with various doctrines as found in Buddhism. The unity of matter and energy appears as a mirrored reflection of the Buddhist unity of *nāma-rūpa*, but should not be considered as a substance, just as the mind-body unit should not be thought of as a 'soul'. His views on ether as filling any part of space which is not occupied with ponderable atoms (chap. xii) are not acceptable and not proved. But his hylozoistic view that organic life is present in some form in matter itself would not appear so extravagent when it is seen that vitality (*jīvit-indriya*) is one of the 24 component phenomena of pure matter, according to Buddhist Abhidhamma. His suggestion that consciousness ultimately develops out of atoms, molecules, cells etc., is a far-reaching truth which is expressed in the Buddhist theory of the five aggregates of clinging (*pañcū-padānakkhandha*), according to which neither the passive reception of sensation (*vedanā*), nor the neutral reactive perception thereof (*saññā*), nor the subliminal formative conception (*saṅkhāra*) is to be considered as a developed conscious, morally active

[1] English trsl. (1900) of *Die Weltriatsel*, 1899.

thought (*viññaṇa*), although reception, perception and conception are three forms of capturing (*upādāna*) the mental object.

The passive reception of a stimulus which is called sensation (*vedanā*) may not reach the conscious level at all, and will therefore be received and sensed in the material organ without penetrating further. Likewise the neutral reaction to a stimulus at the sense doors (*saññā*) is nothing but an awareness of a disturbance (*dvārāvajjana*) and even if this is followed by discrimination of formative ideation (*saṅkhāra*) it is still but an unconscious reflex of reference to prior experiences for purpose of investigation, comparison and classification (*santīraṇa*), but without acceptance or judgement, which alone could form a volitional act of consciousness (*viññāṇa*).

The passive reception of a stimulus is found even in inorganic matter. The passive reaction to a stimulus without the willful ability to reject it if harmful, is typical of plant-life.

The formation of concepts and development of association of ideas is characteristic of animal life. And only the conscious acceptance with moral responsibility is found in the fully developed mental states of consciousness.

That 'sensation' permeates existence was asserted also by the ancient Greek philosopher, Empedorles. Consciousness, and that applies to the conscious reaction of a sensation, requires a central nervous system which in Buddhism is referred to as the physical sense-organ of touch (*phassa*) which is the sensorial impression from contact with tangibles. And thus it is generally denied that consciousness must be attributed to all existence.

'Consciousness', like 'mind', is but an abstraction for the activities of the brain-related organs. It has no existence, but only action. A volitional conscious action is called *karma* (*cetanā haṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi*) and as such, karmic action is a psychical activity dependent on physical activity. But there is no need to have this physical action performed by a physical 'substance,' or this psychic activity to be dependent on a psychological 'soul'. In this unique stand, which forms the basis of the Buddha's doctrine, the teaching of non-entity (*anatta*), the Buddha is more of a naturalist and a realist, than many so-called materialists who while rejecting the very possibility of other worlds and of any forces beyond nature, do not hesitate to introduce concepts of substance of ponderable matter and even 'ether' to fill the vacuum of empty space in order to accommodate their theories of contact in activity. For the Buddha has brought those other worlds into this universe by showing their subjection to the same laws of impermanence, conflict and unsubstantiality, while whatever forces there be, they are mere changing phenomena operating under the same laws. And that applies foremost to the mind, which is a process of action and reaction, dependent in its operation on varying conditions, constitutional as well as environmental, physical as well as mental, without anything of the nature of an abiding entity.

For Buddhism, which is an ethico-philosophical doctrine, the question is not whether this plant or that animal has life, but the more fundamental question about life. Scientists may, if they wish and if they can, draw a line between the living and the dead, or may conclude that there is life in all that is. In the teaching of the Buddha everything is focussed on the concept of conflict (*dukkha*) and its solution. Conflict is caused by and originated in the process of thought which centres around the I-concept. And thus, whatever is capable of culturing this I-concept comes within the purview of life.

For specialised subjects which have their roots both in Biology and Buddhism, see HEREDITY, REBIRTH.

H.G.A.v.Z.

BIRAṆI, the servant maid of the brāhman named Asoka in the time of Kassapa Buddha. The brāhman, had arranged for a daily meal for eight bhikkhus in his house. His wife and daughters refused to perform this service, but the servant did it with great devotion and pleasure. After death she reaped the reward of her piety, for she was born in Cātūrmahārājika heaven as a resplendent goddess. King Nimi, in the *Nimi Jātaka* (*J.* VI, p. 117 f.), was shown her palace by the divine charioteer Mātali. Floating in the air, it gleamed with gold and jewels and had its own park and a lake covered with lilies. It was nine-storeyed, four-sided, had a thousand chambers with balconies and railings ornamented with tinkling bells. In the middle was the beautiful Ambalatthika-pāsāda bright with waving pennons. In height and floor space it covered twelve leagues. The goddess was continually served by a thousand hand-maidens. Such is its description in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* v. 6ff.) which says that a plan of it was brought from

Tāvatiṃsa heaven by arahants, who gave it to king Dutthagāmani Abhaya for the building of the Lohapāsāda (q. v.) in Anurādhapura.

D. T. D.

BIRBA-PAḤI TSHIG-RKAṆ BRGYAD-CU-RTSA-BSHI-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. VIRŪPAPADA—CATURĀŚĪTI.

BIRDS. In the Buddhist sūtras there are found many passages on birds. The contents of these remarks on birds, however, depend upon the character of each sūtra. This article, accordingly, deals not with birds in general, but with how Buddhism treated birds in its sūtras and historical records by mentioning some examples.

In the *Sivirāja Jātaka*, for instance, the Buddha had been born, in a previous existence, as Sivirāja, king of Devavatī. He was famed for his righteousness and his merciful love for all beings. One day Indra conferred with Viśvakarman on how to test Sivirāja. Indra transformed himself into a hawk and Viśvakarman into a pigeon, the former pursuing the latter. The pigeon flew into the hands of Śivirāja asking for help. The hawk demanded of the king to give him back his prey, but the king asked the hawk to take instead his own flesh corresponding to the weight of the pigeon. The king cut off pieces of flesh from his legs, arms and sides and put them on the scales, but seeing that they did not weigh as much as the pigeon, stood up to put himself on the scales. But being thoroughly exhausted, he fell down unconscious. Now, Indra, understanding the perfections of the king's mercy, displayed his real self and praised the king's (bodhisattva's) practice. This *jāhaka* is regarded as the most typical of all the birth stories, and is quoted in many of the sūtras. (*J.* I, pp. 401 ft. No. 499; *Cariyāpiṭaka*, 8; *Hsüan-chi-pai-yüan-ching* or *Senshūhyakuenkyō Sūtra* 33; *Avadānaśataka*, 34, etc.).

As an instructive story there is a fable about a heron and a crab. An old heron, tired of seeking food, lied to the fish in the pond where the water was low, that he would carry each of them, one after another, to a better pond but ate them instead; his head was finally cut off by a crab that saw through his plot (*Jātaka*, No. 38; *Pañcatantra; Tantrākhyāyikā*, 1, 5, etc.). This fable is related in Ceylon in four different ways.

In this way, stories about birds, including those of the *Jātaka*, are often quoted especially in the sūtras of fables. Some of the typical bird-stories quoted in the shortened forms of the sūtras in the scriptures of the northern Buddhist countries are as follows: In *Ching-lü-i-siang* Vol. 50, compiled by Pao-ch'ang of Liang, there is provided a section for birds, in which are related: (1) kinds of garuḍa and the description of a dying garuḍa-king, (2) how a heron harms its mother at its birth, (3) a wild goose with golden feathers that loved its wife and children in its previous existence; 500 wild geese that listened to the teaching of Buddha were born in heaven; a wild goose caught by a king refused to eat anything, got thinner until it escaped from its cage, (4) a crane's cry is like the sound of the Buddha's law, (5) how a pigeon gave up its life in order to save a hungry man; the Buddha's sermons through talking allegorically about a pigeon, (6) a pheasant that poured water upon the fire in the wood where it had been living a long time, (7) the Buddha's teaching given to the ministers comparing them to crows; how a crow with a red beak and a monkey were close friends; a story of a crow and a fox that admired each other. In *Fa-yüan-chu-lin* compiled by Tao-shih of Tang, not only is there a section exclusively provided for animals, but there are also often quoted sermons concerning birds.

In Japan, many bird-stories are found in Buddhist sermons. *Nihon-ryō-i-ki* written by Keikai of Yakushi-ji temple tells us about a man who, through attainment of the art of casting spells on the king of peacocks became a hermit with supernatural power and could fly in the sky; a man who became disgusted with this world after seeing the adultery of birds and entered the priesthood to practise virtue, and also a man who, having eaten many eggs of birds, had to see hell while still alive and die a violent death. The story of Rōben of ōdai-ji temple who was carried off by an eagle when a baby is very well-known.

In India some races and families assume the name of a bird, and this may mean that the animals were once regarded as sacred. The dynasty of king Asoka who patronized Buddhism was called the Maurya (Peacock) dynasty (322-185 B.C. ?). Buddhism is said to have separated into twenty schools, of which one was called the Kurkuṭika school or 'school of offsprings of cocks' according to a legend the Sanskrit 'kurkuṭa' meaning a cock. It is also started that Sāriputta, the wisest disciple of the Buddha, was named thus, viz., a heron's son, as his mother's name was Sāri meaning a heron. There

are also some accounts in which a crow appears either as a Buddha's messenger or as a Transformed Buddha.

In the *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* there are the following lines: There are in that Buddha-land geese, snipes and peacocks. They gather together three times every night and three times every day to play in concert, each warbling its own note, and in these warbles there are manifested the five virtues, five powers and the seven branches of Enlightenment. When the men there hear this sound, remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law and remembrance of the monks rise in their mind. Now, what do you think ? The very name of hells is unknown in that Buddha country, and likewise that of rebirth as an animal and of the realm of Yama (the four *apāyas*). These birds have been made on purpose by the Tathāgata Amitāyus, and they utter the sound of the Law.

In this way, various kinds of birds are given a role in elucidating the Buddha's Law and adorning the sūtras. This shows that Buddhism reached not only to human beings but also to all living beings and that birds appeared in many sūtras sharing the work of elucidating the teaching of Buddha.

Typical Birds : (1) Garuḍa. One of the eight kinds of animals guarding the Law of Buddha; it subsists on nāgas or dragons. Its wings are so beautiful that its other name is *suparṇi* or golden-winged bird. The term Karura-en, 'flame of garuḍa' depicting the aspect of burning fire comes from the garuḍa with its golden wings spread around, and 'the art of garuḍa' is an esoteric practice to remove the evils done by evil dragons through the mighty power of the garuḍa-bird. Karura-kan is a contemplation to remove various misfortunes just as the garuḍa removes the harms of poisonous snakes.

(2) Birds with beautiful sound — *a.* Kokila or Indian cuckoo, *b.* Kalvinka or sparrow or Indian cuckoo, *c.* Kalandaka that resembles a magpie and lives among the bamboo trees (*Shakafu*).

(3) Jīvaṃjīva. This name is said to have come from its cry, and it is supposed to be two-headed and low-bodied (*Hongyōshū-kyo*).

(4) **Krauñca** – a kind of Indian magpie.

(5) **Kapiñjala**–resembles a pheasant; also said to be a kind of sparrow.

(6) Kācilindika – a sea-bird; it is said that anyone that touches this bird feels joyful; the ideal king Cakravartirāja is said to make his appearance accompanied by this bird (*Shōbōnen-gyō*, 30).

(7) Cātaka – the bird *Cucculus melanoleucus*, said to subsist on rain-drops (*Shōbōnenjo-gyō*, 16).

(8) Sārasa-karaṇḍa———the name given to a pair of mandarin ducks; as they are inseparable, they are often compared to the joint actions of the bodhisattvas' party (*Nehan-gyō Chō-jubon*, 4).

(9) Mayūra or peacock, with its beautiful wings, is regarded as a typically good bird. King Candragupta, king Asoka's grandfather, founded the Maurya dynasty.

The word 'peacock' is often found in various designations: *a.* Mahā-mayūri-vidyā-rājñī appears in the form of bodhisattva with four arms and riding a golden peacock.

b. Lucky spell of the peacock——In *Buddha-mātrika-mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī sūtra*, that Buddha tells Ānanda, who asked the Buddha if there was a method of saving a bhikkhu suffering from the bite of a black snake, not to worry because 'he had Mahāmāyuribuddhamātrika-vidyārājñi-mahādhārani, that had mighty power capable of removing all poisons, fears, calamities and sufferings, and taking in, feeding and giving comfort to all beings.'

c. Religious practice of peacock——It is to practise the religious exercise of Mahā-māyurī-vidyā-rājñī in accordance with the above sūtra, and in Japan this exercise is practised only at Tō-ji temple in Kyoto.

d. Mayūrāsana (Peacock-seat)——This term came from the resemblance between the sitting posture of a human being and the figure of a peacock, and by practising this mayūrāsana, it was believed that all sins and evils were annihilated (*Śrī-jābāla-darśanopaniṣad*, 3-10). Later on, however, this came to mean a peacock itself. In esoteric Buddhism, mayūrāsana means the place where Buddha-mātrika-mahāmayuri-vidyārājñī or Amita Buddha sits.

(10) Śuka or parrot——There is a story that the Buddha, while a bodhisattva, practised filial piety to his blind parents, transforming himself into the form of a parrot (*Zohozo-kyo*,), and it is also said that Amita Buddha transformed himself into the form of a parrot in order to teach

Buddhism to the people of Parthia (*Sanbōkannō-roku*, Vol. I). In this way, a parrot was generally regarded as a messenger of the transformed figure of the Buddha. In the *Konzōkyō sūtra*, there is a story about two parrots kept by Sudatta which, because of their belief in the Four Noble Truths, preached to them by Ānanda, were born into heaven after death. There is also a story about a parrot that preached sermons in the world of Yamadeva edifying the devas (*Shōbōnen-gyō*) ; a parrot that asked the Buddha to come to the wood to give sermons was reborn in heaven through the benefit of having done so (*Hyakuen-kyō sūtras*) ; a parrot that, when the wood where it had been living was on fire, poured water, flying over it again and again to extinguish the fire and for whom the Lord, impressed by its deep sense of gratitude towards the wood, poured rain and put out the fire (*Sokarasetsu-kyō sūtra*) ; and a wise parrot kept by an immoral king to whom the parrot pointed out his fault making him repent and come to his senses (*Ōmukan-kyō*).

Idiomatic expressions with the word 'parrot' in them, e.g., 'answers like the droppings of a parrot' meaning an obdurate dialogue as seen in answering about a mountain when asked about a river (*Hyakuyu gyō*) ; 'parrot-carriage' meaning, according to a Zen priest, a person who talks fine things without practising them (*Rōyadai-suihen* 32).

Figurative Expressions: Haṃsarāja or goose-king——another name for the Buddha due to his '*jālāvanaddha-hastapāda*' (one of the 32 characteristics in the Buddha's appearance), that is, having membranes between the fingers and toes resembling those of a goose.

'Goose-eyes'—used to express the superior judgement of a scholar who distinguishes the right laws from the wrong ones like a goose-king who tells water from milk without fail.

Śūnyatā-bird—a bird that crys 'kung, kung, (means *śūnyatā* or voidness), indicates a person who makes thoughtless remarks about *śūnyatā* without knowing its real meaning.

The wake of a flying bird—means unsubstantiality (Nehan-gyō 2). 'Both wings'—*Dhyāna* and *prajñā* are compared to the two wings of a bird, (*Shikan* 5). *Kākapeya* or 'crow-drinkable'—used to describe a pond with water so full that even a crow could drink water from it.

Birds in Art: The *Sivirāja-jātaka* mentioned earlier, is well-known in Buddhist countries, and pictures depicting this birth-story are found in many places, for instance, in the relief on the transome of the great tower at Amarāvatī in India, in the seventeenth cave of Ajaṇṭā, on the articles excavated from the district of Swat in Gandhāra, in the tower of Barabuḍur in Java and among the wall-paintings of Tun-huang. Many pictures of birds mentioned in the jātakas are found in India, and they are sometimes found among objects carried with Mahāyāna Buddhist images. Two of the five great pañca-ākāśagarbha-bodhisattvas ride a peacock and a garuḍa, respectively, and their images, preserved in Kanchi-in temple in Kyoto, are well-known. Though 'vidyārājñī' usually wears an expression of rage, Mahā-mayūri-vidyārājñī has a benign face in the form of a bodhisattva, sitting on the back of a peacock. It is worshipped by those asking for rain, and the image in Kujaku-do hall at Mt. Koya-san is famous as a work of Kaikei.

Of the twelve devas (*dvādaśa-deva*), selected from all the devas, Brahmadeva rides a swan and Soma-deva three or five geese. The garuḍa is included among the genii of eight classes and among the twenty-eight classes including Brahmadeva and Indra, present at the sermons given by Śākyamuni. The images of the genii of the eight classes of Kōfuku-ji temple in Nara and the genii of the twenty-eight classes of Myōhō-in temple in Kyoto are famous.

Moreover, images of birds are used as ornaments in temples. The Hōō-dō temple of Uji is called by this name because of the ornamental phoenix on its roof. On the famous wreath of flowers kept in the Chūson-ji temple, kalaviṅka birds are carved in relief. The picture of birds and animals at play, believed to be the work of Toba-sōjō, is very delightfully drawn. There exist numerous pictures of birds and flowers painted by priests, and the pictures of birds and flowers drawn on the sliding doors and the images of birds carved for decoration are too many to enumerate here.

Z. I.

(Translated by Jun Ohrui)

BIRTH. See JĀTI.

BIRTH CONTROL. The term 'Birth Control' refers, in its widest sense, to the prevention or regulation of life in any form by any means whatever and in this sense includes abortion and

sterilisation. But, more specifically, and specially in its current technical signification, Birth Control is applied in relation to human society and signifies any form of intentional limitation or regulation of size of family and of population and is, in this sense, synonymous with Family Planning or Planned Parenthood. In a still more restricted sense, Birth Control refers particularly to control of conception or prevention of pregnancy by means mechanical or chemical administered by methods oral, vaginal or intrauterine.

The theory and practice of birth control in the modern world have a bearing on a wide variety of aspects of human life, ethical, religious, psychological, sociological, economic, political, demographic and eugenic, and they lend themselves to criticism and judgement from as many aspects. As a matter of historical interest it is necessary to remark in this connection that the most decisive influence on the formation of popular attitudes to birth control has been exercised, more bindingly in the past than in the present, by religious dogmas and by ethical judgements associated with such dogmas.

The Buddhist attitude to birth control is contingent on a number of considerations pertaining to its nature and functions, its methods and techniques and its aims as well as the consequences following from its practice.

The idea and methods of birth control, albeit in crude and pre-scientific form, were not unknown during the time of the Buddha. Birth control, as a matter of fact, has a documented history going back to nearly four thousand years and references to its practice occur in the writings of the ancient Egyptians, the Chinese, the Indians, the Hebrews and the Greeks. Methods of birth control prevalent in the time of the Buddha appear to have been almost wholly confined to foeticide and the references in the early Buddhist documents clearly bear out that the practices invariably had a criminal intent.

There is no evidence whatever to suggest that the rulers of ancient Indian kingdoms were vexed with economic and political implications of the problem of over-population and in the pre-industrial pastoral and agricultural economy of ancient India birth control does not therefore appear to have been an instrument of public policy promoted through governmental agencies as at present.

The primitive methods of birth control referred to in the *Jātakas* and the *Petavatthu* belong rather to the history of crime than to the history of birth control as now understood and foeticide has been roundly condemned as heinous and immoral on the basis of the cardinal Buddhist doctrine relating to the sanctity and inviolability of the principle of life (see ABORTION). In the celebrated *Metta Sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, (*Sn.* pp. 25--26) the Buddha enjoins his followers to extend love, amity and friendliness not merely to all beings who are already born but also to all those that are still awaiting to be born and the latter category is a clear reference to life in the foetus.

Whereas primitive methods of birth control invariably involved the violation of the principle of life, modern science has been able to perfect a variety of techniques which seek successfully to control birth without violation of life, either antenatal or post-natal. There are, at the present time, many methods of birth control widely in use in all parts of the world and none of them involves the necessity to kill the life of the human embryo.

If the primitive methods of birth control consisting of foeticide and infanticide have been condemned by the Buddha as being criminal and immoral on account of their violation of life, what could be the Buddhist attitude to methods of birth control which merely seek to prevent conception without killing life that is already conceived ? The problem in this form obviously did not arise in the society of the Buddha's time and this fact itself makes it unhistorical to expect a specific and categorical declaration by the Buddha for or against birth control. What is possible and meaningfully relevant to our time would be to reconstruct the Buddhist attitude to the contemporary theory and practice of birth control after a careful consideration of all the factors that impinge on the different aspects of the Buddha's basic teachings.

The fundamental feature common to all forms of birth control, both primitive and modern, involving either violation of life or merely the prevention of conception, is its voluntary nature. Birth control lends itself to ethical judgment, in so far as Buddhism is concerned, primarily on account of this intentional element. Volition, conation or intention is the distinctive element that at once defines and determines ethical or moral action. According to the motivational theory of Buddhism the mainsprings of human behaviour consist primarily of six factors, technically called Roots, and they are the three roots of morally unwholesome

action (greed, hatred and ignorance) and the three roots of morally wholesome action (non-greed, non-hatred and non-ignorance). From this is derived the doctrine of the four Evil Courses of Action (*agati*), namely, Impulse, Animosity, Fear and Ignorance. Ordinarily, our behaviour in thought, word and deed is impelled by these passions inspite of our pretences to act through the dictates of moral rectitude and through abstract ideas pertaining to truth and error. Conscious action characterised by conation has, in the Buddhist view, the capacity to generate its corresponding reaction. Hence, action impelled by unwholesome roots invariably begets unwholesome consequences for the individual concerned. The same causal law holds valid in the case of wholesome roots, too. The roots of moral and immoral action are, in addition to the conative, endowed with two other aspects, namely, the affective and the cognitive aspects. The affective element gives to the roots their feeling tone and the cognitive aspect imparts to them their epistemic quality, veridical or non-veridical, sensory or extra-sensory. In the sphere of moral action the Buddha enjoins his disciples to cultivate the wholesome roots and teaches them the way to eliminate the unwholesome roots in the course of their progress along the path to perfection.

Since all human endeavour is relative to some goal, the consideration of intention naturally involves that of consequence. Intention is the anticipation of a desired consequence. Consequence, on the other hand, as we too often find to our frustration, is not necessarily the realisation of what we exactly intended. An intention is never the sufficient condition of its fulfilment. An intention, for instance, to please everybody might end up in a consequence where no one is pleased. The moral good therefore cannot be defined solely in terms of intention. This precisely is what has been recognized in the Buddhist ethical doctrine. According to the teaching of the Buddha the judgment of the moral good requires not merely the determination of the intention of a given action but also the determination of its actual, as distinct from its intended, consequence. If this exacting test is not applied in the definition of the moral good, what results is the philosophy that the end justifies the means and it is clear that this philosophy cannot be reconciled with the Buddhist ethical doctrine according to which means and ends must both be wholesome.

In the consideration of intention and consequence it is important to note that while the former refers to the psychological origin of action, the latter concerns itself with its impact not merely on the individual performing it but on the rest of society as well. This again is a truth particularly recognised in the Buddha's discussion of the ethical problem. The *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M.* I, pp. 414—420), which defines the moral good in terms of consequence, emphasises the fact that a morally wholesome action can be so-called if, and only if, its result is felicific not merely to oneself but to others as well. It is clear from this that a number of conditions will have to be satisfied if an ethically significant action is to pass the test of the moral good as defined in Buddhism. Accordingly, an action whose result is not felicific to the individual or to society or to both as well as an action whose result is felicific to one but not to the other cannot decidedly be a morally wholesome action.

This then is the test that must be applied to the practice of birth control in order to be able to define the Buddhist attitude to it. What is the intention which prompts the use of the methods of birth control ?

Individuals who use methods of birth control as well as governments which pursue policies promoting the practice of birth control are motivated in a wide variety of ways. Hence, there can be no uniformity in the Buddhist attitude to birth control where the latter is governed by a plurality of intentions. An individual may use one or more methods of birth control with a view to avoiding criminal responsibility for impregnating a number of women in the course of his promiscuous sexual life. In this case the availability of effective methods of preventing pregnancy is considered as a licence to a life of debauchery. Such motivation in regard to the use of methods of birth control is contrary to the Buddhist teaching on the rôle of sex in family and social life. Another individual may resort to the use of methods of birth control with a view to avoiding pregnancy in his wife so that he may thereby seek to plan the size of his family for the purpose of ensuring for himself and his dependents the maximum standards of living consistent with his limited income. In this case the methods of birth control are an aid to judicious family planning and the intention is the avoidance of causing unnecessary misery in economic and social life to himself, his wife and his children. Such instances where the intention is as laudable as the consequence realised are in consonance with the Buddhist teaching on health which is viewed not as a negative state of absence of ill-health but

as a positive state of soundness of body and mind as well as a positive state of economic and social well-being.

Governments no less than individuals display variance concerning their motivation towards the practice of birth control. A government may enforce sterility on an unwilling community with a view to denying the latter an important source of political and economic power. In this case, birth control is used as an instrument of repression for the realisation of ends which are decidedly unfavourable to a section of society. Birth control characterised by such motivation and consequence goes contrary to the Buddhist teaching on the democratic liberties of the individual and society and the Buddhist ethical doctrine which emphasises the need for felicific consequence both to oneself and to others in the sphere of moral action.

An enlightened government, on the other hand, may adopt birth control as an instrument of its public policy with a view to solving a related number of political, economic and social problems which have arisen among the people it governs consequent to an excessive birth-rate. India, the land of the Buddha's birth, is a typical instance of an over-populated country with a low standard of living where the government has adopted birth control as one among many methods for the elimination of social poverty and misery among her people. Inspite of the benefits accruing from the greater production and productivity in agriculture and the diversified industrial development of the country, the people of India have not been able to raise the average standards of living on account of the alarming growth of population by several millions each year. Hence the reduction of the birth rate has been made one of the primary national aims by the present rulers of India. The policy followed by the Indian government is paralleled by those of many other governments in the modern world. The intentions governing birth control in this instance are consistent with the Buddhist ethical teaching. According to the Buddha's views on government and policy the rulers have an obligation to ensure the protection and well-being of the people. The *Aggañña Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 80—98) traces the origins of the State and Royalty to a governmental contract between an outstanding leader and a community of free men in need of protection and social well-being born of economic security. And in the *Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta* of the same *nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 58—79) the Buddha has emphasised the primacy of the economic factor in the causality of misery and conflict in the institutional life of society. If the excessive birth rate is a contributory factor to the creation of unwanted and undesirable squalor and misery in social life and if the reduction of the birth rate leads to a corresponding betterment in the mental and material circumstances of life among the generality of people, the Buddhist attitude to birth control governed by such motivation cannot certainly be one of opposition or contrariety. There is ample evidence to substantiate the belief that those who utilise the knowledge and techniques of modern scientific discoveries for controlling the size of family and community consistent with their income will be able to make available to themselves a fuller life rich in social, cultural and spiritual terms.

The causality of conception of life, that is, as described in the Buddhist texts, allows a greater latitude for the practice of birth control. An act of copulation which does not involve the collocation of three essential causal factors cannot, in the Buddhist view, result in the formation of a foetus. The exposition of this view may be quoted in the Buddha's own words: 'Conception, O monks, takes place on account of the coming together of three factors. Where there is sexual union of parents but where the mother is not in her periods and a being awaiting birth (*gandhabba*) is absent, there does not take place conception. Where there is sexual union of parents as well as the mother is in her periods, (but where there is no being awaiting birth) there also does not take place conception. Where, however, there is sexual union of parents, and the mother is in her periods and where there is also a being awaiting birth,' there alone takes place conception ' (*Mahātaṇhāsaṃkhaya Sutta*, *M.* I, pp. 265–267). The sexual union between husband and wife is a voluntary act: the wife knows whether she is in her periods and this knowledge is available to the husband; but obviously what is not known to the husband and wife beforehand is whether or not there is a being awaiting birth. But the comforting assurance available to the husband and wife is the knowledge that, in adopting methods of birth control in the course of sexual union, effective steps have been taken to prevent conception so that there is no destruction of life of a being awaiting birth. To the Buddhist this is the crucial requirement, namely, that no life should be destroyed under any circumstances whatsoever.

Granted that there is no violation of the principle of life consequent to the practice of birth control it might still be objected on teleological grounds that

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such practice constitutes a transgression of the will of God indicative of a refusal to co-operate with him in his purposes. To the Buddhist, however, this objection is both invalid and meaningless inasmuch as he does not subscribe either to a belief in a Creator God or to the existence of a divine teleology. Unlike in theistic systems of belief, the procreation of life is not considered an obligation in Buddhism.

Birth control is a theme relevant to worldly society which through marriage has sought to regulate and civilise the biological urge to perpetuate the species. The primary relation between partners in marriage is rooted in sex and Buddhism recognises this. Marriage, in the Buddhist view, is a vehicle of the passions and is therefore held to be secondary to celibacy. But the life of celibacy is enjoined by the Buddha only on the order of monks and nuns who have voluntarily dedicated themselves to the higher life of the spirit. Hence, monks and nuns do not form a part of worldly society for which the Buddha has taught a distinct code of lay ethics. The *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 180–193), the *Dhammika* and *Maṅgala Suttas* of the *Sutta-nipāta* (*Sn.* pp. 66–70, pp. 46–47) and various other suttas in the Pali *nikāyas* describe in detail the duties of husbands,wives and children to one another. The *Maṅgala Sutta* specifically refers to the duty of the husband to provide for his wife and children. One of the effective ways in which the husband could alleviate part of his handicap of economic poverty is by taking steps to limit the size of his family. There are two ways in which this could be done. The method most acceptable according to the Buddhist view is that of abstinence and continence. Where this method is held to be too exacting and unrealistic in the exciting context of worldly life, the husband who is still intent on restricting the size of his family could avail himself of the techniques of modern science, namely, the non-violent methods of birth control. The psychology that prompts him to resort to this course of action and the consequences that he could assure to himself and his family thereby cannot be held to be contrary to the Buddhist scheme of training which enunciates a graduated path to perfection.

W. S. K.

BIRTHDAY CEREMONY, THE BUDDHA'S. Ceremonies connected with the birth of the Buddha are held in many countries where Mahāyāna is the prevalent form of Buddhism. In Japan the ceremony has acquired a special significance. (See Pls. XV, XVI, XVII) There it is called *Bussho-e Tanjo-e Gōtan-e* because it is the celebration of the birth of Śākyamuni-Buddha (called "Buddha" for short hereafter). The Buddha-statue made to depict his form at birth is called "Birth-Buddha". And by reason of sprinkling scented water or sweet tea on the head of this statue this ceremony is also called *Kanbutsu-e*, or "*Yokubutsu-e* which means ceremony of sprinkling (water on) the Buddha. By celebrating the Buddha's birth, Buddhists hope to meet Maitreya who is believed to be born on earth in the future and attain enlightenment. Therefore, the ceremony is also called *Ryū-ge-e*, that being the name of the congregation in which Maitreya preaches. Recently in Japan, it is named the Flower-ceremony and in the countries of South Asia it is called Vesak, but Vesak commemorates not only his birth but his enlightenment and his parinirvāṇa (or final passing away).

Sprinkling the Buddha statue : Sprinkling Buddha when he was born is recorded in *P'u-yao-ching* (*Lalitavistara*), *Fu-so-hsing-tsan* (*Buddhacarita*) and other sūtras of Buddha's biography. And also in the old stone carving at Mṛgadāva in India, there is the scene in which the Dragon King is sprinkling scented water on Buddha's head. Sprinkling the Buddha-statue on the Buddha's birthday after his death is described in *Kuan-hsi-fu-hsing-huang-ching* as follows : "The reason why April 8th was chosen as the Buddha's birthday is because, from spring to summer, all disasters cease, all creation is awake, no injury obstructs them and it is just the fine season, not too cold nor too warm, so that the day is exactly suitable for the Buddha's birthday. All believers, male and female, must sprinkle the Buddha-statue politely even after his death as if he is present on earth, praying heartily for the infinite power of merit." But, in *Yü-fu-kung-to-ching* translated by I-tsing (635–715 A.C.), we read "Now I will advise kings, cabinet ministers and other believers who pray for the merit of believing, to sprinkle the Buddha-statue everyday, so that they will get no small benefit." And also in *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-chun* it is recorded that there existed a ritual of sprinkling water on the Buddha-statue everyday.

Procession of Buddha-statues : The procession of Buddha-statues is the ceremony of going round with Buddha-statues on beautifully decorated vehicles, on 8th April, the Buddha's birthday. It

reads in *Kuan-fu-san-mei-hai-ching* " After the Buddha's death, he who can go into samādhi (concentration) and think of the Buddha's passing away, and remove sinful deeds, which were piled up for the long time of thousand kalpas. He who cannot think of Buddha's passing away but can see the Buddha's footmarks or procession of Buddha-statues, also can remove sinful deeds accumulated in a thousand kalpas by every step." Besides, it says about the scene of procession: " He who sees the procession of Buddha-statues sees Buddha-statues filled in the worlds of ten directions. When each statue stands up, all the statues of sky and earth stand up from their seats and there appear fifty milliards of flower-like treasure. In each flower appear countless rays. In each ray appear countless transformed Buddhas with various figures according to their minds. He can see all the scene. When the statues go through , there appear flowers on the foot-mark of each step and soon they grow to a lotus-stand. And he can see instruments and masquerades with celestial music and a procession of Buddha-statues fills the worlds of ten directions. Many heavenly beings and the multitude surround the statues. And then the statues will glitter, shine on the multitude and make it golden." By the authority of such teachings explained in canons, ceremonies of procession of Buddha-statues were held actively in India and Central Asia.

At Pāṭaliputra, processions of Buddha-statues were held on the 8th February every year. Believers made wagons, with bamboos, and they were five-storoyed. They were about 20 feet high and their form was like a tower. They were covered with fine wool and with coloured pictures of many heavenly beings, decorated with gold, silver and stones, with silk banners and flags, and covered by canopies. On their four sides, there were shrines in which seated Buddha-statues were present and by their side Bodhisattva-statues were standing to attend on them. Such wagons were counted up to twenty, and all their decorations were different from each other. On that day, not only monks but also laymen assembled, played masquerades and offered flowers and incense. When the procession of Buddha-statues entered into the castle and stopped there, lights were lit all night long and masquerades were played in honour of the Buddha (cp. *Fa-hsien-chuan*).

In Khotan they began from the 1st of April, sweep the roads inside the castle, decorate the streets, pitch a big tent at the castle gate and adorn all the surroundings. The king, queen and their attendant women all assemble. At the place three or four ' li ' distant from the castle, a waggon with a Buddha-statue in it is prepared, which is over 30 feet tall. And its form is like that of a royal palace. It is decorated with seven kinds of jewels and covered with silk banners and canopies. The Buddha-statue stands in the waggon and two Bodhisattvas with heavenly beings attend upon the Buddha. All are carved in gold or silver and are suspended in the air. When the Buddha-statue comes to one hundred paces distant from the castle gate, the king takes off his crown, puts on new clothes, becomes bare-foot, takes flowers and incense and goes out from the castle with his attendants to meet the Buddha-statue. And he salutes it by touching Buddha's feet with his forehead, scatters flower-petals and burns incense in honour of the Buddha. When the Buddha-statue enters the castle, the queen and waiting women scatter many flowers which flutter down beautifully. One temple holds the procession one day and the decorations of all the waggons are different from each other. In this way the procession is held for fourteen days, from the 16th to the 29th April. When all the processions end, the king and queen return to their royal palace. (cp. *Fa-hsien-chuan*)

In Kucha according to the *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* a procession was held about the Autumnal Equinox Day. It is not clear whether the procession was held in commemoration of the Buddha's birthday, but about a thousand waggons of Buddha-statues assembled on a magnificent scale.

According to the Tibetan calendar, the Buddha's birthday is the 15th of January. On that day the Dalai Lama attends the ceremony himself and lectures on the Jātaka. In the night, lights are kindled on both sides of the street in the centre of Lhasa. In the temples and aristocratic Lama houses, government officials, prime ministers, cabinet ministers and other notables offer lights at the roadside. Behind the lights they knead butter and make flames which are over 10 feet high and make decorations with paintings of flowers and birds of various colours. They are reflected by the light and are the chief attraction. In the evenings, the Dalai Lama inspects each light, sitting on a palanquin, led by musicians, accompanied by all the government officers and escorted by guards. The next day criticism and praise will be given on the results of the inspection. To see this grand ceremony, people assemble from various districts, even from Mongolia. This is a function

in the Great Prayer Ceremony (in Tibetan, *smon-lan chen-po*), that is the national ceremony from the 4th to the 21st January to pray for the expansion of Buddhism, the peace of the state, long life of the Lama, the prosperity of Buddhist temples and rich harvest.

In China it is recorded in *Kao-sêng-chuan* that Shih Lo (273–332 A.C.) of the Later Chao Dynasty (319–351 A.C.) visited a temple himself, sprinkled the Buddha-statue and prayed for the happiness of his children on the 8th April every year. It may be the first time the ceremony of sprinkling Buddha-statue was held in China. On the 8th of April, 462 A.D., in Liu Sung Dynasty (420–470 A.C.), the ceremony of sprinkling Buddha-statues was held at the Inner Palace that is recorded in *Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi*. And also in T'ang and Sung Dynasty (618–1279 A.C.) it was held. For instance, it is recorded in *Ta-sung-sêng-shih-lüeh* that in India sprinkling Buddha-statues was held every day, but in China it was held on 8th of December in esteem and on the same day of February or April, because it was the Buddha's birthday. (The difference of two months was owing to the different calendars.) And in *Shih-shih-yao-lan* it is stated that at that time believers sprinkled Buddha-statues on 8th April in the provinces of Chiang-su and Hsi-chiang. According to *Pai-chang-ch'ing-kuei*, the outline of the ritual order is as follows:—Preparations are made carefully and on that day a Flower-hall is made, in which the Birthday Buddha is placed, being kept in a basin. In that basin scented water is stored, and two small ladles are laid before the Buddha. In due time the chief priest comes into the hall, burning incense in honour of Buddha, reads the ceremonial address respectfully for the Buddha and preaches about the law of the Buddha. The ceremonial leader also makes a simple address and recites a verse while sprinkling the Buddha: 'Now I sprinkle many Truth-revealers who are the incarnations of merits adorned by pure wisdom. I pray that all beings, stained by the five defilements, should remove them and attain enlightenment like the pure Law Body of the Truth-revealer.' Chanting the verse of sprinkling the Buddha and moving around in worship, monks sprinkle the Buddha. And lastly they chant the *Śūraṅgama-dhāraṇī* and the verse of merit-transferance.

In *Fa-Yüan-shu-lin* it is stated that in the East Chin Dynasty (318–420 A.C.) Tai-K'uei (-396 A.C.) made five Buddha-statues which were used for the procession. It may be regarded as the first event of the procession of Buddha-statues held in China. In the North Wêi Dynasty (386–535 A.C.) the ceremony became prosperous by degrees. In *Wêi-shu-shi-lao-chih* it is recorded that about the time of Emperor T'ai-wu (408–452 A.C.), he went to the gate tower himself and scattered flowers to pay his respects to Buddhas, when many Buddha-statues on palanquins went through the wide street on 8th April. And in *Fu-tsu-t'ung-chi* we read that the Emperor Hsiao-wên (467–499 A.C.) invited Buddha-statues of the temples in Lo-Yang to be brought to the Palace, worshipped them, scattering flowers, and ordered the custom to be observed every year. According to *Lo-Yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* on 7th April many Buddha-statues in Lo-yang assembled at Ching-ming Temple and they were more than one thousand. On 8th they went to the front of the Palace through the Hsüan-yang gate. And there the Emperor scattered flowers which shone in the sun like golden flowers. Beautifully decorated umbrellas seemed to be floating on a cloud. Flags were standing like a forest and the smoke of incense was drifting like a fog. The celestial music of Buddha Law was sounding so loud as to move the universe. Many saintly priests and men of high virtue assembled there and believers brought flowers. And there were many carriages. A monk of Central Asia saw it and said, "This country is certainly the Land of the Buddha." According to *Chiu-t'ang-shu* and *Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi* in 873 A.C., the year of Hsien-t'ung in T'ang period, they brought the relics of the Buddha from Feng-hsiang-fa-mên Temple, in a palanquin which was decorated with gold, silver and jewels. When it arrived at the capital on 8th April, the Emperor welcomed it at the An-fu Gate Tower and led it to the exercise-hall of the Palace. The multitude made music with drums and trumpet shells. And it was one of the grandest ceremonies. About the years of Shao-hsing (1131–1162) A.C. in the South Sung Dynasty (1127–1279 A.C.), such a ceremony was held at Ling-wu of Hsia-t'i that they put the statues on vehicles which were made with lacquer, clay and cloth on February every year. Attendants were serving around them, covering them with flags and canopies, leading the way with songs and instrumental music and they went round in the city of the castle. People prayed safety for them. It was called "going around the castle" (cp. *Ta-sung-seng-shih-lüeh*).

The Buddha's birthday ceremony in Japan : In *Nihonshoki* it is recorded that on 8th April 606 A.C. in the reign of the empress Sui-o temples were instructed to hold the ceremony of distributing food to believers. It is doubtful, however, that the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha was held concurrently. In the records of properties in Horyuji Temple and Haianji Temple written in 747 A.C. (19th year of Tempyo), the following item is to be seen :—" A set of gold-painted Buddha-statues to be used for sprinkling." And in view of the fact that several Birth-Buddha-statues made in the Nara Period (710–794 A.C.) have been preserved to this day, it may rightly be said that the ceremony of sprinkling Buddha-statues has been held since old times. According to the *Shoku-nihon-koki* and other records, precepter Joan was entreated to hold a ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha at Seiryo-den (Clear and Cool Palace) on 8th April 840 A.C. (the 7th year of Showa) in the reign of Emperor Ninmei. This is the first case of the formal ceremony of sprinkling Buddha-statues being held in the Imperial Palace.

In the *Engishiki* written by Fujiwara Tokihira 871–909 A.C.) and his younger brother Fujiwara Tadahira (880–949 A.C.), it is recorded that one golden Buddha-statue, two Yamagatas (that means mountain-forms), one *tārā* made of gold and copper, four black lacquered tables, one mattress, one bell (like a plate to be sounded with a stick) were prepared for the ceremony. In the *Kujō-nenchū-gyōji* which was, according to tradition, epitomized by Kujō Morosuke (908–966 A.C.), it is reported as follows :—. . . . the Kurando (an official entrusted with the care of the Imperial records) takes the money offered and puts it before the Buddha. And he sets up a table on which money offered by subjects should be placed. Lieutenant and major generals of both the Left and Right Imperial Guards attend the state room. Imperial princes and court nobles come along with money, put it on the table of offerings and sit down. Attendants and secondary generals who are allowed to enter into the Palace, take money and put it on that table by turns. And the leading monk comes and takes his own seat. His five or six disciple monks stand in order on the verandah. First, the leading monk worships the Buddha, chants the verses and scatters the flowers. And then, mixing up the water of five colours, he lifts up the ladle of the water reverently and signs the praises of the Buddha three times while standing. And after sprinkling three times, he chants praises three times again, while lifting up the ladle in reverence. After that, he returns to his own seat leaving the ladle behind. Then, imperial princes and court nobles sprinkle the Buddha-statue in order. The ritual is as follows : " They go to the east side of the table on which a ladle is placed, go forward on their knees three steps, put sceptres in neckbands, lift the ladles to scoop up water, sprinkle the Buddha-statue twice, lay down the ladles and worship with their hands folded once, as they are. And then taking their sceptres they return and sit down on their own seats. After that attendants and secondary generals, who are allowed to enter the palace, sprinkle the Buddha-statue in order. The leading monk calls upon them one by one and believers undertake to guard the country, offering prayers each time after they sprinkle. When the leading-monk withdraws, he takes offerings from the Kurando who deals with the secret documents, holding them up in reverence. He recites a verse and goes out. And then Imperial princes and court nobles leave the scene in order. After that the Kurando and others sprinkle the Buddha-statue. And court ladies perform sprinkling after having bamboo blinds hung from the eaves." In the *Gōke-shidai* written by Oye Masafusa (1042–1111 A.C.), the spectacle of the ceremony of sprinkling Buddha is recorded as '8th Sprinkling Buddha' in the chapter of April, and according to the record, one who was to hold Shinto ceremony just at that time, did not join nor contribute offerings. In *Isei-teikin-ōrai* written by Koka Shiren (1278–1346 A.C.), it seems that the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha's statue was held at the palace of the former Emperor on 6th April. In *Kenmu-nenchū-gyōji* written by Emperor Godaigo (1288–1339 A.C.), it is recorded about the general proceedings of the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha as follows : " On 8th April, the ceremony was held, but not when the Shinto ceremony was to be carried out just at that time. When the ceremony was held, the Shinto ceremony was held from the 9th day of April. On the day of the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha, the offerings made by the court ladies were much talked about. Formerly there were very tasteful things such as variously bound flowers. But in those days, new manners were adopted and they became not tasteful. Bamboo blinds of the main house in the palace were hung, Yamagata was set up at the very place where the imperial throne had occupied formerly. In imitation of the ceremony depicting Buddha's birth, they made a water-fall with threads and various other fixtures. They set a table on the north side and poured water of five colours into five basins. Court nobles assembled and were waiting in the

room called Denjo (it means 'on the palace'). Offerings by the court ladies were kept on the lid of the box for clothes and when they were taken from the room named Daibansho (the station office of court ladies), the Kurando (above-mentioned) took them and put them on the table in the room of Denjo. Court nobles took their own offerings which were named Funatsutsumi (package in the shape of a ship) and put them on the table of plain wood which was placed on the wooden frieze strips of the palace. And they sat down on their seats one after another. In due time, the leading monk came and after performing the usual courtesies before the Buddha, he poured into one basin the water collected from all basins. First, the leading monk sprinkled the Buddha-statue. Then court nobles went forward on their knees in order with scepters in their neckbands, sprinkled the Buddha and worshipped while drawing back a little. And they took out sceptres from their neckbands and retreated." In *Kujikongen* written by Ichijō Kenera (1402–1481 A.C.) in 1420, almost the same record can be read. In *Munetakyō-ki*, the record of Lord Munetake written by Namba Munetake (1697–1768 A.C.), the circumstances when he saw the paintings of sprinkling Buddha before the Emperor Sakuramachi on 28th March 1737 A.C. are recorded as follows: " Previously he was saked about Yamagata for the purpose of restoring the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha, but he could not explain. And in that painting there was a picture of Yamagata. It was like a rock on which were the Buddha, trees, etc. Halfway up the mountain, there were waterfalls symmetrically both on the right and the left sides. And under them there was a cave, in which Birth-Buddha was enshrined. Under the Buddha-statue there was a basin before which were water and a bridge. Beside them there was a man riding on a horse." By this record, we can suppose that sometimes the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha was neglected even in the palace. However, it had been held till the era of Tokugawa (1603–1868 A. C.).

The ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha has been held widely at most Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. In *Nenchūqyōji-hisho* (The secret extract about the chief events of the year) written about 1300 A.C., it is recorded as follows: "People at that time bought flowers and offered them to the Buddha. The ceremonies of worshipping named Tōyokubukki (the ceremony of sprinkling water on the Buddha) were held at many temples. they worshipped the Buddha with incense and flowers, and sprinkled after offering money." In *Tōhōki* written in 1352 A.C. by monk Kōhō (1306-1362 A.C.), it is stated as follows: " The ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha (that is also named Buddha's birthday ceremony) is held at Kondō, the main hall of Tōji in Kyōto, which belongs to Shingon-shū Sect, on 8th April." In *Shiojiri* written by Amano Nobukage (1661–1733 A..C), we read as follows: " The ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha is held at the Shintō shrine of Atsuta on 8th April and is named Hana no Tō (Tower of Flowers). The general public of the capital bind azaleas and new flowers to tips of poles, make them like nine-stories pagodas, set up them at each house on 8th April and name them Hana no Tō. But Hana no Tō of Atsuta is made up mostly of cut flowers. Probably they named it so, since the tower was made from natural flowers." In *Shokokuzue-nenchūgyōji-taisei* (The completion of pictures in countries about the chief events in the year), there is a record of the Buddha's birthday ceremony at the hall of the ordination platform in Mt. Hiei. The Complete Ordination Platform was opened from that day and the ceremony was held, because then the mental training during the summer-time began. Many worshippers came and on that day women also were allowed to worship Hanatsumi shrine in Higashi Sakamoto where was the religious boundary placed under a ban against women on ordinary days. And a Flower-hall was settled there, in which the bronze statue of Birth-Buddha was enshrined. In *Geien-nisshō* published in 1807 A.C. by Murase Yukihiro (1746-1818 A.C.) the following record is given: "On 8th April, the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha was held at temples. Placing the bronze statue of the Buddha in a basin, they steeped it in 'sweet tea.' Rejoicing people sprinkled the Buddha with a small ladle." According to *Edo-meisho-zue* (Pictures of famous places in Edo, i.e. the old name of Tokyo) written by Chōshū Saitō (1737-1799 A.C.), the Buddha's birthday ceremony was held at Hokkedō (the Hall of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka) in Tōeizan Kan-ei-ji Temple on 8th April every year. In *Tōto-saijiki* (The record of the chief events of the year in Tokyo) of Saitō Kōsei (1804-1878 A.C.) it is stated about the ceremony of sprinkling the Buddha on 8th April as follows: " Religious services are held at temples of all sects. In the hall or on the ground, Flower-hills are set up, and bronze statues of Buddha are enshrined. Worshippers sprinkle scented water on the head of the Buddha with small

ladles. Laymen boil water with fresh tea, which is offered to the Buddha with flowers of Deutzia and the flowers of Deutzia are also attached under the eaves."

In Gōhō's *Tōhōki* above-mentioned, the ritual order of the ceremony at To-ji Temple which belongs to Shingon-shū Sect is reported as follows : "First the usual courtesies before the Buddha are acted. Secondly, the ceremonial address is announced. Then monks sit down, and recite 'the verse of four wisdoms.' The leading teacher utters the names of Buddhas. And then taking a ladle he sprinkles the head of the Buddha three times and chants the verse of sprinkling the Buddha. After that monks chant the verse of Lakṣmī (felicity) and sprinkle the Buddha-statue." At any rate, it is prescribed particularly in Zen sect which has the tradition of Pai-chang-ch'ing-kuei. Namely, in *Keizan-oshō-shingi* of Jōkin (1268-1325 A.C.) it is regulated as follows : .... On 7th April, monks decorate the shrine of Buddha with flowers and gather branches of peach, apricot, pine, oak and willow. At dawn of the 8th day, monks boil the water in which the branches of the five trees are put in, and keep it in a basin in which a Birth-Buddha is placed. Two ladles are arranged. Incense and flowers are offered. Various instruments are prepared. A placard of the verse of sprinkling the Buddha will be attached on the pillar of the Buddha-hall. The verse is :—"We worship the Great Saint, Gracious Lord (Bhagavat) and the Noblest One of those living beings who are bipeds. Now we sprinkle the water of merits on the clear Law-body of the Truth Revealer." By and by comes the time when the ceremony must be commenced. The chief priest comes into the hall, burns incense and speaks as follows. "I who established the temple named *Tōkokuzan Eikō-ji* Temple at Nōshū in the Hokuriku districts in Great Japan on the South Jambudvīpa and who is the 54th descendant from Buddha, will burn this piece of incense in honour of Śākyamuni-Tathāgata whose birthday is today, and I hope to repay the grace of Buddha who brought me up with the milk of Law (Dharma)." Next, the ceremonial leader burns a piece of incense and reads Nippon-sho (an address made in Japan) such as :" On the 8th day, the birthday of Śākyamuni, we offer incense, flowers, lights, tea, cakes and other foods and sprinkle the Buddha. We recite *Śūraṅgama-dhāraṇī* and wish to repay the grace of the Buddha with all the meritorious deeds, etc. " And he sprinkles. Also in *Ōbaku-shingi* of Ingen (1592-1673 A.C.) who was a Chinese monk and came to Japan in 1654 A.C., the ceremonial orders of "Buddha's birthday" are explained. Now we shall see the Buddha's birthday ceremony held at Enkaku-ji temple in Kamakura. At dawn of 8th April, monks in the temple decorate the Flower-hall with bouquets at the signal of the drum. And they attach placards of the verse of sprinkling Buddha on the right and left pillars of the Buddha-hall. They prepare the solemn Flower-hall before the platform of the Buddha, place a basin in which the scented water is kept, enshrine Birth-Buddha in it and put two small ladles before the Buddha. They worship and burn incense as usual. The ceremonial leader recites Nippon-sho and monks move around in worship chanting the verse of sprinkling the Buddha. The one who comes before the Flower-hall while moving around, sprinkles the head of Buddha three times. Having recited the verse of sprinkling the Buddha three times, everyone says "I submit myself to the Original Master, Śākyamuni-Buddha" and they move around reciting *Śūraṅgama-dhāraṇī*. Finally, they chant the verse of merit-transference in commemoration of Buddha's birth.

According to *Minkanjirei* (Conventions in the seasons among the people) written by Yamazaki Yoshinari (1797–1856 A.C.), people in those days rubbed ink-sticks in the tea-water which was used at the ceremony, wrote a song for keeping vermin off, and pasted it upside down to conjure the vermin away. In *Nenchu-gyōji-Zusetsu* (Illustration of the chief events in the year) published 1953 A.C. by the Folklore Research Institute in Tokyo, it is stated as follows : "All over the country of Japan there can be seen such customs as people binding the flowers of deutzias, azaleas, alpine roses and shikimis, they put them on tips of bamboos and set up in gardens on the 8th April. In the Kansai districts people call them 'Tentōbana' (flowers in the way of heaven) or 'Takahana' (high flowers) and they use them for various charms, such as to keep off beriberi or lightning and to find out a runaway or a drowning man."

In 1912 A. C. the Young Men's Buddhist Mission held a Buddha's birthday ceremony at the Mission Hall of Asakusa Park in Tokyo calling it "Hanamatsuri." And the Tokyo Hanamatsuri Association was established in 1916 and held "Hanamatsuri" at Hibiya Park in Tokyo. Since then the name of "Hanamatsuri" became popular and the festival has been held on a grand scale by assembling children about 8th April.

In India, the Birth-Buddha was found at Mṛgadāva as mentioned above. And a painting of the Birth-Buddha was found at Tun-huang in China. In Japan there remains "a group of Queen Māyā and attendants" made in the Asuka Period (552–645 A.C.), and several statues of the Birth-Buddha are preserved, which are considered to be used probably at the ceremony of sprinkling Buddha in the Nara Period (646–793 A.C.). Namely, the statues made in the first half period of Nara are preserved in Goshin-ji Temple and Yakushi-ji temple in Nara and also in Yoda-ji temple in Kagawa Prefecture. And then the statues made in the latter half period of Nara re owned by Zensui-ji Temple in Shiga Prefecturer and Tōdai-ji Temple in Nara. Especially the latter is accompanied by an ablution basin. And a statue of the Birth-Buddha made in the Heian Period (794–1184 A.C.) is preserved in Yakushi-ji Temple. And also the one made in Kamakura Period (1185–1332 A.C.) is owned by Daiho-onji Temple in Kyōto.

See also FESTIVALS.

R. SR.

BIRTH STORIES, See JĀTAKA.

BI-RU-BYED-PAḤI RDO-RJEḤI GLU, a translation in Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See VIRŪPA-VAJRA-GĪTIKĀ.

BI-RU-PAḤI GLU. the song of Virūpa, title of a Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit text. See VIRŪPA-GĪTIKĀ.

BISA JĀTAKA, a story occurring in the *Jātakamālā* (*Jm.* pp. 108–116) is the Sanskrit version of the Pali *Bhisa Jātaka* (*J.* IV, No. 488). This Sanskrit version runs as follows:—Once, the bodhisattva was born as the eldest son in a wealthy brahmin family of seven brothers and a sister. When his parents died, he retired to the forest with them; a friend, servant and a maid also joined the group. They lived each in a separate hut but, on every fifth day, they gathered round the bodhisattava to hear him preach. The maid-servant provided them their food from lotus-stalks (*bisa*). She announced the meal-time by striking one piece of wood against another. Then the ascetics came separately to fetch their portions. Meanwhile Śakra, to test the bodhisattva's virtue, stole his share on five consecutive occasions but the bodhisattva made no complaint. On the fifth day, when all assembled to listen to him, they noticed that he had grown emaciated and questioned him. Thereupon the bodhisattva told them the incident. Each of them swore that he was not guilty. The oath consisted of wishing to the culprit all worldly enjoyments. A demon (*yakṣa*), an elephant and a monkey followed them. At this juncture Śakra appeared and asked them the reason for their unusual oath. The bodhisattva explained to him the futility of the worldly enjoyments. Then Śakra confessed to the theft, made an apology and disappeared. (See further BHISA JĀTAKA)

A comparison of the Sanskrit *Jātaka* with the Pali version reveals that these two parallels, in spite of their identical title and the general plot, differ from each other in several aspects such as the motif and the details in the narration, etc. The Pali *Jātaka* was meant to emphasise, seemingly, the ills of backsliding. Its Sanskrit counterpart, on the other hand, appears to be an attempt to portray the loftiness of another aspect of detachment, namely the happiness derived by keeping aloof from worldly pleasures. A comparison of the two aforesaid *Jātakas* would disclose how the Sanskrit redactor had recast the same story, with necessary omissions and additions, so as to bring out his motive effectively.

Absence of nomenclature, which is a marked characteristic in most of the *Jātakamālā* tales as compared with their Pali counterparts. seems to be a salient feature in the *Bisa Jātaka* as well. None of the characters featuring in the narrative are identified by name. Unlike in the Pali version, in this *Jātaka*, the glorification of the bodhisattva's character is not emphasised, the stress being on the significance of detachment.

In the *Bhisa Jātaka*, all, except the bodhisattva, his sister and the maid-servant, are said to have brought in provisions for the ascetics in turn However, in the *Bisa Jātaka*, probably in keeping with brahmanic tradition where women and people of low-birth play a subservient role, that duty is performed solely by the maid servants It is also interesting to note that Sakka in the Pali version is portrayed as a sceptic who suspected the sincerity of the sages. Āryaśūra, however, has redeemed him from that position. He depicts him as a convinced admirer who, out of sheer curiosity, attempts to try the bodhisattva. Further, according to the *Bisa Jātaka* Śakra had tried the bodhisattva for five days at a stretch as against three days mentioned in the Pali version. This extra-severity of the mortifications enforced by Śakra on the bodhisattva makes the latter appear a far superior person than

the bodhisattva of the Pali *Jātaka*, being endowed with a greater restraint and an unparalleled power of endurance.

Yet another remarkable difference found in the *Bisa Jātaka* is the transformation of the deity of the forest into a *yakṣa*.[1] A similar transformation appears in the *Mahiṣa Jātaka* (cf. *J.* II. pp. 385–87; *Jm.* pp. 232–35) too.

Prof. Kern (cf. *Jm.* p. 247a) remarks that the three concluding stanzas found in the *Bisa Jātaka*, which have their conterparts in the Pali version, are not authentic, but spurious. It should also be mentioned in passing, that the *Bhisa Jātaka*, in its recast-form as represented in the *Jātaka-mālā*, excels its Pali original in respect of its refined diction and poetic presentation.

Certain scenes taken from this *Jātaka* are found among the reliefs in the Barabudur temple in Java.

C. S. R.

BKAḤ-BRGYUD-PA (sect).

The Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa is one of the important sects of Buddhism in Tibet. The Tibetan term "Bkaḥ-brgyud" means "the transmission of teachings," that is to say, the tradition of important instructions from master to master. There are two systems in the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect, the first being the Dwag-po Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa introduced by Mar-pa, and the second the San-pa Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa introduced by Khyuṅ-po. This article deals with the first system, introduced by Mar-pa, which consists of the teachings originating from Rdo-rje ḥchaṅ and handed down through a galaxy of masters to Naropa. Followers of this tradition are called the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa.

According to tradition, Tailopa (one of the great Indian savants and teacher of Naropa) duly completed four principal lores (Bkaḥ-babs bshiḥi gdams-pa):

1. The lore of the Collective Esoterics (*gsaṅ-ḥdus*) the doctrine of "the Four Seats" (*gdan bshi*), the Illusional Body and the Consciousness-Transference of the Six Doctrines—the lore started by Rdo-rje ḥchaṅ and handed down successively through Indrabhūti, Klu-las gyur-paḥi Rnal-ḥbyor-ma, Bhisu Kalpa, Saraha and Klu-sgrub to Tailopa.

2. The lore of the Great Illusion (*sgyu-ma chen-po*) and the Dream-state of the Six Doctrines—the lore started by Rdo-rje ḥchaṅ and handed down successively through Ye-śes-kyi Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma Kukuripa and Caryayapa to Tailopa.

3. The lore of the Supreme Happiness (*rde-mchog*) and all the Maternal Tantras and the Doctrine of the Clear Light of the Six Doctrines—the lore started by Rdo-rje ḥchaṅ and handed down successively through Phyag-na rdo-rje, Ḍom-bi heruka, Bhina Vajra and Lwa-ba-pa to Tailopa.

5. The lore of Dgyes-pa Rdo-rje and the Acute Fire (*gtum-mo*) of the Six Doctrines—the lore started by Rdo-rje ḥchaṅ and handed down successively through Phyag-na rdo-rje, Yan-lag-med-paḥi rdo-rje, Padma Vajra and Ḍākima Skal-ba bzaṅ-mo to Tailopa.

Tailopa transmitted these four principal lores to Naropa who in turn transmitted them to the translator named Mar-pa Chos-kyi blo-gros, who founded the sect.

Founding of the surf

He was a native of Lho-brag, born in the Water-mouse year (1012 A.C.). As a boy, he was brilliantly gifted and took great delight in study. Nevertheless, he was of such a headstrong and unyielding nature that he often quarrelled with his teachers and fellows. His father thought that if he should engage in wordly affairs, he would certainly make an unruly and relentless person, and that it was better for him to be devoted to religious study, whereby he might become an upholder of the law. So he was sent to study Buddhism at the age of fifteen under Hbrog-mi. This master refused to communicate the profound tenets without receiving considerable donations. Mar-pa thought to himself that since all profound teachings had been acquired from India it would be better to seek the Truth in that land. Having equipped himself with a knowledge of *śabdavidyā* and procured fifteen ounces of gold, he went to Nepal where he stayed for three years, studying the Tantras of the "Four Seats" and others under Spyi-ther-ba. Later he proceeded to India and studied under Naropa, from whom he got so much encouragement and education that he received the baptism of Dgyes-po rdo-rje seven times, besides learning many tantras as well as important instructions in the practice of religious rituals and in the cultivation of the Perfection Stage (*Rdo-sogs-paḥi rim-pa*). From there, he went to West India and devoted himself to the study of the tantras of "the Gsaṅ-ḥdus" under the

1. The *yakṣa*-concept in India was originally akin to that of the god-concept and its malefic characteristics seem to be a later development through the ages. See further DEMONOLOGY and YAKKHA.

guidance of the śāstra master Ye-śes sñin-po. Again he came back to Naropa and studied the *Sgroṅ-gsal (The Śāstra of the Lamp)*, written by Candrakirti as a commentary on the " Gsaṅ-ḥdus ", and he received extensive instructions in the Baptism of the Great Illusion.

After that he returned to Tibet and propagated the Law. But before long, with the assistance of the wealthy Mar-pa Mgo-yags who provided him with a great amount of money, he went to India again. At that time, Naropa, with a view to going into seclusion, had given out that he had entered Nirvāṇa. Mar-pa in his conviction that Naropa was not dead but living in some obscurity was determined to seek him out. He wandered widely in the east and the south of India, and on the way met a number of great experts and gained much knowledge thereby. Finally, in a wild forest he found Naropa and succeeded in learning the Buddhist doctrines as he had craved for. Furthermore, Naropa gave him the following prediction :

" The darkness of *avidyā* shall be swept away,
As the Light of Wisdom o'er the Land of
Bhoṭa (Tibet) shines. "

On his journey back to Tibet by way of Nepal, he paid a visit to Pham-ḥthiṅ-pa, one of Naropa's disciples, and other masters, who hearing the story of his search praised his noble deeds. It was in his forty-second year that he returned to Tibet. For a period he dwelt at Lho-brag, engaged in the propagation of the Law.

Afterwards, on hearing of the fame of Maitripa, he again went to East India, where he learned many esoteric doctrines and in addition got instruction on the Great Symbol (or Great Seal, *Phyag-chen*). On his way back to Tibet, he was delayed by the guards at the boundary pass of Nepal. During his stay there, he had a dream in which he saw Saraha (one of the great accomplishers of India) at Mount Dpal-gyi ri (in South India), by whose instruction and strengthening he realized the state of " myriad things in one taste ". Back in Tibet, he took up his dwelling at Gro-bo-luṅ, and after devoting the rest of his life to propagating the Law and converting the people, passed away at the age of eighty-six (1097 A.C.: but *The Lhun-grub Chos-ḥbyuṅ* puts his death at the age of eighty-four).

Thus, Mar-pa Blo-gros first studied *śabdavidyā* from Hbrog-mi, and afterwards journeyed thrice to India and four times to Nepal in search of the Truth, coming in contact with one hundred and eight very learned men, including such masters as Nāropa, Maitripa, Ye-śes sñin-po and Shi-ba bsaṅ-po. He heard lectures on the Gsaṅ-hdus and other tantras of the Supreme Yoga class, investigated thoroughly into the various doctrines and practices and attained the State of Great Symbol under the direction of Maitripa. He had many pupils, the most prominent among them being the four chief disciples, viz., Rṅog-ston Chos-sku rdo-rje, Mtshur-ston Dbaṅ-ṅe, Mes-ston Tshon-po and Mi-la ras-pa. To the first three disciples he transmitted the knowledge of interpreting the tantras which was handed down through successive generations in developing the baptism and practice of the Gsaṅ-ḥdus, the Supreme Happiness, the Dgyes-pa rdo-rje, the Four Seats and the Great Illusion, as well as the interpretation of various tantras. The Baptism of the Gsaṅ-ḥdus and the interpretation of tantras handed down by Mtshur-ston Dbaṅ-gi rdo-rje (i.e. Mtshur-ston Dbaṅ-ṅe) were afterwards transmitted to Bu-ston and the Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa, in whose hands this tradition gained extensive prevalence and unbroken continuity down to the present time.

To Mi-la ras-pa he communicated the lore of practice. Mi-la, also named Thos-pa dgaḥ, was born at Guṅ-thaṅ of La-stod in the Iron-dragon year (1040 A.C.). When he was young, his father died and his property was seized by his relations. This wrong hurt him so much that when he grew up he learnt the art of taking life and he brought wholesale destruction to his relatives, altogether thirty-five in number. But here long pangs of repentance overtook him, so that at the age of thirty-eight he went to Lho-brag and entrusted himself to the care of Mar-pa. The master first set him various kinds of hard labour to purge him of his sins, and then gave him full instructions in baptism and practice. At the age of forty-five, he returned to his native town and after the cremation and burial of his mother's remains, he gave up worldly pleasures in pursuit of religious cultivation. He spent six months in meditation at the foot of Mount Ḥphags-paḥi ri outside the village. Having achieved the Internal heat, which enabled him to resist hunger and cold, he took up his abode on the top of Mount Skyi-roṅ-gi ri with only nettle (a kind of wild plant) for sustenance. After nine years of concentrated meditation, he achieved the magic power of perfect control over the air and the True Wisdom was revealed to him. Being equipped with the samādhi of complete freedom and with a view to profiting the herdsmen in the western regions of Tibet, he went first to the snow mountain of Gans-ti-se and subdued the Bonists who were said to be able to fly in the air on magic drums. Thence, he betook himself to meditate in the snow mountain

of La-phyi, where for one whole year he lived in isolation, barred on all sides by heavy snow and subsisting solely on the nourishing powers of the joy of the mystic trance. After that, he started his life as an itinerant preacher, travelling over extensive areas of mountains and wild marshes, preaching and converting a great number of herdsmen. He died at the age of eighty-four, in 1123 A.C. He had many accomplished disciples with Ras chuṅ-ba Rdo-rje grags and Dwags-po Lha-rje Bsod-nams rin-chen as the leading figures.

Ras-chun-ba, originally named Rdo-rje grags, was born at Guṅthaṅ, in the Wood-mouse year (1084 A.C.). He lost his father when young and had to rely upon his uncle for subsistence. At the age of eleven, he met Mi-la ras-pa who taught him the art of Acute Fire, which enabled him to resist the cold. At fifteen, he fell a victim to leprosy and was obliged to dwell in isolation. Three Indians happened to see him, had pity on him and took him to India where he learned the *vidhi* of the Garuḍa under the śāstra master Balacandra, and before long was cured of his disease. Back in Nepal, he attached himself to Atuladasa and other masters receiving among other esoteric teachings the teaching of Supreme Happiness. Then he returned to Tibet and resumed his study under Mi-la. His master said to him, "In India there are nine *vidhis* of the bodiless Ḍākinī, of which we have got only five, and it is our duty to find out the other four. Therefore, go you now to India and procure them so as to make this kind of Dharma complete". Under this instruction Ras-chun-ba again went to India, met Tipupa, disciple of the two masters Naropa and Maitripa, and from him obtained the Dharma he desired along with many other teachings. These nine methods he presented to Mi-la when he was back at home. Mi-la transmitted them to Nam-rdsoṅ ston-pa, who compiled them into a book which was handed down as the *Bde-mchog sñan brgyud* (Verbal Instruction of the Supreme Happiness). The doctrine directly transmitted by Ras-chun-ba himself was called *Ras-chun sñaṅ-brgyud* (Verbal Instruction of Ras-chuṅ). From that time on, Ras-chuṅ-ba betook himself to travel over various places in central Tibet (Dbus) propagating the Law and taking many disciples including Lo-byi mgo-pa and others all of whom were illustrious men of the time. In the Iron-serpent year (1161 A.C.), he died at the age of seventy-eight.

Dwags po Lha-rje, also named Bsod-nams rin-chen, was born in the Earth-sheep year (1079 A.C.). He was a physician when young, hence called Lla-rje (an appellation of honour given to a physician). He left home at the age of twenty-six and received the precepts of a bhikṣu, studying various teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect under such learned masters of that sect as Bua-yol-ba, Snug rum-pa and Lcag-ri goṅ-kha-ba. In addition, he practised meditation, and was able to enter into a trance for thirteen days. At the age of thirty-two, he heard of the fame of Mi-la, and went to Western Tibet (gtsaṅ) and asked for his instruction. From Mi-la, he learned the Art of the Acute Fire and achieved perfect control over the Air. Thirteen months later, by order of his teacher, he returned to Dbus to cultivate himself. After three years of energetic effort, he perceived the mind-nature, and realized the ultimate Truth of all Dharmas. In accordance with his teacher's instruction, he devoted himself to concentrated meditation in various quiet places, cut off from all communication. Twelve years later, he erected the Sgan-po monastery, engaging himself in the work of preaching and converting the masses. He combined the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa doctrine of the Stages of Enlightenment and Mi-la's doctrine of the Great Symbol into the treatise of Lam-rim thar-rgyan, instructing pupils with the Stage of the Simultaneous Union of the Great Symbol. He died in the Water-bird year (1153 A.C.) at the age of seventy-five. Dwags-po Lha-rje's adherents are generally known as Dwags-po Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa. Among his many disciples, the best known are Dwags-po sgom-tshul, Phag-mo grub-pa, Hbah-rom-ba and Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa who will be further treated in the later part of this article.

Development: The Dwags-po Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa branched into many sub-sects.

(1) The Karma Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, founded by Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, a disciple of Dwags-po Lla-rje. He was originally called Dpal Chos-kyi grags-pa, born in Khams in the Iron-tiger year (1110 A.C.). At the age of sixteen, he became a monk, relying on Tre-bo Mchog-gi bla-ma (a disciple of Rṅog Lo-tsa-ba) and learned from Yol Chos-dbaṅ (a disciple of Atiśa) and others the doctrines handed down by Atiśa. At the age of nineteen he went to Tibet and was trained in śāstras of Maitreya, the Mādhyamika doctrine and the Hetuvidyā under Rgya-dmar-ba and Phywa-pa Chos-kyi seṅge. Furthermore, he studied the Stages of Enlightenment of Bkaḥ-gdams-pa under Śa-ra-ba, the Mādhyamika under the translator Pa-tshab, the "Road and Fruit" (*lam-hbras*) under Rdor-seṅ (disciple of Sa-chen) and Vinaya in detail

under the Mal-ḥdul-ḥdsin and accepted the bhikṣu ordination. It was in his 30th year (according to the *Blue Annals* and the *Lhun-grub chos-ḥbyuṅ*, but it is 33rd year according to the *Thuhu-kwan Lhos-ḥbyuṅ*) that he came into association with Dwags-po Lha-rje. and thereby eradicated all his doubts concerning the intimate tenets of the Great Symbol. He also learned from Ras-chuṅ-ba at Lo-ro the various doctrines transmitted by Naropa and Maitripa, and devoted himself to meditation in many quiet places, attaining wisdom in regard to saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa. When he was fifty he came back to Khams, taking up his abode and preaching the Law at Skam-po gnas-naṅ, a monastery of more than one thousand monks. Some time later he went again to Tibet and founded the Karma Lha-steṅ monastery, and hence it was named as Karma-pa. Besides, he founded the Mtshur-phu monastery, to the great benefit of the common people. He died in 1193 A.C. at the age of eighty-four.

The sect of Karma Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa was formally established by Karma-pas chief disciple, Saṅs-rgyas ras-chen, Ras-chen's disciple Sbom-brag-pa and others. The latter had a disciple, Karma pakṣi, originally named Chos-kyi bla-ma, who was born in the Wood-mouse year (1205 A.C.). He was a man excellent in both knowledge and character. During the Yüan dynasty, he went to China Proper and Mongolia to propagate the Law, and founded monasteries on his way in Khams. It was during his time that the influence of the Karma sect became equal with that of the Sa-skya-pa sect. Later, he transmitted the abbacy of the Mtshur-phu monastery to his disciple U-rgyan-pa and died in the Water-sheep year (1283 A.C.) in his 80th year. Notwithstanding the fact that Pakṣi's claim as the re-incarnation of Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa has been denied by some people, yet in tracing the religious lineage of the Karma-pa, there is general agreement to set Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa in the first generation and Pakṣi in the second. The next re-incarnation of Pakṣi was Ran-byun rdo-rje, and the fourth generation was Rol-paḥi rdo-rje. Thus, the re-incarnation goes on until the present generation which is the sixteenth. During the Yüan dynasty, the Emperor conferred on Pakṣi the title of Preceptor of the State and honoured him with the gold-rimmed black cap. Thence, after Pakṣi, this sect was also called the Black Cap Sect (Shwa-nag can).

Distinguished from this sect, there was another sect, the sect of the Red Cap, founded by Grags-pa seṅge, a native of Khams, born in the Water-sheep year (1283 A.C.). He went to Tibet and studied all doctrines, both exoteric and esoteric, under such learned masters as Karma Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje, and achieved high attainments in knowledge and practice. For many years, he engaged himself in propagating the Law so that the Yüan Emperor bestowed on him the honour of the gold-rimmed Red Cap, and hence the name of Sect of Red Cap (Shwa dmar-ba). He had many disciples, the best known being Gyag-sde Paṅ-chen. The lineage of this sect was carried on through more than ten re-incarnations until it came to an end at the time of Emperor Ch'ien Lung of the Ch'ing dynasty.

(2) The Phag-grub Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa. Phag-mo grub-pa, the founder of this sect, one of the chief disciples of Dwags-po Lha-rje, was born in the southern part of Khams in the Iron-tiger year (1110 A.C.). He left his family at the age of nine, was named Rdo-rje rgyal-po, and soon became skilled in the arts of writing and painting. In Khams he enjoyed the company of sixteen learned friends and gave lectures on the *Spyod-ḥjug* and other śāstras. At the age of nineteen he entered Tibet, learning at first the Mādhyamika doctrine and the science of Hetuvidyā under Rgya-dmar-bo and Phya-pa Chos-kyi seṅge at Stod-luṅ. At the age of twenty-five, he received ordination as a bhikṣu at the Zur-phu monastery under Bya-ḥdul-ḥdsin, and studied the Vinaya. He also studied various teachings of both exoteric and esoteric schools under Dmar Chos-rgyal, Dpal-chen rgwa-lo, Sa-chen kun-sñin, Ḥbyims Lo-tsā-ba and Byaṅ-sems zla-ba rgyal-Mtshan. Afterwards he went to the Sgam-po monastery and learned the doctrine of the Great Symbol from Dwags-po Lha-rje. At the age of forty-nine, he founded a monastery in the Grove of Phag-mo grub-pa to propagate the Law, and was hence named Ḥgro-mgon phag-mo grub-pa. In the Iron-tiger year (1170 A.C.), he died at the age of sixty-one. His successors formed the sect of Phag-grub Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa.

(3) Tshal-pa Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa. The founder of this sect, Bla-ma-shaṅ, was born in the Water-hare year (1123 A.C.). His original name was Dar-ma grags. From his ninth to the eighteenth year, he made extensive studies in both exoteric and esoteric teachings. At twenty-six, he was ordained as a bhikṣu, named Brtson-ḥgrus grags-pa, and soon afterwards he learned the doctrine of Supreme Happiness and various esoteric doctrines from Rgwa-lo. At the age of thirty-three he associated himself with Sgam-po-ba Tshul-khrims sñin-po, a disciple of Dwags-po Lha-rje, who communicated to

him the Great Symbol of Simultaneous Union. And with the power of the instruction of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, he achieved insight into the essential nature of the mind. Afterwards he founded the Tshal Guṅ-thaṅ monastery where he undertook to popularize the Law and to extend conversion among the people. In the Water-ox year (1193 A.C.), he died at the age of seventy-one. Each of his chief disciples, viz., Nam-mkhaḥ ḥod, Hdul-ba ḥod, Ñi-mod ḥod and Śākya ḥod, founded a monastery of his own. The monastery of Klu-btul Dgon-pa founded at Kha-rag by Ḥdul-ba ḥod once had more than ten thousand monks. Among those who administered the Tshal Guṅ-thaṅ monastery were Śākya ye-śes, Byaṅ-chub ye-śes, Ñi-ma ḥod, Saṅs-rgyas ḥbum, Saṅs-rgyas sñiṅ-po, Saṅs-rgyas ras-pa, and Gser-khaṅ stens-pa, forming an unbroken line and henceforth known as the sect of Tshal-pa Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa.

(4) Ḥbri-guṅ Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa. The founder of this sect, Ḥjig rten mgon-po, was born in the Water-hog year (1143 A.C.) at Hdan-ma of Khams. His original name was Rin-chen dpal. From early years, he had been associating with Phag-mo grub-pa and hearing his lectures on the Great Symbol, and clearly perceived the truth of all Dharmas. At the age of thirty-five, he was ordained as a bhikṣu (thirty-five according to the *Blue Annals*, but twenty-five according to the *Thuhn-kwan chos-ḥbyuṅ*). At thirty-seven, he took up his abode at Hbri-gun, building a monastery for the propagation of the Dharma. Monks gradually flocked around him. At one of his religious assemblies there were 55, 525 monks attending, and during one retreat in a rainy season there were around him one hundred thousand bhikṣus receiving "lots". He died in the Fire-ox year (1217 A.C.) aged seventy-five. His learned disciples were numerous. Among those who succeeded him in office were Spyan-sṅa Riṅ-po-che, Dbon Riṅ-po-che, and others who carried on his work and thus formed the sect of Ḥbri-gun-pa.

(5) The Ḥbrug-pa Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, founded by Glin-ras padma rdo-rje and his disciple Gtsaṅ-pa rgya-ras, Gliṅ-ras was born at Ñan-stod in the Earth-ape year (1120 A.C.). Since boyhood he was skilled in writing and reading. He began to study medicine at the age of eight, and accepted the precepts of an upāsaka at seventeen. At thirty-five he learned from Sum-pa, disciple of Ras-chun-ba, all the doctrines transmitted by the latter. At thirty-eight, he became a pupil of Phag-mo grub-pa. Within barely three days of practising according to the master's instructions, h achieved the expected accomplishments. Thenceforth he travelled from place to place preaching. In the Earth-ape year (1188 A.C.), he died at the age of sixty-one.

Gtsaṅ-pa rgya-ras, the chief disciple of Gliṅ-ras, was born in the Iron-serpent year (1161 A.C.). He began to study the Law at twelve under his elder brother Skal-ldan, and became a monk at thirteen taking the name Śes-rab dpal. Later he was ordained by Bla-ma-shaṅ, and took another name, Ye-śes rdo-rje. In his twenty-second year he met Gliṅ-ras at Ra-luṅ for the first time, and held discourses with him concerning the meanings of the Law. Later, at Sna-phu, he again came into associating with this master, hearing his instructions on the Six Doctrines of Naropa, the Simultaneous Union, etc. Within barely seven days of practice, he acquired the capacity of resisting cold with very thin clothing. After that, he betook himself to meditation in seclusion, and achieved perfect union of the activities of the Air of his body both intrinsic and extrinsic, the complete mastery of various supernatural powers and the samādhi of the Enlightenment and Void as extensive as Space. He unearthed the record of the method of the "Six Tastes of Indifference" by Ras-chuṅ-ba and laboured on its exposition. In order to propagate the Law, he founded the Klon-rdol monastery according to Bla-ma-shaṅ's prediction, the Ra-luṅ monastery according to the prediction of his Tutelary Deity (Yi-dam) and the Ḥbrug monastery according to Gliṅ-ras prediction. ("Ḥbrug" means "thunder". This monastery was so named because a thunder-clap was heard at the time of its founding).

This sect soon became widespread, and hence there was the common saying, "Half of the Tibetans are Ḥbrug-pas, half the Ḥbrug-pas are beggars, and half of these beggars are accomplishers". Among the master's innumerable disciples, there was one named Lo-ras-pa Dbaṅ-phyug brtson-ḥgrus, who took thirteen vows and propagated the doctrine of the "Five Powers". From him was derived the system of the Lower Ḥbrug (Smad-ḥbrug). Another disciple named Rgod-tshaṅ-pa Mgon-pa rdo-rje took twelve vows, and added the vow of the Armouring to make the total number of thirteen. In addition, he took three vows concerning the body, speech and thought, seven vows for the time being and five vows for the highest attainment; and his wonderful deeds were incomprehensible. From him was derived the system of the Upper Ḥbrug (Stod-ḥbrug), whereas those who succeeded him in the abbacy of the Ḥbrug monastery itself, beginning from Dar-ma seṅge (nephew of

Gtsaṅ-pa rgya-ras), formed another system, i.e., the Middle Ḥbrug (Bar-ḥbrug). These three systems of the Ḥbrug-pa sect are still prevalent in Tibet, keeping their religious lineages on the whole unbroken.

(6) The Stag-luṅ Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, founded by Stag-luṅ than-pa cheṅ-po. He was born in the Water-dog year (1142 A.C.), and became a monk at the age of eighteen, taking the name Bkra-śis dpal. More than once he wished to go to India to study the Law, but failed. At the age of twenty-four, he went to Phag-mo grub-pa, who out of compassion taught him all his doctrines. One day, when walking about with this teacher, the pupil seated himself on the lawn intending to meditate. Phag-mo, pointing his staff at his heart, said "Our Lord Naropa told us that we should cultivate ourselves according to the principle of the Non-substantiality of all Dharma nature. He who achieves the various devices by way of the 'Four Infinite Characteristics', out of the knowledge of the Self-less Void, attains the state of Non-abiding in Nirvāṇa." Thus, by observing this very profound instruction, he succeeded in the "Non-observance Yoga of the Great Symbol". After the death of Phag-mo grub-pa, he went to Mal-gro, receiving the teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa from Ḥchad-ka-pa (or Ḥchad-kha-pa), and was ordained a bhikṣu by Śa-ra-ba. At the age of thirty nine, he founded a monastery to spread Buddhism at Stag-luṅ at the request of the people of that place, and hence had the name of Stag-luṅ thaṅ-pa. He was well-known for his strict discipline. Ever since he became a monk, he never crossed the threshold of a layman's house, never tasted meat or wine nor offered meat or wine to a guest; and he forbade women to enter the monastery. He died at the age of sixty-nine in 1210 A.C. At the time of his death, the monks of that monastery were more than three thousand, in addition to his numerous disciples. The abbacy was succeeded to by this nephew, Rin-chen mhon-po, who enlarged the monastery and enhanced his accomplishment. His grand-nephew Saṅs-rgyas dpon-po built another monastery, known as Ri-bo-che, in Khams. Since then, the Stag-luṅ sect branched off into Ya-thaṅ and Ma-thaṅ, with 3,800 monks in each place. Later on many monasteries of this sect were founded in Gtsaṅ, Dbus and Khams, and a great number of eminent figures have come out of them.

(7) The Ḥbaḥ-rom Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, founded by Dar-ma dbaṅ-phyug, a native of Ḥphan-yul, the dates of whose birth and death have not been verified. It is said that when he was still a boy, one day there came up to him a young sorcerer who recounted for him the virtues of Sgam-po-ba (i.e., Dwags-po Lha-rje), and the two set out together to see the Master. When they reached the monastery the sorcerer disappeared, whereupon he realized that the sorcerer was no other than the manifestation of Sgam-po-ba himself. With the assistance of the Master who communicated to him many methods of practice, he attained to a very high state of cultivation. Later, he went to the Northern part of Tibet and built the Ḥbaḥ-rom monastery for propagating Buddhism among the populace, lecturing on the doctrines of the "Great Symbol of Joy and Voidness" and the "Great Symbol of the Ultimate Truth." He had many advanced disciples, of whom Tisri Ras-pa was the foremost. His abbacy was inherited successively by his descendants.

(8) The Gyaḥ-bzaṅ Bkaṅ-brgyud-pa, originated from Skal-ldan Ye-śes seṅge, a disciple of Phag-mo grub-pa and a native of Mon-ḥgar. He died in the Fire-hare year (1207 A.C.), but the date of his birth has not been verified. He was a shepherd in his youth. One day, when he was tending sheep on the mountain, he caught the distant sight of the mountain where saw the Phag-mo Grub-pa monastery, and instantly felt in himself the effect of samādhi. On the way, he heard two men who had been engaged in the practice of meditation discussing about the state of trance, and he thought instantly: "If they be practicers of meditation, then I have done that myself". Later, he went to the above-mentioned monastery to pay homage to Phag-grub, who told him, "you were a religious practiser in your previous life who transgressed *samaya* rules. When you were in your mother's womb you gave much pleasure to her body and mind, and in this life you can enter trance spontaneously. These are indications of your previous practices. Yet there are symptoms of your previous transgression, one of them being the fact that you cannot go to sleep except by lying with your face downward." And on receiving a specific instruction, he immediately realized the attainment of excellent virtues, and hence he took the name of Skal-ldan Ye-śes seṅge (" Skal-ldan " means the one who possesses good qualities). Afterwards he built the Zwa-ra Dgon-pa monastery to propagate Buddhism and elevate the masses.

His foremost disciple was Gyaḥ-bzaṅ chos-rje (The *Blue Annals* puts "Gyam" in place of "Gyaḥ"), born in Gtsaṅ, in the Earth-ox ar (1169 A.C.). As a monk he took the name Chos smon-lam, and studied the precepts under Klub-dkar Tshul-hkrims grags (a disciple of Sa-mi Smon-lam ḥod). He was entitled Gnubs dḥul-ḥdsin

(Gnubs, the master of the Vinaya) on account of his strict observance of disciplinary rules. When he was twenty-eight years of age, Klub-dkar died. While greatly grieved by this bereavement, he heard of the fame of Ye-śes seṅge of the Zwa-ra monastery and conceived deep reverence for him. At this first meeting with Ye-śes seṅge, he immediately realized the attainment of perfect congruence with the master both in mind and in thought. He entrusted himself to Ye-śes seṅge and got fully trained in the profound esoteric doctrines of the Great Symbol and the Six Doctrines of Naropa. In 1206, he founded the Gyaḥ-bzaṅ Dgon-pa monastery where he trained many disciples. He died at his sixty-fifth year in the Water-serpent year (1233 A.C.). Among his successors were his four chief disciples, including Dpal ri-ba Saṅs-rgyas bya-sgom. His tradition was carried on henceforth under the title of the Gyaḥ-bzaṅ Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect.

(9) The Khro-phu Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa, founded by Rin-po-che Rgya-tsha, a disciple of Phag-mo grub-pa, and his brother Kun-ldan ras-pa. Rin-po-che Rgya-tsha was born at Śab-smad, Gtsaṅ, in the Earth-dog year (1118 A.C.). He began to learn the arts of writing and mathematics at the age of five. As a boy, he was by nature free from clinging to wordly affairs, and disposed to the study of Buddhist doctrines. He learnt under Gnur ñi-ma and many other masters. At the age of nineteen, he went to Dbus and joined the company of Dmar Chos-kyi rgyal-po, studying the Dharma for several years. At twenty-five, he returned home once, but ere long he went to Dbus again in pursuit of his studies. Following the advice of Dmar Chos-kyi rgyal-po, he entrusted himself to Phag-mo grub-pa from whom he learnt the doctrine of the Great Symbol. And from Thod-ston grub-pa (also called Thod-smgon bsam-hgrub) he learnt the teachings of Gcod-yul. Altogether he had approached eighty two masters, and in his 54th year (the Iron-hare year, 1117 A.C.), he was ordained as a bhikṣu. In order to enjoy the company of four bhikṣus, he bought a plot of land at Khro-phu, built a monastery and gathered together more than twenty monks there. In his teachings he laid emphasis on concentrative meditation, and sometimes he performed baptisms for his disciples, too. He died in the Wood-hare year (1195 A.C.) at the age of seventy-eight.

His younger brother Kun-ldan ras-pa was born in the Earth-dragon year (1148 A.C.). When Kun-ldan ras-pa was a boy, one day, on taking provisions to his brother at the monastery of Phag-mo grub-pa, he heard a lecture on the biography of Mi-la ras-pa. As he thought that he too should do the same, he immediately made a sign by nodding thrice towards the assembly. Thereupon, he entrusted himself to the instruction of Phag-mo grub-pa and, after due practices, became highly accomplished in the attainment of excellent virtues. He died at the age of seventy in the Fire-ox year (1217 A.C.).

Khro-phu Lo-tsa-ba, nephew of Rgya-tsha and Kun-ldan, was born in the Water-serpent year (1173 A.C.). At the age of six, he began to learn and at eight went to Rgya-tsha to study the Dharma. At ten he received the precepts of a śrāmaṇera, being named Tshul-khrims śes-rab (according to the *Blue Annals*, but the *Thuḥu-kwan chos-ḥbyuṅ* records his name as Byams-pa dpal). At nineteen, he was ordained as a bhikṣu, and learnt from his uncles all the 136 teachings transmitted by the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect and the thirteen chief traditional practices. Moreover, he learnt Sanskrit, written and oral, from Skaṅ Dge-ba. At twenty-four, he went to Nepal visiting the śāstra master Buddhaśrī and learning extensively various doctrines, both exoteric and esoteric. There he met the śāstra master Mitra whom he invited to Tibet to propagate Buddhism. Mitra stayed in Tibet for eighteen months, during which he performed the ceremony of strengthening the Foundation of the Khros-phu monastery. After Mitra returned to India, Buddhaśrī was invited to Tibet to superintend the erection of the great Buddha image of that monastery. When Buddhaśrī took leave for home, Khro-phu made to him an offering of three hundred ounces of gold. Later, Khro-phu went again to India and invited Śākyaśrī, a well-known śāstra master of Kaśmīra, to propagate the Dharma and perform ordination in Tibet, conferring great benefit on the populace. Other disciples of Rgya-tsha and Kun-ldan, such as Lce-sgom and Ma-cig re-ma, also assisted hro-phu in his work. The tradition was thus broadly carried on under the title of the Khro-phu Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect. One of the adherents of this sect, named Bu-ston Rin-chen grub (1290—1365 A.C.), afterwards preached the Dharma at Sha-lu, and thus founded the Sha-lu-pa sect.

The sub-divisions of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect may be explained from the different aspects of the teachings upon which different masters laid in their instructions. As Stag-luṅ ṅag-dbaṅ rnam-rgyal says in his *History of Buddhism*, " To sum up, while all the branches of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect are founded on the common basis of the thought of

renunciation of the Śrāvakayāna, the mind for bodhi of the Mahāyāna and the pure *samaya* of the Mantrayāna, each sub-sect has its own specific, excellent points, e.g., the Commentary on Tantras of Mar-rnog, the austerities and instructions of Mi-la, Sgam-po-ba's discrimination of the Substantial Nature, Karma-pa's indifferentiation of the Air and the mind, Bla-ma-shan's Ultimate Truth, Ḥoaḥ-rom-pa's Bsre-ḥpho and gseb-lam (two methods in the practice of the Great Symbol), the esoteric mantras of Phag-grub, the thirty-nine memoirs of Stag-luṅ-pa, Ḥbri-guṅ-pa's Three Moral Precepts in One Principle, Gtsaṅ-pa rgya-ra's principle of Causal Origination and the Universal Taste, Lo-ras and Rgod-tshan's faith in the Truth and renunciation of the world, etc. Each sub-sect, besides the general range of fundamental doctrines that it must include, has specific methods of its own in instructing disciples, in accordance with the particular aspects that it emphasizes in propagation. As a whole, however, all these sub-sects are in conformity with the holy creed of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect."

The Essential Doctrines of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect. The philospohy of Mar-pa, founder of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect, is the doctrine of Mādhyamika of Candrakīrti. His theories on discernment, cultivation and practice, and his expositions on the sūtras are chiefly derived from the system of Naropa and Maitripa, the two pre-eminent masters from whom he received instruction, especially from the latter to whom he owed the perception of Truth and the eradication of doubts. In one of his poems, he writes:

" I've been to the East, the land beyond the Holy Ganges,
Where, by the favour of Maitripa, Lord Compassionate,
The non-orinigation of the Dharma-nature I discern.
Embracing in my mind *śūnyatā*, Truth Ultimate,
I perceive the Absolute that is removed from sophistry,
The real source of *Trikāya* being revealed before me,
By virtue of which all sophistry I repudiate."

This asserts that it is through the instruction of Maitripa that he arrives at the comprehension of the doctrine of non-origination, the condition of the absolute. As both Naropa and Maitripa are adherents of the system of Candrakīrti, so are Mar-pa's views in accordance with the Mādhyamika theory of Candrakīrti. The same may be said of Mi-la. For instance, he writes:

" In compliance with your common sense,
The Buddha mentions all as things existing;
But in the transcendental truth,
There's neither Māra nor Buddha;
No one achieves, and nothing's to be achieved;
No paths, no stages for one to go through:
Nor body nor function for Buddhahood;
For this reason, Nirvāṇa is not.
As expedients in names and terms only,
Hence are this triple-region, these containers of sentiences.
In fact, there are no Self, no Birth,
No primary cause and no aiding conditions,
No karma, and therefore no karma-reward,
No such a thing as life-and-death . . . . .
Such is the Truth Supreme."

This is a denial of all wordly phenomena, from forms to Buddha-wisdom, a denial of the whole range of dharmas on the ground of the supreme conception of the voidness. Again he says:

" The non-existence of living beings implies
The non-existence of Buddhas of Three Times;
Without cause, the effect is null . . . . .
T'is only complying with the wordly truth
That the Buddha relates as things existing
The life-and-death and Nirvāṇa."

This *gāthā* asserts that saṃsāra as well as Nirvāṇa, the power of performing as well as the object performed, all causes as well as effects, may be treated as existing, notwithstanding the fact that they do not exist in reality. Again he says:

" The wise man having grasped this truth,
Sees the content of wisdom, but not the senses,
The Buddha, but not the living beings,
The dharma-nature but not dharma itself."

This means that a wise man who has obtained the fundamental insight into *śūnyatā* sees only the undeluded phenomena of wisdom and not the deluded phenomena of the sonses. This treatment of the two forms of statement, i.e., *saṃvṛti-satya* and *paramārtha-satya*, is in accordance with the Mādhyamika theory of Candrakirti.

The tradition of the Great Symbol of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect does not lay stress on literary discourses, but rather on experiential knowledge, that is, the acquisition of the wisdom of the Great Symbol. The master, under whose instruction one acquires this wisdom, is revered as the principal teacher. At the time of Mar-pa and Maitripa, the transmission of the Great Symbol generally began by the initiation of the " Wisdom of Acute Fire "

(*gtum-moḥi ye-śes*), which gives rise to the " wisdom and power of the Great Symbol (*Phyag-rgya chen-poḥi rtogs-po*). Hence the Great Symbol is considered as the " Perfection Stage ". At the time of Dwags-po Lha-rje, those who were not yet baptised might also receive the doctrine of the Great Symbol, but the performance belonged to the category of exoteric Buddhism. Dwags-po once said to Phag-mo grub-pa, " The fundamental doctrine of this Great Symbol of mine corresponds with the *Mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra* of Maitreya ". The same statement was made by Phag-mo grub-pa to Ḥbri-guṅ-pa. This is also the reason why in the writings of Ḥbri-guṅ and his disciples are found many expositions on the *Uttara-tantra-śāstra*.

Among the more intimate disciples, however, the esoteric Great Symbol was also communicated, and since the time of Dwags-po Lha-rje, the Great Symbol has been differentiated into the exoteric and the esoteric.

The exoteric doctrine holds the conception of the voidness of all things as the Great Symbol, which Shaṅ Tshal-pa (i.e. Brtson-ḥgrus grags-pa) calls the " Sole White Dharma ". Thus, we find that Mar-pa, Mi-la, Dwags-po Lha-rje and his disciples as Phag-mo grub-pa, Hbri-guṅ-pa, Gliṅ-ras-pa, Dus-gsum Mkhyen-pa, Stag-luṅ-pa and others have many points in their theories in common with one another. All of them lay great importance on the causal origination of wordly phenomena, but at the same time do not discard the functioning of the discriminative intelligence. What one has to do in cultivating this Great Symbol is to practise first the non-discriminative samādhi with one's thought concentrated on the circumstanced self-substance of one's own mind, and then try to ascertain whether this circumstanced " mind " is abiding inside or outside the body, or midway. And, as it is not to be found in any state, one realizes the immateriality of the mind. After that, one proceeds to meditate concentratedly on this " immaterial mind ". It is called the contemplation on the void-nature of the mind. This is the Great Symbol of the exoteric system.

The Present Conditions of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect: After Mar-pa, Mi-la and Dwags-po, the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect began to spread more and more predominantly over all other contemporary sects in rapidity and extension. As the consequence of the steady ascendancy of its influence, many of its sub-sects actually caught hold of the reins of local governments, and were responsible for many of the political disturbances in Tibet during the Yüan and Ming dynasties. For instance, Situ Byan-chub rgyal-mtshan who seized the sovereignty of the Sa-skhya-pa sect in 1349 A.C., belonged to the sect of Phag-mo grub-pa; Rin-spuṅs-pa Nor-bu bzaṅ-bo who seized the sovereignty of Phag-grub-pa sect in 1435 A.C., and later Karma Tshe-brtan rdo-rje, etc., were adherents of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect. Besides, Lha-ma Shaṅ once wilfully started war. The abbots of the Ḥbri-guṅ-pa and Stag-luṅ-pa sects also established ruling hierachies over their respective areas. Especially in 1290 A.C., the Ḥbri-guṅ monastery in a strife against the Sa-skya pa sect was burned and reduced to ashes. Later Shabs-druṅ Spru-luṅ-pa, who indulged himself in the practice of the art of life-taking, finally destroyed his own lineage by the reflexive power of his art. The Karma-pa-sect participating in the political intrigue of Karma Bstan-skyoṅ and others brought great calamity to the sect with the invasion of Gu-śri Bstan-ḥdzin Chos-rgyal in 1640 A.C., Especially calamitous was the case of Cho grub rgya-mtsho of the Red Cap Karma-pa sect, who treacherously plotted with the Gurkha's army to attack the Bkra-śis lhuṅ-po monastery in Gtsan in 1790 A.C., and thus brought deprivation and imprisonment upon himself, destruction to the monastery and complete collapse to the Karma-pa sect. At the present time with the exception of the sect of the Black Caps of the Mtshur-phu monastery, who maintain their tradition by prudently avoiding making trouble, and the Grub-pa Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect who engage themselves in itinerant preaching and self-cultivation and thus suffer no serious changes, all other sub-sects of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect are on the decline from their past prosperity.

F.

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BKAḤ-DPA PHYI-MA, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The names of the author and translator are not known (*TM.* No. 2332).

The title of the text induces one to believe that the work is a rejoinder or subsequent annotation (*phyi-ma*) on a book (*dpe*) dealing with the injunctions of the Buddha (*bkaḥ*).

R. H.

BKAḤ-GDAMS-PA Sect is one of the chief sects of Buddhism in Tibet.

In Tibetan, "*bkaḥ*" denotes the words of the Buddha and "*gdams*" means teaching. Thus, "*Bkaḥ-gdams*" means all the words uttered by the Buddha which form the Tripiṭaka, i.e. sūtra, vinaya and abhidharma and which are also included in "the stages of the three *puruśas*" as taught and propagated by Atiśa. Ḥbrom-ston-pa once said :

"The rare words of the Buddha which form the *Tripiṭaka*
Are embodied in the solemn tenets of the three *puruṣas*,
Like golden treasury and pearl beads ;
Whoever counts them gets profit."

Origin: This sect was founded by Atiśa, extended by Ḥbrom-ston-pa, enlarged and glorified by the three Dharma brothers (see the first paragraph of the second section) and its further development was carried on by Glaṅ-ri-than-pa, Śa-ra-ba and Bya-yul-ba, etc.

After the Buddhism of the earlier period of propagation in Tibet has been destroyed by the Tibetan king Glaṅ-dar-ma most Buddhists paid greater attention to the esoteric sect and despised the exoteric teaching, respected more the instructions of teachers and overlooked the teachings of sūtras and śāstras. In the meantime, there was a group of people paying special regard to Vinaya and denouncing the esoteric teaching. Hence there existed a conflict between the adherents of the exoteric and esoteric sects. The greatest shortcoming was that there were no definite teachings about the stages of cultivation in right practice. Many people who had not the fundamental qualities of the supramundane mind and the mind for bodhi, yet presumed to aspire to the lofty and profound esoteric teaching. Without thoroughly knowing the truth of dharma they ventured in accordance with the mere words of the esoteric teaching, to practise Black Magic, etc. This not only contradicted the intention of the Buddha's teachings, but even formed the greatest cause of crime. In order to remedy this stage of things the kings of Mṅaḥ-ris, Ye-śes ḥod and Byaṅ-chub ḥod, regardless of large expenditure of wealth and even sacrifice of lives, repeatedly sent messengers to India and invited Atiśa to come to Tibet to propagate Buddhism. After his arrival he exercised a far-reaching influence and therefore founded the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect.

Atiśa was the second son of King Dge-baḥi-dpal of Za-hor in East India,born in 982 A.C., and originally named Candragarbha (Zla-baḥi sñiṅ-po). From early childhood he did not hanker after the throne and went abroad to seek teachers from whom he might learn the "Dharma." He received the abhiṣeka of Hevajra from the great yogin Rāhulagupta-vajra of Black Mountain. From his instruction he got the power of meditation in the progressive steps of two kinds of development. For seven years he studied under the distinguished Buddhist Avadhūtipa, three of them in cultivating the practice of by-laws. Later (in 1010) he went to the Mahābodhi monastery at the Vajrāsana where, under the guidance of the master of *Vinaya*, Śīlarakṣita of the Mahāsāṅghika school who was established on the Path of Added Progress, he was ordained a bhikṣu and received the Buddhist name Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. In his thirty-first year he studied all the sacred books of the four schools (Mahāsāṅghikas, Sthaviravādins, Sammitīyas and Sarvāstivādins) and understood their different ways of observing the fundamental rules. From Dharmarakṣita, the master of Abhidharma in Odantapuri, he learnt the *Mahāvibhāṣā* for twelve years. His other teachers of both exoteric and esoteric teaching were Jñānaśrīmitra, the younger Kuśali, Jetāri, Kṛṣṇapāda, the younger Avadhūti-pa, Dombi-pa, Vidyākokila, Matijñānabodhi, Naro-pa, Mahājana, Bhūtakoṭi-pa, Dānaśrī, Prajñābhadra, Bodhibhadra, etc. He learnt most of the teachings handed down through numerous lineages from Ratnākaraśānti. Later he studied under Dharmakīrti who enjoined on his disciples first of all to make up their mind to attain the great bodhi. For a long time Atiśa occupied the first seat in Vikramaśilā monastery and his fame was widely known. After Ye-śes ḥod and Byan-chub ḥod had repeatedly sent Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅ-ge and Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba and others to give him an earnest invitation, he promised to go to Tibet. In 1040 A.C., he started from India. In the next year he went to Nepal to disseminate Buddhism and reached Mṅaḥ-ris in the following year and lived in Mtho-ldiṅ-gi gtsug-lag-khaṅ. He preached many precepts and dharmas to the great satisfaction of Byaṅ-chub ḥod and other persons, secretly taught various ways of abhiṣeka and gave them unlimited instruction. Moreover, he was asked by Byaṅ-chub ḥod to write treatises to counteract the different evil deeds which were diametrically opposite to the teachings of the Buddha.

Accordingly Atiśa wrote the *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma* showing the stages for three *puruṣas*. In the treatise it is said that the *puruṣa* of the lowest grade should think of death and the transitoriness of all things, for if one has not made up one's mind to renounce the world, one cannot imbibe the teachings

of the Buddha. If one considers the five aggregates (*pañcaskandha*) to be one's ego, one can never hope to get emancipation; if one is not determined to attain the great bodhi one cannot enter the way of Mahāyāna. Again, in Mahāyāna, if *upāya* is not combined with *prajñā*, and if attention is paid only to voidness one can never attain Buddhahood. If one has not understood the nature of reality, one cannot be given the real second abhiṣeka (secret abhiṣeka) and the third abhiṣeka (widsom abhiṣeka). As a result of his laying special emphasis on the fruits of karma, he was particularly called the " Master of Karma-fruit. "

At that time the Tibetan translator Rin-chen bzaṅ-po was already eighty-five years old. On Atiśa's asking him what sort of doctrine he had been studying, he gave a rough-and-ready account. Then Atiśa clasped his palms by way of showing respect and said, " Since you are in Tibet, there is no need of my coming here." Again he asked, " According to all the tenets of the Tantras, how should a man cultivate himself on his seat of contemplation ?" The translator replied, " He ought to do so according to the different ceremonies and rituals. " Thereupon Atiśa said, " You are addle-headed ; Tibet still needs me. To make cultivation effectual, we ought to combine all the necessary principles. " Then Atiśa taught the translator the *Magic Mirror of Tantric Incantations*. This gave rise to the great faith and reverence on the part of the translator and he submitted his previous translations, i.e., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, *Viṃśati-ālokā* (*ñi-Khri snaṅ-ba*), *Great Commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, etc., to the Indian saint for rectification.

Byaṅ-chub hod said, " With regard to the sūtras and tantras I believe and understand *Guhyasamāja* ; as to the chief object of my worship, it is Avalokiteśvara ; please point out to me the way which can suit both." Thereupon Atiśa taught him the method of using the *Guhyasamāja Mantra* of the school of Buddhajñānapāda with Avalokiteśvara as the chief object of worship. He lived in Mnaḥ-ris for three years. After that, Ḥbrom-ston-pa came to him and requested him to go to Tibet to preach the Buddha's doctrine, to which he agreed. Ḥbrom-ston-pa immediately sent messages to the Saṅgha of Tibet, bidding them come forward to invite him before the setting in of autumn. In compliance with their request Atiśa travelled eastward. Later, he reached the Bsam-yas monastery where Lha-btsun Bodhirāja ('lha-btsun' being an honorary title given to a member of the royal family who leaves home and becomes a Buddhist monk) served him very well and many Buddhist scholars came to meet him. As Khu-ston (named Brtson-ḥgrus gyuṅ-druṅ) who was one of the renowned masters of that time praised the excellent beauty of the locality of Thaṅ-po-che, Atiśa went to the monastery there and stayed one month. Because Khu-ston did not serve him well and because Ḥbrom-ston-pa came to invite him he crossed the river and went northward. On the way he stayed one month in Ḥon-lha-khaṅ. Later, he returned to Bsam-yas and lived at Dpe-dkar gliṅ, co-operating with Nag-tsho in translating Vimuktasena's *Viṃśati-ślokā* (*Ñi-Khri snaṅ-ba*), Vasubandhu's *Commentary on the Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-Śāstra*, etc.

Atiśa examined all the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in that monastery and found that there were many which were lost in India. He observed that so far as the prosperity of Buddhism in the past was concerned, India could hardly compare with Tibet. When he later arrived at Sñe-thaṅ more people came to listen to his preaching. To Dgon-pa-ba and Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po he taught the methods of practising meditation and established an institute for this particular purpose. To a large crowd he explained the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* of which Phya-dar ston-pa made notes and this came to be called the text of the Kham sect. Again he lectured on the *Ñi-khri snaṅ-ba* and taught Ḥbrom-ston-pa the doctrines of the stages of the three *puruṣas*, etc. Later he was invited to Lhasa by the translator Rṅog Legs-paḥi śes-rab. At the request of Rṅog, the Master, together with Nag-tsho, translated Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā* (a commentary on *Mādhyamakahṛdayakārikā*) and wrote out both a brief version and an amplified one of the *Dbu-maḥi man-ṅag*. He later returned to Sñe-thaṅ, where, though he did not preach much, yet many obtained a great deal of benefit through his personal instructions. Afterwards, on the invitation of Rṅog Byaṅ-chub ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Atiśa went with many followers to Yer-pa where he co-operated with Nag-tsho in translating Asaṅga's commentary on *Mahāyānottaratantra*. Later, on the invitation of Ka-ba Śākya dbaṅ-phyug, he arrived at Ḥphan-yul where in the monastery Lan-pa sbyil-bur, he did a great deal of preaching. After travelling to different places to propagate Buddhism he again returned to Sñe-thaṅ. As he grew weaker in physique he entered Nirvāṇa on the 20th day of the 8th month in 1054 A.C.

Atiśa's five famous disciples in India were Paṇḍita Pitopa, Mādhyamika-siṃha, Mitraguhya, Jñāmati and Paṇḍita Kṣitigarbha. His disciples in Tibet were Lha-btsun-pa, and his nephew Byaṅ-chub

ḥod, the translators Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, Chag Khri-mchog, Dge-skyoṅ, Śes-rab ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Rgya brtson-seṅ, Dge-baḥi blo-gros, Śākya blo-gros, Tshul-khrims ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Ḥgos Khug-pa, Shaṅ-btsun yer-pa-ba, Khu-ston, Rṅog Legs-paḥi śes-rab, Ḥbrom ston-pa Rgyal-baḥi ḥbyuṅ-gnas, Byaṅ-chub rin-chen Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po, Dban-phyug rgyal-mtshan Dgon-pa-ba, Phywa-dar ston-pa, Byams-paḥi blo-gros, etc. After Atiśa's death, his adherents during his life-time followed Ḥbrom-ston-pa to Stod-luṅs and temporarily lived there. On the invitation of a patron in Ḥdam-pa, in 1056 A.C., the Rwa-sgreṅ monastery was built, where the Master and his disciples settled down and the Bkaḥ-gdams pa sect was thus founded.

Dissemination of the Doctrine Atiśa taught Ḥbrom-ston-pa, Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen po, Dgon-pa-ba, etc., both esoteric and exoteric tenets. After Atiśa's death, Ḥbrom-ston-pa with his fellow-adherents built the Rwa-sgreṅ monastery at Ḥdam-pa and preached the Dharma and devoted themselves to following the right path. The number of adherents was a little over sixty but they were all true devotees. Hence it was said that the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect put more value on quality rather than on quantity. Their successors in propagating Buddhist teaching were Phu-chuṅ-ba Gshon-nu rgyal-mtshan, Po-to-ba Rin-chen gsal, and Spyan-sṅa-ba Tshul-khrims ḥbar known as "the three brothers." To them probably should be added Kham-luṅs-pa Śākya yon-tan, to form the so-called "four great disciples." Ḥbrom-ston-pa preached in Rwa-sgreṅ for nine years and died in 1064 A. C., at the age of sixty. Though he was well versed in both esoteric and exoteric tenets, he generally lectured on *Aṣṭasāhaśrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, its great and brief commentaries, *Ñi-khri snaṅ-ba*, etc. As to esoteric doctrine, he kept it a secret and very seldom talked about it. But with regard to the treatise on esoteric incantations, *Jñānasiddhi*, he did some translating and checking work. In the past, when Atiśa was in Bsam-yas, he imparted all the different ways of using esoteric incantations and Dohā (name of songs of the esoteric sect) to Ḥbrom-ston-pa, but the latter, in order to avoid misdeeds and faults of taking the esoteric teaching at its face value, was unwilling to popularize it at random and deliberately retained it in secret.

The successor of Ḥbrom-ston-pa was Byaṅ-chub rin-chen. Since in Ñan-tsho he got the opportunity of getting near to Atiśa he had tended his horse and done a great deal of other menial service. But he never left his work of meditation and concentration and was therefore called Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po. He thoroughly understood the two forms of truth as taught by Atiśa. From 1065-78 A. C., he occupied the high seat for fourteen years and finished the building of Rwa-sgreṅ monastery which was started by his predecessor. He was born in 1015 and died in 1078 at the age of sixty-three. Among his chief disciples were Stod-luṅs-pa, Rin-chen-sñiṅ-po and Lhab-mi chen-po.

Succeeding Byaṅ-chub rin-chen as the high priest was Dgon-pa-ba, whose surname was Ḥdsen and whose original name was Dban-phyug rgyal-mtshan. He was born in 1016. When he was a novice under the guidance of Atiśa in Ñan-tsho he devoted himself exclusively to contemplation and concentration. Whenever he met with any stumbling-block Atiśa always taught him how to overcome it. As his concentration led to super-natural talents, once he sat observing his own breath for three days and nights in succession without the least sign of movement. His pupils thought that he might have died. But suddenly he came out of his samādhi and said smilingly, "Because I feel ill at ease, I am practising holding my breath." Having occupied the high seat for five years, he died in 1082 A. C., at the age of sixty-seven. Of his numerous disciples, Snehu-zur-pa, Shaṅ Ka-ma-pa, Gñan-sna-mo-ba and Ḥbre Ko-de-luṅ-pa were the four greatest. Kha-rag sgom-choṅ also relied on Dgon-pa-ba to learn the teaching of the venerable one. The death of Dgon-pa-ba left the high seat vacant. Therefore it was said that there was a death of Buddhist teaching in Rwa-sgreṅ monastery. Later on, Po-to-ba was invited to be the resident superintendent for three years; most successors could not hold the seat for long.

Phu-chuṅ-ba Gshon-nu rgyal-mtshan, one of Ḥbrom-ston-pa's three chief disciples, was born in 1031 A. C. He was once a close adherent of Atiśa. After the Master's death, he relied upon Ḥbrom-ston-pa for his further improvement in Buddhist learning. The latter instructed him in all the ways and means of the Four Noble Truths together with the esoteric teachings of Bkaḥ-gdams-pa (on the method of Sixteen Points of Enlightenment, etc.). After Ḥbrom-ston-pa's death he led a secluded life in the mountains, assiduously doing the meritorious work of making offerings to the Three Jewels, but he did not have any followers. Whenever anybody wanted to learn from him he taught him the Four Noble Truths. He died in 1106 A. C. at the age of seventy-six. Karma-grags was one of his few disciples.

Po-to-ba Rin-chen gsal was born in 1031 A. C. He left home to become a monk under the guidance of Glan Tshul-byaṅ of Rgyal monastery. He laid special emphasis on the law of retribution. During the year in which he managed the affairs of Br. gs-rgyab monastery he did not drink one more cup of milk than any other monk. He was highly intel-ligent and understood many sūtras. At first he thought of concealing his name and going to Khams to do devotional work in some out-of-the-way place. In 1058 A. C. when he was twenty-eight years old he went to Rwa-sgreṅ to see Ḥbrom-ston-pa who inspired him with a deep faith and high admiration. Then he settled down in the monastery to learn Buddhism from the Master. Whatever his Master taught he could comprehend and believe in. From the year of Ḥbrom-stoṅ-pa's death to his fiftieth year he relied exclusively on self-cultivation. After 1081 A. C., when he was fifty-one years old, he began to accept followers and preach the sūtra. His adherents often amounted to more than one thousand. As an itinerant teacher he had no fixed abode. He showed a great deal of forbearance towards others' ridicule. The doctrine he preached was chiefly based upon the *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma* ; the other texts dealt with were *Mdo-sdeḥi rgyan-pa* (*Sūtrālaṃkāra*), *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi sa* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*), *Bslab-pa Kun-las bdus-pa* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*), *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-pa* (*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*), *Skyes-paḥi rabs-kyi rgyud* (*Jātakamālā*) and *Ched du brjod-paḥi tshoms* (*Udānavarga*). These are called the "Six Treatises of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa." The explana-tion of the text of sūtras and śāstras was associated with practice and it was so thorough that not a single word was left out. The name of Bkaḥ-gdams was henceforward greatly glorified. In the late years of his life he built the Po-to monastery and lived there to disseminate Buddhism. In 1105 A. C. he died at the age of seventy-five. He had a large number of disciples and their works had far-reaching influence. The most famous of his pupils were Bya-yul-ba, Dol-pa, Glan-ri thaṅ-pa and Śa-ra-ba, of whom the last two were particularly prominent. Originally Dol-pa's surname was Rog and his name, Śes-rab rgya-mtsho. He closely followed Po-to-ba for twenty-two years. When he later preached he had about one thousand followers. He died in 1131 A. C. Bya-yul-ba's original name was Gshon-nu ḥod and he was born in 1075 A. C. Formerly, he was a disciple of Stod-luṅs-pa. He realized the nature of the voidness of all dharmas. He could practise samādhi in disturbing circumst-ances and the influence of his teachings spread far and wide. He died in 1138 A. C. Glan-ri thaṅ-pa was originally called Rdo-rje seṅ-ge. He was born in 1054 A. C. and died in 1123 A. C. Like Po-to-ba, he often lectured on the five treatises of Maitreya, and had a following of more than two thousand pupils. He took the vow that he would become a bhikṣu in every birth. It was under his guidance that Khyuṅ-po rnal-ḥbyor left home and received his ordination. His most prominent disciple was Śa-bo sgaṅ-pa Padma byaṅ-chub. Śa-ra-ba Yon-tan grags was born in 1070 A. C. ; in his early years he became a monk under the instruction of Po-to-ba. He was highly intelligent and had a strong memory ; thus he could recite the text of the whole Tripiṭaka. When Po-to-ba died most of his disciples flocked to Śa-ra-ba. He attracted a following of 3,600 disciples, taught them some of the voluminous treatises and helped Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags, the translator, to propagate Mādhyamika doctrines. He died in 1141 A. C. Though he had a large number of pupils, the one who received his particular instructions on how to attain bodhicitta was Ḥchad-kha-pa Ye-śés rdo-rje. He wrote the treatise *Seven Meanings of Making up one's **Bodhicitta***. Among later successors of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect were Śe-spyil-bu-pa, Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, Lha luṅ-gi dbaṅ-phyug Byaṅ-chub rin-chen, Lḥa Hgro-baḥi mgon-po Byaṅ-chub ḥod, Lha Ḥbrag-Kha-pa Blo-gros ye-śes, Lha Zur-hbaṅ-pa Dbaṅ-phyug ye-śes, Lha Blo-gros ḥod, Lha Rin-chen seṅ ge, Lha Śākya Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, Bsod-nams lhun-grub, and Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, as they propagated in succession the teachings of this sect.

Spyan-sṅa-ba Tshul-khrims ḥbar was born in 1038 A. C. ; in his early years he became a monk and studied the Buddhist doctrines under Ma-la Śes-rab sems-dpaḥ. When he was twenty years old he went to Rwa-sgreṅ to be a close adherent of Ḥbrom ston-pa. The Master once said to him, "The cluster of 84,000 doctrines cannot all be easily mastered ; you had better devote yourself to cultivating your discernment about the nature of the Void. You can come alone when you see my tiffin smoke." Therefore he went regularly at the fixed time. Hence his name Spyan-sṅa-ba, i.e., the Servitor. He received many occult teachings of Atiśa. When Ḥbrom-ston-pa died he sought further attainment from Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po, Dgon-pa-ba, Śes-rab rdo-rje, and others. He was very intelligent ; as a result of his knowledge of Sanskrit he could translate Buddhist sūtras and śāstras into Tibetan. He could recite all the esoteric incantations (dhāraṇīs) extant in Tibet. Besides, he performed various meritorious works and had inconceivable *samādhibala* and supernatural

powers beyond description. He died in 1103 A. C. Among his numerous disciples, Stod-luṅs-pa Rin-chen sñiṅ-po and Bya-yul-ba Gshon-nu ḥod were the most outstanding, and their influence was great.

The other disciples who propagated the Master's teachings were Kham-luṅs-pa Śākya yon-tan, also a disciple of Ḥbrom-ston-pa, Ka-ma-pa śes-rab ḥod, also a disciple of Dgon-pa-ba, Sneḥu zur-pa Ye-śes ḥbar, the two translators, Rṅog Legs-paḥi-śes-rab and Nag-tsho and others. Thus the doctrine of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect was spread all over Tibet.

The Doctrine: Ḥbrom-ston-pa once said, "It is only my master who can cultivate himself in right practice and imbibe all holy teachings with what is called the four-squareway (a technical term in Tibetan Buddhism with different interpretations)." Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po said. "What is called the understanding of the teachings does not mean a definite comprehension of a little book about the size of a palm, but it means that all Buddhist Canons are teachings and should be understood." Sgom-pa Rin-chen bla-ma said, "To know śīla helps dhāraṇī, while dhāraṇī gives assistance to śila. No other people know this except my master." In a word, the special characteristic of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect is that it includes all Buddhist sūtras within its scope and that it considers that comprehensive knowledge is the most favourable condition for attaining Buddhahood.

As is generally known, the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect can be divided into two sub-sects: the Canon sub-sect and the Instruction sub-sect, or into three sub-sects, including the Discipline sub-sect.

I. **The Canon sub-sect**. Po-to-ba may be regarded as the first patriarch of this sect. It inherited Atiśa's view that all sūtras and śāstras are means and ways of attaining Buddhahood. Therefore, all canonical texts form the basis of the teachings of this sect. But so far as Atiśa's writings are concerned, they fall into three classes : (1) Those dealing with right views such as *Bden-pa-gñis-la ḥjug-pa*, *Dbu-maḥi man-ṅag*, etc. (2) Those dealing with the ways of discipline of the bodhisattvas such as *Spyod-pa bsdus-paḥi sgron-ma*, *Byaṅ-chub-tu-sems-bskyed-paḥi cho-ga*, *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi sdom-paḥi cho-ga*, etc. (3) Those dealing with both the right view and right conduct such as *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma*. Again, of the six treatises often taught by the Canon sect, *Bslab-pa kun-las bsdus-pa* and *Spyod-pa-la ḥjug-pa* laid emphasis on both right view and right conduct, while *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi sa Mdo-sdeḥi rgyan-pa*, *Skyes-paḥi rabs-kyi rgyud* and *Ched-du brjod-paḥi tshoms* stressed particularly the conduct of the bodhisattvas. Besides, the One Hundred Minor Dharmas inculcated by Atiśa, also form one of the canons of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect.

II. **The Instruction sub-sect.** This was founded by Spyan-sṅa-ba, and it may be said to lay stress on the right view. To this sect belong the teachings of Spyan-sṅa-ba on the Four Noble Truths, those of Phu-chuṅ-ba on the principle of "arising from conditional causation," and those of Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po on the two forms of truth, the teachings on the Four Noble Truths and the theory of "arising from conditional causation", emphasized the notion of soullessness (*anātman*) while those on the two forms of Truth stressed the more subtle notion of non-entity (*dharmanairātmya*). Rnal-ḥbyor-pa-chen-po secretly taught this to Gro-lun-pa and Spyan-sna-ba and the latter secretly passed it to Stod-luṅs-pa and Bya-yul-ba. Later, Stod-luṅs-pa preached it in public and wrote a number of books to expound it. This creed which lays stress on conduct is an instruction which cultivates the great bodhi by way of regarding others as oneself. It is grounded on the scriptures of Mahāyānism in general, and on *Avataṃśaka-sūtra*, Nāgārjuna's *Rin-chen ḥphreṅ-ba*, Śāntideva's *Bslab-pa Kun-las bdus-pa* and *Spyod-paḥi la-ḥjug-pa* in particular. Besides, Atiśa's master, Dharmarakṣita's *Blo-sbyoṅ mtshon-cha ḥkhor-lo*, *Rma-bya dug ḥjoms*, Byams-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor's *Rdo-rjeḥi glu*, Gser-gliṅ-pa's *Sems-dpaḥi rim-pa* and *Rnam-rtog ḥbur-ḥjoms* etc. are also referred to. Later, writings such as *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi rim-pa*, Glan-ri than-pa's *Tshigs-brgyad-ma*, Śa-bo sgaṅ-pa's *Blo-sbyuṅ*, Khams lun-pa's *Thun-brgyad-ma*, Ḥchad-kha pa's *Blo-sbyun don bdun-ma*, etc. were new developments of this sub-sect. The teachings contained in these works which interpret the double cultivation of both right views and right conduct, are the stages of the three *puruṣas* and the basic scripture is *Byaṅ-chub-lam gyi sgron-ma*. The various kinds of instructions on right views and right conduct as mentioned above are mere branches from this main stem. As the stages of the bodhi path contain all the necessary instructions, they are therefore called the creed of doubly cultivating both right views and right conduct.

III. **The Discipline sub-sect.** The teachings of this sub-sect are those given by Atiśa at Yer-pa to the three persons: Khu-ston, Rṅog Legs-paḥi śes-rab and Ḥbrom-ston-pa. The latter passed

them to the three brothers: Phu-chuṅ-ba got the whole instruction, Spyan-sṅa-ba a greater part of it while Po-to-ba a lesser part of it. Rṅog Legs-pahi śes-rab again passed them to Mṅah-ris-pa Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan and the latter in turn taught Phu-chuṅ-ba. Since then for several generations the successor was only a single man. In the time of Ḥbrom Kumāra-mati the sphere of propagation was slightly enlarged. It was not until the time of Dge-ḥdun grub-pa (the first Dalai) that the influence of the sub-sect spread throughout the territory of Tibet. The creed of this sub-sect teaches that one should always fix one's mind on the five-fold meditations: (1) that one should be dependent on masters and elders; (2) that oneself is the Yi-dam (tutelary god); (3) that one's ordinary words are equal to recited incantations; (4) that all sentient beings are one's parents; (5) that the essence of all mental activities is intrinsically void. The chief method of mental cultivation is that of the "Sixteen Points of Enlightenment." Those who adhere to this method can in one sitting practise from the rules of abstinence up to the dharmas of the Vajrayāna. It was admitted that the higher one's view was, the more prudent one's conduct would be. The four saints venerated by this sect are Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Green sgrol-ma and Mi-gyo-ba and the scriptures taught are the Tripiṭaka. The four saints and the Tripiṭaka combined are called "The Seven Jewels of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa Sect."

Its Influence: Since Atiśa came to Tibet he rectified and systematized the Buddhist teachings which had already been prevalent in this region so as to enable the thoughts on the quintessence of view and conduct to be more widely spread. Thus all contemporaneous and later sects without exception were influenced by the teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect. For instance, when the translator and first patriarch of the Bkaḥ brgyud-pa sect, Lho-brag mar-pa, went to India for the last time he met Atiśa on the way and heard much of his preaching. What is specially apparent is that Dwags-po lha-rje had already studied the teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect under the direction of Rgya-yon-bdag, a disciple of Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po before he learnt the *Mahāmudrā* (Great Symbol) from Mi-la ras-pa. Thus the method taught by him was the joint cultivation of both the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa and *Mahāmudrā* and for this particular purpose he wrote *Lam-rim thar-rgyan*. His pupil, Phag-mo gru-pa, learnt the teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa from Dge-bśes dol-pa and wrote *Bstan-rim-gyi bstan-bcos*. Similarly, Ḥbri-guṅ ḥjig-rten mgon-po learnt the teachings of Bkaḥ-gdams from Glan lun pa; Mgon-po Stag-luṅ than-pa chen-po from Ḥchad-Kha-pa and Karma dus-gsum mkhyen-po from Śes-rab rdo-rje, a disciple of Śa-ra-ba. Pedagogically speaking, so far as right conduct was concerned they all cultivated themselves according to the teaching of Bkaḥ-gdams-pa. Therefore, the reason why *Mahāmudrā*, the six ways of teaching, etc. of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect could become the instructions leading the enlightened mind to the Mahāyāna truth can be traced to the creeds of the Bḥah-gdams-pa sect. Again the fourth patriarch of the Sa-skya-pa sect, Kun-dgaḥ rgyal-mtshan also learned Bkaḥ-gdams-pa from Spyi-bo lhas-pa, a disciple of Sneḥu-zur-pa. So in his works he treated the methods of cultivation common to all the Mahāyāna category very much in the same way as the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect. Later scholars of the Sa-skya-pa sect followed his example in all their pronouncements. Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the great master of the Dge-lugs-pa sect, learnt the stages of discipline of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa from both Nam-mkhaḥ rgyal-mtshan and Chos-skyabs bzaṅ-po. He wrote *Byaṅ-chub lam-rim* in both a brief version and an amplified one. He followed the teachings of Atiśa in self-cultivation and educating others. Thus the Dge-lugs-pa, Yellow sect, is also called the New Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect.

Moreover, the commentaries on the great Buddhist *Śāstras* were all brought over to Tibet by Atiśa. Consequently the Buddhist science of logic, Mādhyamika and the treatises of Maitreya found their chief exponents in the great translator Rṅog legs-pahi śes-rab and the succeeding generations of his disciples. He was not only an ordinary pupil but also a special disciple because he learnt from Atiśa the esoteric creed (i.e., Bkaḥ-gdams glegs-bam at Yer-pa). He built Gsaṅ-phu monastery according to the Master's will. His nephew, Blo-ldan śes-rab, got all the instructions of Atiśa and wrote *Bstan-rim gyi bstan-bcos*. Among his pupils were Gro-luṅ-pa Śes-rab hbyuṅ-gnas who was versed in all sūtras. Ḥbre-chen-po Śes-rab ḥbar who was versed in *prajñā*, Gaṅs-pa seḥu who was versed in the Buddhist science of logic and Khyuṅ Rin-chen grags who was versed in Mādyamika doctrine. The disciple who succeeded his high seat was Shaṅ-tshe-spoṅ. To sum up, every one among the intellectuals who either built up monasteries for preaching or maintained the correct doctrine of the Buddha was influenced by the teachings of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect. As is said in the *Blue Annals*, "From the life-stories of the great, good intellectuals and highly accomplished

scholars of Tibet, we know that every one of them was a close devotee to a master of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect. The achievements of Ḥborm-ston-pa are great and everlasting. The above account is but a brief explanation of the accomplishments of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (i.e., Atiśa) turning the wheel of Law."

F.

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BKAḤ–ḤGYUR, one of the two main divisions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the other being *Bstan-Ḥgyur*. In its simplified form the *Bkaḥ-Ḥgyur* spelt Kangyur.*

Outside Tibet it is found in manuscript form in Berlin. And various editions are extant, printed by means of engraved wooden blocks (xylographs), rectangular in size like palm-leaf manuscripts measuring about 30" × 1". Several editions were published in China in the years 1410, 1692 and 1700. The most important editions in Tibet itself are those of the monasteries of Snar-thaṅ (Narthang), Kumbum and Sde-dge (Derge). The National Library of Paris has the Snar-thaṅ edition, printed in black, and a Peking edition, printed in red. It is now available in a photographic reprint of the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited by D. T. Suzuki and published by the Tibetan Tripiṭaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1955).

A translation of the *Bkaḥ-Ḥgyur* (by F. Anton von Schiefner in German) has been rendered into English from the German (by W. R. S. Ralston in Trübner's Oriental Series 1878).

The *Bkaḥ-Ḥgyur* (*Kangyur*) comprises 100 to 108 volumes according to different editions, covering about 700 works, usually divided into six sections. (1) *Ḥdul-ba* (*Dulva*) corresponds to the *Vinaya*; (2) *Śes-phyin*, abbreviation for *Śes-rab kyi pha-rol tu phyin-pa*, conforms with the Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitā* literature; (3) *Phal-chen*, abbreviation for *Saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che*, or the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*; (4) *Dkon-brtsegs*, abbreviation for *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa*, or the *Ratnakūṭa*; (5) *Mdo*, containing the sūtras; and (6) *Rgyud*, the tantra section. The Peking edition places the tantras first with a special volume of symbolical formulas. This section is subdivided in the Sde-dge edition into four, comprising many repetitions from the sūtra section, especially a large number of dhāraṇī.

The better known *Snar-thaṅ* edition comprises in the *Dulva* the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* in thirteen volumes, divided into seven parts as follows: *Ḥdul-ba-gzi* (*Vinayavastu*), *So-sor-thar-paḥi mdo* (*Prātimokṣa Sūtra*), *Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa* (*Vinaya-vibhaṅga*). *Dge-sloṅ-maḥi so-sor-thar-paḥi mdo* (*Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra*), *Dge-sloṅ-maḥi dul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa* (*Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya-vibhaṅga*), *Ḥdul-ba-phran-chogs-kyi-gzi* (*Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*) and *Ḥdul-ba-gzuṅ-bla-ma* (*Vinayottaragrantha*).

The section on the *Prajñāpāramitā* contains 21 volumes, translated into Tibetan in the 9th century A.C. by different scholars from India and Tibet. Some of these translations have been revised later, e.g., the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, a text of particular importance, up to six times.

The *Avataṃsaka* section comprises six volumes which are indicated only by their Tibetan titles without their Sanskrit equivalents as in other texts. Thus, e.g., the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, although belonging to this section, is not mentioned by this title.

The *Ratnakūṭa* embodies in six volumes 49 Mahāyāna sūtras which are also found in their Chinese translations in the same order. One may, therefore, conclude that there was a Sanskrit collection which served as basis for both translations. But Sakurabe is of opinion that the Tibetan version is based on the Chinese translation. The largest work of this section is the *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sde-snod* (*Bodhisattva-piṭaka*) which by itself occupies one sixth of the entire collection. The *Bhadramāyākāra-vyākaraṇa* is of special interest as it narrates without the usual embellishments the story of the magician Bhadra who wanted to prove his superiority to the Buddha by means of his clever feats. But he was conquered and converted by the Buddha. This text, moreover, has served as basis of a Khotanese Buddhist work.

The *Mdo* or *Mahāyāna-sūtra* section comprises about 270 texts (the number varies with different editions) in thirty volumes, of which the first twenty-one contain the Mahāyāna-sūtras proper, beginning with the *Bskal-ba bzaṅ-po* (*Bhadrakalpika*), an exposition of Śākyamuni during his sojourn at Śrāvastī on the 1000 Buddhas of this

* Material for this article has been obtained from an article by Jaen Filliozat in *L'Indo Classique*, Tomo II, Hanoi, 1953, pp. 191 94.

'auspicious world-cycle' (*bhadrakalpa*). This is followed by translations of the *Lalitavistara* (*Rgya-cher-rol-pa*) and of numerous important sūtras, recounting the splendours (*vyūha*) and further elucidations (*nirdeśa*) of the domains (*kṣetra*) of Buddhas and bodhisattvas such as the *Buddha-kṣetra-nirdeśa-vyūha*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*. Among these are found the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, (the Lotus of the Good Law), exalting the miracles of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and some doctrinal treatises such as the *Ghanavyūha*, the *Sandhinirmocana* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The events which took place at the passing away of the Buddha are described in the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra* and also together with other subjects in the *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka*. Translations of sūtras concerning samādhi, such as the *Samādhirāja*, *Māyopamā-samādhi*, *Sūraṅgama-samādhi* are grouped together in volumes IX and X of the *Snar-thaṅ* edition. The subsequent volumes are dedicated to dhāraṇī (*gzuṅs*), *paripṛcchā* and *nirdeśa* of a great variety of texts. In general, the more important texts are dealt with first.

With volume XXII commences a series of texts belonging to the earlier schools, the first of which is the enormous compilation carried over into volume XXV, the *Dam-poḥi-chos-dran-pa-ñe-bar-bzag-pa* or the *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna*, constituting an encyclopaedia of Buddhist knowledge. Of this work more than 2500 stanzas have been extracted and placed in a different order by Avalokitasiṃha to form the *Dharmasamuccaya*, which work has been found in Nepal. This is followed by a collection of 47 short sūtras, not belonging to the Mahāyāna, among which is found the *Ched-du-brjod-paḥi-tshoms* (*Udāna-varga*) corresponding to the Pali *Dhammapada*. The series terminates with two versions of the *Karma-vibhaṅga*, one of which is preserved in Sanskrit in Nepal. This popular work has been translated not only into Tibetan, but also several times into Chinese. Central Asia has its Kucha version, and its stories have been illustrated in bas-relief on the Barabuḍur in Java. This is followed by a group of stories illustrating the consequences of actions in successive rebirths, the *Karma-śataka* (*Las-brgya-tham-pa*), the sūtra of the wise man and the fool (*Mzaṅs-blun*) which has no known corresponding Sanskrit original, the *Dīrghanakha-parivrāṭaka-paripṛcchā*, the *Maitrī Sūtra* and the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*. Most of these texts have served as the foundation of the important Buddhist literature in Khotān and Kucha of Central Asia. Then come the *Avadāna-śataka*, a hundred examples of deeds which led to Buddhahood, arahantship, rebirth in heaven or in the underworld, some of which have been preserved in Sanskrit, e.g. the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, included in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, etc., followed by the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, which corresponds to the Pali sutta of the same name, although differing in details.

The *Mdo* or sūtra-section ends with a series of texts translated from the Pali. In the *Sde-dge* edition they are placed at the end of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* section. Their restored Sanskrit titles are: *Dharma-cakra-pravartana*, *Jātaka-nidāna*, *Āṭānāṭiya*, *Mahāsamaya*, *Maitrī*, *Maitribhāvanā*, *Pañca-śikṣānuśaṃsa*, *Giri*, *Ānanda*, *Nandopananda-nāgarājadamana*, *Mahākāśyapa*, *Sūrya*, *Candra* and *Mahāmaṅgala Sūtra*. Many of these texts form part of the 'verses of protection' (*paritta*) in Pali, but corresponding renderings in the Sanskrit canon have been translated in the *Rgyud* or tantra section of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* (*Kangyur*).

The final division of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* (*Kangyur*) is called the *Rgyud* which contains 300 texts in 22 volumes. They appear to have been classified although the method adopted is not clear. Thus, beginning with the *Aparimitāyur-jñāna-mahāyāna-sūtra*, there are three consecutive volumes (xiv–xvi) with regard to Avalokiteśvara, his various forms and Tārā, his consort, either dedicated to their praise, or describing their rituals, or the teachings given to him by the Buddha.

The opening text of the *Rgyud* is the *Paramārthā-nāma-saṅgīti*, or in its full title, the *Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya Paramārthā-nāmasaṅgīti*, composed of verses spoken by the Buddha and corresponding to the various stages of his acquisition of insight-knowledge (*jñāna*), such as the invitation to instruction (*adhyeṣaṇā*), arrival at realisation of the net of illusion (*māyājālābhisambodhi-krama*), basis of the element of the diamond-knowledge (*vajra-dhātu-maṇḍala*), knowledge of the essential purity of all things (*suviśuddha-dharma-dhātu-jñāna*) and knowledge of the five Tathāgatas (*pañca-tathāgata-jñāna*). This is followed immediately by a series of texts of the school of Kālacakra and by some of the principal tantric texts of Vajrayāna on Heruka, Hevajra, Ḍāka, Śaṃvara, the *Abhidhānottara-tantra*, the *Mahākāla-tantra*, the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra*, the *Guhyasamāja*, etc. The first eight volumes contain mostly texts with the qualifiying title of *tantra* or *tantra-rāja* (*rgyud-kyi, rgyal-po*), but later on the more frequent appellation is *kalpa*, *kalpa-rāja*, *mahāyāna-sūtra* and, above all, *dhāraṇī* (*gzuṅs*).

The names of the Tibetan translators of the individual texts, together with those of their Indian collaborators as well as any further available details, are mentioned under the Sanskrit original or restored titles of such texts.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BKAḤ YAṄ-DAG-PAḤI TSHAD - MA-LAS MDO - BTUS - PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SAMYAGVĀK-PRAMĀṆODDHṚTA-SŪTRA.

BKAḤ YAṄ - DAG - PAḤI TSHAD - MA ŚES-BYA - BA MKHAḤ - ḤGRO - MAḤI MAN - ṄAG, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See ĀJÑĀ - SAMYAK - PRAMĀṆA - NĀMA-DĀKINYUPADEŚA.

BKLAGS-PAS GRUB-PA BCOM-LDAN - ḤDAS-MA ḤPHAGS-MA SOR-MO-CAN ŚES-BYA-BA RIG-PAḤI RGYAL-MO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SIDDHAPAṬHITA - BHAGAVATĪ - ĀRYĀṄGULI-NĀMA-VIDYĀRĀJA.

BKRA - ŚIS BRGYAD - PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See MAṄGALĀṢṬAKA.

BKRA-ŚIS BRGYAD-PA ŚES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See MAṄGALĀṢṬAKA-(NĀMA-)MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BKRA-ŚIS CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See MAHĀMAṄGALA - SŪTRA.

BKRA-ŚIS-KYI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See MAṄGALA-VIDHI.

BKRA-ŚIS-KYI TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See MAṄGALA-GĀTHĀ.

BKRA-ŚIS LHUN-PO, a monastery, one of the four great monasteries of the Dge-lugs-pa (Yellow Cap) sect of Tibetan Buddhism, (*Bkra-śis* means 'happiness' and *lhun-po* 'mountain'; so the name means 'Mountain of Happiness.' It is situated in the west of Shigatse (Gshis-ka-stse) of Tsaṅ, against the background of a mountain which bears the resemblance of a reclining elephant, with lofty peaks standing around like the Four Mahārājikās. Its foundation dates back to the Fire-hare year, 1447 A. C.; its founder, Dge-ḥdun grub-pa dpal (the First Dalai, 1391–1474 A. C.), being one of the chief disciples of Master Tsoṅ-kha pa. Through his long administration of twenty-eight years, propagating the Law and establishing the constitution of the Yellow Cap school of Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa, this monastery subsequently became the greatest monastery of this school in Tsaṅ.

After the death of Dge-ḥdun grub-pa, the abbacy of the monastery was inherited successively by his chief disciples, Bzaṅ-po bkra-śis, Luṅ-rigs rgya-mtsho and Ye-śes rtse-mo, the last being succeeded by Dge-ḥdun rgya-mtsho known as the second Dalai. Next came Mṅaḥ-ris lha-btsun bstan-paḥi ñi-ma, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, Don-yod rgya-mtsho, Blo-gros legs-bzaṅ, Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, Chos-dpal rgya-mtsho, Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, Bsam-ḥgrub dpal bzaṅ, Dam-chos yar-ḥphel and Lha-dbaṅ blo-gros. After that the monastic administration was taken up by Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, the Fourth Panchen, who greatly extended the architectural establishments of the monastery and procured broad estates for the provision of monks. Hence forward the abbacy was transmitted through the successive generations of Panchen down to the present one.

At the beginning of its establishment, Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery consisted of three academies, namely, Śar-rtse, Dkyil-khaṅ and Tho-bsam gliṅ, all dedicated to the exclusive study of exoteric teachings. These academies were famous for the exposition of the five great *Śāstras*, i.e. *Tshad-ma rnam-ḥgrel* (*Pramāṇavārttika*), *Dbu-ma ḥjug-pa* (*Madhyamakāvatāra*), *Mṅon-rtogs-rgyan* (*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*), *Ḥdul-ba mdo* (*Vinaya Sūtra*) and *Mdzod* (*Abhidharmakośa*). Among the graduates of these academies were many distinguished scholars who were afterwards distributed over various regions of Khams, Tsaṅ, Kansu, Ch'ing-hai and Mongolia. Each academy had a separate dean. The first dean of the Śar-rtse academy was Śaṅs-ston dri-med bśes-gñen, that of the Dkyil-khaṅ was Dpal-ldan chos-skyoṅ, and that of the Tho-bsam gliṅ was also Śaṅs-ston dri-med bśes-gñen who was afterwards succeeded by Chos-ḥbyor dpal-bzaṅ and others. The names of their successors are numerous.

Dge-ḥdun grub-pa, when first founding the monastery, had thought of establishing an academy dedicated solely to the cultivation of esoteric studies, as a token of his gratitude towards the instructions of his teacher, Śes-rab seṅ-ge. But as the conditions were not yet ripe, the idea failed to materialize. It was only during the time of Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, acting as resident

superintendent, that the Academy of Esoteric Mantras was organized, furnished with requisite images and provided with a solid financial foundation. Here Gsaṅ-ḥdus (*Guhyasamāja*) and other tantras and *Śāstras* were preached, in addition to various rituals of incantations and cultivations of Ḥjigs-byed (Bhairava), Bde-mchog (Śambara), Kun-rig (Sarvavida) and many other tutelary deities, as well as the practices of worship of various Defenders of the Faith. The first leader was Blo-bzaṅ bstan-paḥi rgyal-mtshan, who was succeeded by Mgon-po rgyal-mtshan, Śes-raś rin-chen, Dkon-mchog rgyal-mtshan, and others. Among the learners many became distinguished scholars. Henceforth, Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery has maintained its constitution of four academies with a very large number of monks engaged in studying sūtras and *Śāstras*.

Behind the principal hall which has 48 pillars, there is an adjoining hall (generally known as the Incense Hall). The central compartment, with the width of six pillars, forms a shrine in which is installed a gilded image of Śākyamuni, 25 spans high, in the posture of subjugating demons. This image was moulded in the Fire-hare year (1447 A. C.) by the skilful artisan Chos-skyoṅ dar at Bsam-ḥgrub rtse under the auspices of Dge-ḥdun grub-pa who, when first planning the construction of the monastery, undertook to raise the requisite funds for the purpose, by selling his own possessions for 44 taels of gold. A donor, Bsod-nams dpal-bzaṅ by name, offered him help by contributing an amulet case of pure gold inlaid with many precious jewels; and donations were also made by numerous devotees. The cast failed twice. Before the commencement of the third cast, the master composed a *stotra*, appealing to Śākyamuni for patronage. The procedure was first tested on the cast of an image of the Green Tārā, and then the final beautiful Buddha image was successfully produced. Inside the image were deposited many relics of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, some hairs and a robe of Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa, a silver image of Amitābha, a bone relic from the crown of Master Śes-rab seṅ-ge and many other treasures.

To ensure the purity of the monastic discipline, a number of Vinaya scriptures were included in the store in addition to the sūtras, mantras, dhāraṇīs, etc., such as were generally required for the purpose. As soon as the principal hall was completed, the image was formally installed, followed by the rituals of consecration on a grand scale. On the right and the left of the image stand the images of Amitābha and Bhaiṣajya-guru, respectively, made of a stucco mixture of special medical ingredients; and by the two side walls are arranged the images of the eight great bodhisattvas (viz. Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivaraṇa-viṣkambhin, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya and Samanta-bhadra) all of which are of great excellence.

The right wing of the adjoining hall, with a width of 12 pillars, is a sanctuary dedicated to Maitreya. In the centre stands Maitreya's image, 25 cubits in height, moulded in the Water-sheep year (1463 A. C.). The inside of the image contains relics of many eminent monks. All other important deposits were laid in by Dge-ḥdun grub-pa's own hands so that no one knew what they were. The ceremony of consecration was conducted according to the rituals prescribed in the *Gsaṅ-ḥdus*. The two attending images on the left and the right are works of later date.

The left wing, a structure of 6 pillars, is dedicated to Tārās. The presiding image is a gilded statue of Yid-bshin ḥkhor-lo (Cintāmaṇicakra Tārā), 16 spans in height, built in the Wood-hog year (1467 A. C.), with an encasement of many relics. Besides, there is a Tārā image of natural formation about one span in height. Two plaster images, one of the Green Tārā and the other of the White Tārā, both made of a special stucco of medical ingredients, stand on the left and the right.

The hall of Mgon (Tutelary Deities) consists of a room of two pillars, in which are enshrined the images of Rdo-rje ḥjigs-byed (Vajra-bhairava), Mgon-po phyag-drug-pa (Tutelary Deity with six arms), Lha-mo (*devīs*), the four Gnod-sbyin (yakṣas), Mgon-dkar yid-bshin nor-bu (the White Tutelary Deity of Cintāmaṇi) and other guardian deities.

At the entrance of the principal hall there are images of the four Mahārājikās. Stone images of the 1,000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa along with those of the 35 Buddhas are installed in the corridor outside the hall. In addition, the hall contains embroidered satin images of Śākyamuni, the Four Chief Objects of Worship of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect (viz., Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Āryācalanātha) and the three Lokapālas. The complete set of the Tripiṭaka, a handwritten work produced at the time of Dge-ḥdun grub-pa is also preserved here.

Other buildings, images and scriptures, erected or collected by Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, Blo-bzaṅ ye-śes, etc. in the successive ages, are innumerable.

The image of Mgon-dkar (White Tutelary Deity) of the Sar-rtse, the Lcam-srin gi shal-hbag (masks of two Lokapālas) of the Dkyil-khan, the Ldebs-bris lha-mo (frescoes of devils) of the Tho-bsam glin and the various images of the Mantric Academy are all rare sources of blessedness with powers that bestow strengthening powers.

Furthermore, there is a series of topes dedicated to the remains of eminent monks of past ages, e.g., the one which contains an image of Mi-ḥkhrugs-pa (Akṣobhya) made with the very ashes of Dge-ḥdun grub-pa, the silver tope "Mthon-ba don-ldan" ("Whoever sees it shall be blessed") in which relics of Blo-gros sbas-pa are kept and many others containing the remains of Bzan-po bkra-śis and abbots of past generations. The tope encasing the body of Blo-bzan chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan in the eastern side-hall of the Bla-bran rgyal-mtshan mthon-po (Palace of Lofty Banners) and the one encasing the body of Blo-bzan ye-ses in its western side-hall, are both regarded as excellent spheres of blessedness. (Cp. Phur-lcog byams-pa: *Gra-sa chen-po bshi dan rgyud-pa stod-smad chags-tshul chos-sde chen-po bkra-śis lhun-poḥi dgon-pa chags-btab-tshul*, Lhasa edition).

F.

BLACK. *Kāla* is the word often used both in Pali and Sanskrit to designate this colour and is synonymous with Pali *kaṇha* and Sanskrit *kṛṣṇa*. The conventional definition of black used also by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, is *jhāma'angārasadisa* (burnt, like unto charcoal). Sometimes the word for blue (*nīla*) is also used to denote black. Primarily, black signifies dark as opposed to light and, as such is characteristic of all phenomena or beings belonging to the sphere of darkness, e.g., night, new moon, death, ghosts, etc. Thus, the phrase *āgame kāle* means, on the next new moon day. Similarly, the dark half of the month, during which the spirits of the departed suffer and the powers of darkness prevail, is also referred to as *kāla* or *kaṇha pakkha* (Skt. *kṛṣṇapakṣa*).

Very often in Buddhist literature black is used to denote an unlucky quality or an unfortunate condition. Thus in the *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* (*Pvu.* p. 272) the term *kālakaṇṇī* (lit. with black ears) means an unlucky person. The vision of a *kālakaṇṇī*, too, was regarded as a bad omen and in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* (*DhpA*. III, p. 31) it is employed to refer to the sight of a bhikkhu (because of his shaven head). The use of the synonym *kaṇha* is similar, as seen in the phrases *kaṇhābhijātika* (of black birth) which indicates a low social grade (*D*. III, p. 251; *A*. III, p. 384), and also in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D*. III, p. 81 f.), *brāhmaṇo' va sukko vaṇṇo kaṇho añño vaṇṇo* : only a brāhman is of light complexion; others are dark. In the *Jātaka* (*J*. IV, p. 9), too, the term is used when reference is made to sins which cause a black (i.e., low) rebirth (*kaṇhabhāvakara pāpakammāni*).

Sometimes, black colour symbolises evil, as in the phrases *kaṇhapaṭipadā* (*J*. I, p. 105) and *kaṇhamagga* (*A*. V, pp. 244, 278) both meaning 'evil way.' Again, in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D*. III, p. 230), where four kinds of actions and results are enumerated, reference is made to black (i.e., evil) action and black results (*kammaṃ kaṇhaṃ kaṇha-vipākaṃ*). This is very similar to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*Vin. MS*. i, pp. 48, 3): *ekāntakṛṣṇānāṃ karmāṇāṃ ekāntakṛṣṇo vipākaḥ* (black actions certainly have black results).

Kaṇha-dhamma, too, is frequently used in Buddhist literature to designate the evil path as opposed to the good path. Thus, in the *Dhammapada* (*Dhp*. v. 87) it is said that a wise man should abandon the evil path and follow the good path (*kaṇhaṃ dhammaṃ vippahāya sukkaṃ bhāvetha paṇḍito*), and this is parallel to the *Udānavarga* (*Udvg*. xvi, 14): *kṛṣṇāṃ dharmāṃ viprahāya*. Here black symbolises evil, while white (*sukka*) symbolises good.

The black is also associated with ferocity and dreadfulness, for the dog in purgatory is referred to as *kāla sunakha* (black dog) and even the Māra is spoken of as *kaṇhassa Namucino* (of the black Namuci) or as *kaṇhanāmakassa mārassa* (of the Māra, named, black: *SnA*. pp. 355, 439); *kṛṣṇabandhu* (friend of darkness) is the epithet used in Sanskrit Buddhist literature, to designate Māra (*Lal*. p. 192; *BHS*. and *PED*. s.v. *kāla*, *kṛṣṇa* and *kaṇha*).

S. K. N.

BLA-MA, the Tibetan equivalent of 'teacher' (priest). See LAMA.

BLA-MA-BRGYUD-PAḤI RIM-PAḤI MAN-ṄAG ŚES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See GURUPARAMPARĀ-KRAMOPADEŚA-NĀMA.

BLA-MA-DAM-PA BSOD-NAMS DPAL ŚES-BYA-BA-LA BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See PARAMAGU-RU-PUṆYAŚRĪ-NĀMA-STOTRA.

BLA-MA-DAM-PA CHOS-KYI RGYAL-PO-LA BSTOD ŚES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See PARAMAGU-RU-DHARMARĀJA-STOTRA-NĀMA.

BLA-MA-DAM-PA-LA-BSTOD-PA, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The author of the work is Chos-kyi ñi-ma while the translator is Sha-lu lo-tsā-ba (*TM*. No. 1179). Judging from its title, the text appears to be a eulogy of holy monks, the lamas.

BLA-MAḤI BSÑEN-BKUR-GYI DKAḤ-ḤG-REL, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See GURVĀRĀDHANĀ - PAÑJIKĀ.

BLA-MAḤI BYA-BAḤI RIM-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See GURU-KRIYĀ-KRAMA.

BLA-MAḤI MAṆḌALA, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The names of the author and translator are not known (*TM*. No. 3762). The title indicates that the work describes a sacred circle (*maṇḍala*) of the lamas.

BLA-MAḤI-MAṆḌALA YI-DAM-GYI CHO-GA, the Tibetan title of a Sanskrit text. See GURU-MAṆḌALA-SAMĀDĀNA-VIDHI.

BLA-MA-LA SPRIÑ-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See GURULEKHA.

BLA-MA LÑA-BCU-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See GURU-PAÑCAŚIKĀ.

BLA-MA MAITRIḤI GLU, the title of a text occurring in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The names of the author and translator are not known (*TM*. No. 2353). The title means 'the song of the lama Maitrī,' and so could be either a work of praise of the lama named or a particular set of stanzas attributed to him.

BLA-MA-MED-PAḤI BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NIRUTTASTAVA.

BLAME, fear of—(*ottappa*)—can be understood best in conjunction with conscientiousness (*hiri*) with which it is always linked both in its positive aspect (*hiri-ottappa*) and in its negative form (*ahiri-anottappa*). The fact that the two concepts are thus associated does not make them synonymous but rather complementary.

In their positive aspect, conscientiousness (*hiri*) as well as fear of blame (*ottappa*) are powerful incentives to the avoidance of evil, but they differ widely in their source, as it is clearly shown by Buddhaghosa (*DhsA*. pp. 125-7). Conscientiousness or the sense of shame (*hiri*) has a subjective origin, is influenced by oneself (*attādhipati*): "It is not fit that a man such as I who have renounced the world and lead an ascetic life, should do evil." A fourfold consideration may thus be the cause of the subjective origin of this sense of shame (*lajjā*), viz. consideration of birth, of age, of attainment and of experience. Thus, conscientiousness is rooted in the intrinsic nature of shame, has the characteristic of respectful obedience, and presents the emotional aspect.

Fear of blame (*ottappa*), on the other hand, has an external cause and origin and is influenced by public opinion (*lokādhipati*).

H.G.A.v.Z.

BLA-MED (SBYON-BA) SBYOR-BAḤI RIM-PA ŚES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ANUTTARA-SARVA-ŚUDDHI-KRAMA-NĀMA.

BLA-MED SBYOR-BAḤI RIM-PA ŚES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ANUTTARA-YOGA-KRAMA-NĀMA.

BLANKET, coverlet, outer-garment (*kambala*). The term *kambala* as found in the Buddhist texts generally means a woollen blanket or an outer garment. Mention is made of various kinds of blankets the commonest use of which seems to have been as an outer cover. For even the *cīvara* of the Buddhist monk is referred to merely as *kambala* when it was made of wool. For instance, at *Vin* I, (p. 58, p. 96) in an enumeration of six kinds of robes, the woollen robe (*kambala*) occurs as the fourth. At *Vin*. (I, p. 281) the king of Kāsi sends a woollen blanket worth five hundred *kāsiyas* to Jivaka as a present (*Book of the Discipline*, IV, p. 398, n. 1). He offers it to the Buddha who accepts it and allows the wearing of woollen robes to the monks. At *Vin*. (I, p. 254) also *kambala* is used in the sense of the *cīvara*.

At *Vin*. (II, p. 174) a costly woollen blanket accrues to the Saṅgha as an accessory to a lodging. Here, the Buddha has requested the monks to barter such woollen stuff for a larger number of cheaper and simpler necessities such as beds and chairs and thereby increase the fundamental requirements of the monastery (*VinA*. p. 1248). The Buddha's viewpoint in making this rule was that such costly blankets were too much of a luxury for the monks.

At *J.* (IV, p. 352) another very valuable kind of woollen blanket is referred to in the phrase *uddiyāne cakambale*. The term *uddiyāna* is explained in the *Pali-English Dictionary* as northern. Thus, it is suggested that these blankets were a product of north India, most probably Nepal. In *JPTS.* (1889, p. 202) R. Morris says that *uddiya* or *uddiyāna kambala* could be a Nepalese blanket and suggests that like *kāsikavattha* (Benares cloth), *uddiyakambala* also was produced of north India, where valuable textiles are normally produced. This explanation of the term is quite possible as in India woollen products had to be produced in the northern parts, which are cold and where sheep are reared. At the same place (*J.* IV, p. 352) there occurs the term *paṭiyāni* which the commentary (ibid. p. 353) explains as *setakambalāni* or white blankets.

At *Miln.* (p. 17) a merchant offers a rare size of woollen blanket (*kambalaratana*) to the thera Nāgasena. This blanket was sixteen feet long and eight feet wide. It is here offered as a great and a rich gift. The merchant was highly pleased that Nāgasena accepted it. At *Miln.* (p. 88) the king, pleased with Nāgasena for some explanations given by the latter for his questions, had him robed in an embroidered blanket valued at a hundred thousand (*kahāpanas* ?).

DhpA. (II, p. 89 ff.) gives the story of Kambaladāyaka Tissa or Vanavāsika Tissa thera who, on the day of his naming ceremony, presented Sāriputta with his valuable blanket. When seven years old he joined the Order and one day in the cold season when he was going around the monastery he noticed that the monks were warming themselves before fires to keep off the cold. He asked those monks to wrap themselves in blankets instead of standing before fires. As they did not have a single blanket with them the novice Tissa undertook to provide them with blankets. Thus, accompanied by a thousand monks who were in need of blankets, he set out towards the city (Sāvatthi). People willingly offered them blankets. But one shop-keeper, on hearing the news, hid two of his very costly blankets amidst the ordinary ones, fearing that the monks would ask for them. But, as soon as he saw the sāmaṇera, he was so impressed by his personality that he presented to them the two blankets. Thus, in one day, he received more than a thousand blankets, all of which he gave to the monks. Consequently, he was called Tissa the blanket-giver, Kambaladāyaka Tissa.

Among the various kinds of dress material worn by certain non-Buddhist ascetics during the Buddha's time, blankets of human hair (*kesakambala*) and of horse-hair (*vālakambala*) are referred to in the texts (e.g., *Vin.*. I, p. 305 ; *A.* I, pp. 240, 295 ; II, p. 206 ; *D.* I, p. 167). In all these places one list of dress-material occurs, as worn by the non-Buddhist ascetics and condemned by the Buddha. But, in *Vin.* (I, p. 305), it is a Buddhist monk who puts on these garments and goes to the Buddha, whereupon the latter marks it as an offence.

In the descriptive name of Ajita-kesakambali (*D.* I, p. 55) is found a clear example of a non-Buddhist religious leader wearing a garment of human hair. In *DA.* (I, p. 144), Buddhaghosa gives a detailed description of the hair blanket. He says that was the most miserable kind of wearing apparel. It was cold during the cold season and hot during the hot season. It was of no value and was painful to wear. It was dirty and foul-smelling. This shows that, unlike the other kinds of blankets referred to above and regarded as luxuries, the hair blanket was worn by self-mortifying ascetics as a part of their asceticism (e.g., *Vin.* I, p. 305 ; *A.* I, pp. 240, 295).

Sometimes the *kambala* was used as bedding material. For instance in *A.* (IV, p. 294), a woollen blanket made of fine wool (*kambalasukkhuma*) occurs in a list of luxurious bedding material. The term also occurs in *Miln.* (p. 105). In *DA.* (I, p. 40), the sight of the Buddha being seated in a company of monks is compared to a golden pillar surrounded by a wall of red blankets. In *DhpA.* (I, p. 226), a female lay devotee covers herself with a *kambala* in order to imitate the gait of a hunch-backed pacceka-buddha. According to *DhpA.* (I, p. 69), the practice of covering the funeral pyre with a red blanket seems to have been observed sometimes, for here a funeral pyre is referred to as *kambalakūṭāgāra*. The red colour of the deer's mouth is compared to a bunch of blankets (in a poor simile) in *J.* (I, p. 149) as *kambalapuñja*. The Sinhalese king Mahādāṭhikamahānāga, after building the Ambatthala thūpa, had it covered with a red blanket (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *v.* 74). All these references show that the blanket, for whatever purpose it was used, was most commonly dyed red. Further, the term *paṇḍukamamabala* is used in several places (*Sn.* p. 689 ; *S.* I, p. 64 ; *A.* I, p. 181) in the sense of a light-red or orange-coloured blanket. *SA.* I, p. 125 explains *paṇḍukambala* as *rattakambala* (red blanket). It is often referred to in similes as a background for shining things like gold.

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BLAVATSKY (Russian **BLAVATSKAYA**), **HELENA PETROVNA** (1831–91), better known as Madame Blavatsky, a Russian theosophist, occultist and traveller whose importance for Buddhism lies in the fact that she was one of the pioneers in the founding of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, a sector of the Theosophical Movement, which movement she, with others, initiated in the USA in 1875 and to whose welfare she dedicated a large part of her life. She is also important in the history of Buddhism as having, by her voluminous writings, contributed greatly to the popularization of esoteric Buddhist doctrines



Madame Blavatsky

which, in fact, form the basis of her theosophy. She was internationally recognised as a clairvoyant and claimed, by the time of her death, 100,000 acknowledged followers in various parts of the world (Webster's *Biographical Dictionary*, First Edition, p. 158). She herself claimed to be the first European to enter Tibet.

Madame Blavatsky was born at Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk) in South Russia, in 1831, on the night of the 30th/31st July. There is a Russian superstition[1] that those born during that hour were exempted from interference by certain spirits and this belief wielded a strong influence on her life and spiritualist career. Her father was Colonel Peter Hahn who claimed descent from the royal family of Von Hahns of Mechlenburg, Germany. She was the only daughter of the second wife of Peter Hahn, Helena Fadeef, who was a direct descendant of the first ruler of Russia, the Grand Duke Russik.

From the very hour of her birth, numerous strange happenings seem to have surrounded her infancy and childhood. Since at her birth, she seemed almost dying, she was hurriedly baptized to save her from the fires of hell, but the frail infant survived. At this baptismal ceremony which took place in a Greek Church, the priest and several others were burnt, an event which was treated as a bad omen according to the superstitious beliefs of orthodox Russia. She conversed with invisible playmates, escaped a fatal fall from horseback, and many other similar events transpired, whereafter "a peculiar tradition operated to invest the life of the growing child with an odour of superstition and mystic power" (A. Boyd Kuhn, *Theosophy*, New York, 1839, p. 45) so much so that, even her servants feared to offend her lest she should invoke goblins and spirits against them. She herself, while very young, was imbued with a belief in subhuman and superhuman spirits.

After her mother's death, she came under the care of her grandmother at Saratov and lived there until, in 1844, her father took her to Paris and London, one object of the trip being to provide her an opportunity to further her knowledge of music, a field in which she displayed extraordinary talent, later even making an extensive European tour as a professional pianist. It would appear that during the period of her stay with her grandparents she came into contact with the Lamaist Calmucks of Astrakhan and knew the Tibetans "before she was fifteen."

In 1848, at the age of 17, in a fit of bravado, she married a man much her senior, Nicephore Blavatsky, a Counsellor of State. She had

1 Due to this superstition, for many years she was conducted round houses, stables and cow-pens on the 30th of July each year and was made to sprinkle the four corners of each room with water, to the accompaniment of mystic sentences repeated by her nurse.

proposed herself to him in order to defy and humiliate her governess but later found that she could not escape her promise. Her marriage lasted only three months and, she fled on horseback to Tiflis to join her family.

From there she was sent to her father at Odessa. However, having escaped on the way, she fled to Constantinople. Thenceforth, began a long period of travels in her life, and she went to Egypt, Greece and other parts of Eastern Europe. It was during her visit to Cairo that she met the old Copt from whom, it is believed, she gained the earliest rudiments of her occult knowledge. In 1857, she visited America, passing through Texas and Mexico. While in Mexico she was struck with the idea of entering Tibet through Nepal. She yearned to get acquainted with the great teachers of occult science and in 1853 made a bold attempt to enter Tibet, but was rebuffed by a British military officer stationed in Nepal and returned disappointed, to South India and, through Java and Singapore, to England.

In 1853, she revisited America and in 1855 India. In the following year she made another attempt to enter Tibet—this time under the guidance of a Tartar Shaman (holy man), who was also instrumental in procuring for the party the favour of witnessing some magic rites performed at a Buddhist monastery[1] (Madame Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, II, California. 1931, p. 598 ff.). She was safely directed out of the Tibetan woods by her occult guardian. In 1857, she left India and in the following year was back in Europe, rejoining her relations at Pskoff after an absence of ten years, during which time she had achieved a fair recognition as a clairvoyant.

During this period, her miraculous recovery from a mysterious malady she contacted at Mingrelia, which even her military doctors could not diagnose, seems to have marked a definite epoch in her occult development. It is said that thenceforward "the nature of her psychic powers entirely changed, physical phenomena such as raps no longer occurred spontaneously and were henceforth rigidly subordinate to her will" (G. Basden Butt, *Madame Blavatsky*, London, 1925, p. 291. see also, A. P. Sinnett, *Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky*, 1913, p. 116).

In 1863, having completely recovered, Madame Blavatsky went to Italy. With several other European women, she is said to have, in 1867, volunteered to serve with Garibaldi in the battle of Montana and was severely wounded (*Ency. Brita*: Vol. III, 1953, p. 710).

Between 1867 and 1870, she roamed about in the East, improving still further her already considerable store of occult knowledge. On her return to Europe in 1870 via the Suez Canal, her ship was blasted. Although most of the passengers died, she managed to survive. Along with other survivors, she was sent to Cairo by the Greek Government and there, in 1871, she founded a *Societe Spirite*, which soon proved to be a failure. After closing it down, she went to live in Boulak, where she renewed her acquaintances with the old Copt "from whom she had obtained some of her earliest lessons in Occultism" (G. Baseden Butt, op. cit. p. 31). By then "her power in certain phases had been greatly enhanced. She was able, merely by looking fixedly at objects, to set them in motion" (A. B. Kuhn, op. cit. p. 71).

In 1872, Madame Blavatsky rejoined her family in Odessa. But in the following year, she went to Paris, by which time she had apparently established her occult relations with "the Masters." Accordingly, following their orders, in 1873, she visited U.S.A., where, she claimed, she was destined to meet "a man called Olcott." When she arrived in New York, she was penniless and was forced to work for several months as a dressmaker in desparate poverty in a city-slum. Elizabeth Holt, who knew her at that time, reports that one of Madame Blavatsky's activities at the time was to describe their past life to people (Mary K. Neff, *Personal Memoirs of H. P. Blavatsky*, London, 1937, p. 191).

As had been already presaged, she was able to make acquaintance with Col. H. S. Olcott, whom she met for the first time in a farm-house at Chittenden, where certain occult phenomena were reported to have been taking place. Another significant event was her second marriage to a Russian named M. C. Bentenelly, which proved as ill-fated and short-lived as her first.

The inauguration, in 1875, of the Theosophical Society was the most significant event in her life. It was Madame Blavatsky, Col. Olcott and William Q. Judge who founded this Society which was later to develop into an international Movement and leave an indelible mark on the life of several Asiatic peoples. In July 1878, she became a naturalised citizen of the United States.

1 When nobody knew where she was, her aunt, Mme. N.A. Fadeef is said to have received a letter from the Mahatmas informing her that Madame Blavatsky was living very happily under the protection of the Lord Buddha (cf. Mary K. Neff, op. cit. p. 163 f).

At the end of 1878, responding to the wishes of "the Masters", she left America for India in the company of a Theosophical party of four persons. Having arrived in Bombay in February, 1879, they reorganised the Theosophical Society on the basis of three objects: (*a*) the formation of a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity; (*b*) the promotion of the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science and (*c*) the exploration of the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man. Thenceforward, Madame Blavatsky's career became almost inseparable from the activities of the Theosophical Society. She and her colleauges were at first suspected of being political spies and placed under surveillance by the British Government. During those early days of the Society, she is said to have devoted much of her time in writing occult, mystic and scientific articles for Russian magazines in order to meet the Society's expenses.

In 1880, along with Olcott, she visited Ceylon where they were welcomed by the Sinhalese Buddhists. Wherever they went, large crowds gathered to receive them and several branches of the Theosophical Society were inaugurated. "On May 25th, at the temple of the Rāmanya Nikāya. (Galle) she and Colonel Olcott acknowledged the Five Precepts and Three Refuges announced by the Lord Buddha and they were thus formally received into the Buddhist religion" (G. B. Butt, op. cit. p. 52).

During the next two years, together with Olcott, she made many propagandist journeys through India. In 1884, she left Adyar, where the Theosophical Society Headquarters were at that time. Another important event of this period was the precipitation of the Mahatma Letters, upon which the basic structure of Theosophy then rested. Shortly afterwards occurred the "Coloumb conspiracy", which left some unpleasant and lasting traces in her career. Madame Coloumb, one of her employees in the Theosophical Society, alleged that Madame Blavatsky was guilty of fraudulent practices and that the receiving of the Mahatma Letters was a forgery.

Madame Coloumb was expelled from the Society and this was followed by the publishing in *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, of portions of certain letters which were alleged to have been written by Madame Blavatsky to Madame and Mons. Coulomb giving instructions for the fraudulent production of phenomena. This exposure resulted in the investigation made by Dr. Richard Hodgson on behalf of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR). A close study of the proceedings of the investigation reveal that the SPR was, from the outset, bent on pronouncing her as "one of the most accomplished, ingenious and interesting imposters in history" (*Report on Phenomena connected with Theosophy*, quoted by G.B. Butt, op.cit. p.58). It is evident from the report that the investigation was not properly and fairly conducted (*Ency. Britanica*, loc. cit ; *Ency. Americana.* Vol. IV, p. 746). Investigations were carried out insufficiently, only to prove the investigator's point of view, with which he was preoccupied.

After hearing about the scandal, she hurried back to India,[1] where she was accorded a warm welcome by the Theosophists of India. She, however, had suffered agonies and eventually left India for Italy, where she resided in utter discomfort and poverty, leading a hard life with the twenty pounds which Col. Olcott used to send her monthly (*Old Diary Leaves*, Vol. III, p. 22). When Col. Olcott could not support her any more due to lack of funds, she left for Paris. In 1885, she went to Wurzburg, where she settled down to write her second great work, *The Secret Doctrine*, the Bible of the Theosophical Society.

It was while residing at Wurzburg that Madame Blavatsky became acquainted with Countess Constance Wachtmeister, who became her devoted companion until her death.

In 1887 she came to England, where she formed the Blavatsky Lodge. In October 1888, she established the Esoteric Society of the Theosophical Society in London and founded her magazine *Lucifer*. Also while residing there, she finished and published *The Secret Doctrine*.

When Dr. Annie Besant joined the Theosophical Society in 1889, Madame Blavatsky went to live with her and their residence became the London Headquarters of the Society. In 1891, she developed a severe attack of influenza, and on May 8, of that year she died at the

1 It was not only the Report of the SPR that put Madame Blavatsky into disgrace and calumny. The Christain Literature Society of Madras, in pamphlets such as, *Madame Blavatsky: Her Tricks and Her Dupes* and critics like V. S. Solovyoff, in their individual works, did not leave any stone unturned in their ruthless attempt to slate her.

age of sixty.[1] Her followers all over the world commemorate this day as "the White Lotus Day"

It appears that Madame Blavatsky was endowed with occult powers very early in her life which she subsequently developed so as to subject them to her will. Col. Olcott observes that her magnificent performances at the piano may have been performed under psychic influence (Olcott, op cit. Vol. 1. p. 16).

"Her mediumship was totally different from that of any other person, for instead of being controlled by spirits to do their will, it was she who seemed to control them to do her bidding" (Mary K. Neff, *Personal Memoirs of H. P. Blavatsky*, London, 1937, p. 208).

The most remarkable contribution Madame Blavatsky had made to the movement of Theosophy was the proof of the existence of the Mahatmas.[2]

The inauguration of the Theosophical Society was the most esteemed work made possible through her labours and powers. Her absolute self-denial and dedication to the cause is well-evinced from her own utterance, "May I perish, but may the cause flourish!" (Madame Blavatsky quoted by G. Baseden Butt, op. cit, p. 233). Defying all sorts of attempts "made in certain quarters to bring her work and teaching into disrepute" (*Ency. Brit.* loc. cit.) she continued to win adherents till her death.

Not only in her temperament was she paradoxical, but also in her ways. Despite her extremely fanatical hatred of everything intoxicating, she herself was a great cigarette addict, who scorned at all conventions.

In spite of the fact that Madame Blavatsky showed a respectful interest in Buddhism and adhered to certain Buddhist practices, it is not quite certain whether she was a convinced Buddhist. However, her claim, that she had been initiated into the higher Lamaistic teachings, is corroborated by the Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup (cf. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, London, 1957, p. 7, n[1] : also see V. S. Solovyoff, *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, London. 1895, p. 223).

The promulgation of Theosophy, the cause to which Madame Blavatsky dedicated her whole life, appears to have provoked and alienated Christian Missionaries vehemently against her (cf. V. S. Solovyoff, op. cit, p. 221).

It was she who really paved the way for the great benefactors of Buddhism in the nineteenth century, like Olcott and Annie Besant to adopt Buddhism and usher in a Buddhist revival in spite of vigorous Christian Missionary activities.

The form of Theosophy that Madame Blavatsky professed seems to have been greatly influenced by "the Tibetan Buddhistic or Mahayana theory of the sacrifice by the Nirmanakayas of their Nirvanic bliss for a service on behalf of humanity" (A. B. Kuhn, op. cit. p. 312). In concluding her long thesis on the origin of all religions, she says that "Pre Vedic Brahmanism and Buddhism were the double source from which all religions sprang. Nirvana is the ocean to which all tend" (*Isis Unveiled*, Vol. II, p. 639).

Madame Blavatsky's familiarity with Tibetan Buddhism as well as with esoteric Buddhist practices seems to be beyond doubt. It is well evinced from her writings, besides being corroborated by scholars of repute like W. Y. Evans-Wentz. In her writings, she furnishes detailed and authentic accounts of Buddhist monasteries and convents in Mongolia, Tibet and Nepal and also several of her experiences in those countries.

It is evident from the bulk of Madame Blavatsky's writings that she was a prodigious writer, who displayed rare powers of endurance and a tireless capacity for work. She took approximately only two years to finish her voluminous work, *Isis Unveiled* (1336 royal size printed pages), having rewritten and recast a good part of it during that period.

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1 Strangely enough, throughout her life, she had been suffering from several diseases "any one of which, in the opinion of her physician, would have sufficed to kill an ordinary person" (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, p. 363[a]).

2 Mahatmas or Masters, as described by M. Blavatsky, appear to be "a brotherhood of Adepts or superhuman men who had evolved beyond the ordinary level of mankind" (A. Baseden Butt, op. cit., p. 147). She had apparently mentioned her spiritual relations with them long before she became a naturalized American. It is said that every movement of her career was subjected to their orders. It was in 1874 that she had mentioned them for the first time (*Lucifer*, December, 1894).

Mahatmas are also known as the Great White Lodge, of whom Madame Blavatsky was an accepted disciple (*chela*). They are believed to reside in Tibet and their mission is to survey and guide humanity in its upward evolution. Col. Olcott, Damodar Singh, W. T. Brown are among those members of the Theosophical Society, who claimed to have seen them in their corporeal appearance on numerous occasions.

A salient feature traceable in her writings is the great number of unacknowledged quotations, on account of which she is accused by some for plagiarism (cf. E. Coleman, *The Sources of Madame Blavatsky's Writings*. V. S. Solovyoff, op. cit. pp. 353–66).

Considering the enormous output of work she has produced within that incredibly short period, and that too in an authentic tone of authority on most abstruse subjects, it is believed that she had written those through the channel of her unusual psychic senses. According to Basden Butt (op. cit. pp. 216 f), if all her writings were "produced by Madame Blavatsky's unaided talent, she must have possessed the intellectual resources of at least three ordinary geniuses." Hence it is plausible that she had copied those quotations from reversed reflections in the astral light and she is not guilty of any deliberate plagiarism. "She was writing about things she had never studied and making quotations from books she had never studied and making quotations from books she had never read in all her life; that, to test her accuracy Prof. Corson had compared her quotations with classical works. . .and had found her to be right." (Col. H. S. Olcott, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 203).

In addition to the publication of the magazine, *Lucifer* and contributions in Russian and French to continental magazines there stand several monumental works to Madame Blavatsky's credit. Among them, *Isis Unveiled* (1887), her first book in two volumes, contains theories concerning the evolution of humanity and of religion. The first volume deals with science and the second with religion. This book, which created a great amount of attention and criticism, was the fore-runner of a wide range of books on modern Theosophy, as promulgated by the Theosophical Society.

According to some theosophists, her greatest work is *The Secret Doctrine*. Although she planned it to be in four volumes, she survived to finish only two volumes. It deals with two parallel streams of evolution, viz. the evolution of Form, which is continuous from parent to child and the evolution of the individualized spirit. She could not complete the work and at her death, the third part of it was left unfinished.

The Voice of the Silence, a transcript from *The Book of the Golden Precepts*, is an attempt to illustrate the path of progress along which a man evolves to divinity. Having elaborated the awakening of the soul, its psychic and spiritual development and the path of initiation followed by the aspirant in his upward march to Buddhahood, it manifests to him, in its conclusion, the ideal of the perfected Nirmāṇakāya, who, by the efficacy of divine powers at his command, renounces his right to Nirvāṇa for the sake of his brethren on earth. Further, it should be mentioned that this work marks the consummation of the cycle of Theosophical thought, for from the first word of *The Secret Doctrine* to the last of *The Voice of the Silence*, one is led from primeval cosmogenesis to the sublime destiny of the individual.

Among her other significant works may be mentioned : *The Key to Theosophy* (1889) ; *Gems from the East* (1890) ; *From the Caves and Jungles of Hindustan* (1892) ; *Nightmare Tales* (1892) ; *The Theosophical Glossary* (1892) and *A Modern Panarian* (1895).

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BLESSING, as understood in Buddhism, means the beneficial results that come from good actions. The avoidance of evil acts and the performance of good acts will make a person happy and prosperous. This is the result of his own good actions (*kamma*) and is not a blessing conferred by some supernatural agency. The successful completion of any good action could be called a blessing (See ACCOMPLISHMENT, MAṄGALA SUTTA).

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BLINDNESS is one of the 32 disqualifications for admission into the Buddhist Order (*Vin.* I, p. 91).

BLO-BZAṄ CHOS-KYI RGYAL-MTSHAN (1570–1662). He was an outstanding master of the Yellow Sect of Buddhism in Tibet, and as he was the fourth incarnation of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's great disciple Mkhas-grub rje (1385–1438, Mkhas-grub rje being the first incarnation, Bsod-nams phyogs-glaṅ 1439–1504 the second and Blo-bzaṅ don-grub 1505–66 the third), he was titled as the 4th Panchen

Lama. It was in this incarnation that he became the abbot of the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery in Gtsaṅ and brought about a great revival in that monastery. Thenceforward the Panchen of successive generations were the residents of the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery. The title "Panchen" started with him, but the title of "Panchen Erteni" seems to have been first conferred by the emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty on Blo-bzaṅ ye-śes, the Fifth Panchen (1663–1737) when he was fifty-one years old in the 52nd year of K'ang-hsi (1718).

His Childhood: Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan was born in 1570 at Lhan drug brgya (or Gru-rgya according to Sum-pa's *History of Buddhism*) in Gtsaṅ. His family name was Sba or Rba, and his father's name was Tshe-riṅ dpal-ḥbyor, (or Kun-dgaḥ dpal-ḥbyor according to Sum-pa, op cit.) and his mother's name, Mtsho-rgya (or Mtsho-cam in some books). His personal name was Chos-rgyal dpal bzaṅ-po. During his childhood he was accustomed to the recitations of the *Ḥjam-dpal gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa* by the members of his family, and so he began to recite this sūtra himself five times each day when he was five years old. In the summer of that year when the monks of the Dben dgon-pa monastery (built by Bsod-nams phyogs-glaṅ) spent their summer retreat at Lhan drug brgya (at that time the abbot of the Dben dgon-pa monastery, Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes, was Panchen's paternal uncle), he insisted on joining them and refused to leave. Moreover he was able to recite the ceremonial scriptures together with the monks. Thereafter he studied the various teachings from Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes. At the age of thirteen (1582), he became a śrāmaṇera under Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes in the Dben dgon-pa monastery, with the religious name of Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan. In that year he received the baptisms (*abhiṣekas*) of Gsaṅ-ḥdus and Ḥjigs-byed, and other instructions.

At the age of fourteen (1583), he was acknowledged as the incarnation of Blo-bzaṅ don-grub, and at the request of all the monks in the monastery he ascended the "Throne of Dharma" in the Dben dgon-pa monastery under the direction of Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes. In the spring of that year he studied the *Lam-rim ḥbriṅ-po* and practised the "Sādhana of Sarasvatīdevī" for seven days, during which period he had (it is said) the privilege of being spiritually supported by the goddess in person. Because of his genius, he composed extempore seventeen stanzas in praise of the goddess with literary refinement and elegance that surpassed the works of adept metricians. In the next ten days he studied the *Lam-rim ḥbriṅ-po* and also tried to read the *Lam-rim che-ba,* which he readily learned by heart.

At the age of sixteen (1585) he composed a long poem the *Shi-ba lhaḥi bstod-brjod* and won the praise of many people of learning. During this period he learned a number of sacred texts from Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes.

His Teachers: At the age of seventeen (1586) Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan again received the Bde-mchog baptism of the Lo-yi-pa sect. On the third day of the eleventh month in the winter of that year he entered the Thos-bsam gliṅ in the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery to study the five great *śāstras.*

At the age of eighteen (1587) he returned to the Dben dgon-pa monastery to pass the summer retreat under Saṅs-rgyas yes-śes, and studied various teachings from him. He took great delight in living at a hermitage (*āraṇya*), and composed twenty-one stanzas in praise of the happiness of such living. In the winter he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery to continue his studies.

In the fourth month of 1589 a Bde-mchog ceremony was for the first time conducted in the Dben dgon-pa monastery and a painted maṇḍala was established, in which the great baptism was transmitted. Thus he returned to the Dben dgon-pa monastery to receive it once again. He was then twenty years old. After the ceremony he went back to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, and after the summer retreat he was elected to establish a thesis for debate among the monks. In this year he studied the *Tshad-ma rnam-ḥgrel.*

On the fourteenth day of the eleventh month in 1590 Saṅs-rgyas yes-śes died in the Dben dgon-pa monastery, and Panchen (at the age of twenty-one) returned to the monastery to look after the affairs of building the stūpa for the remains of his teacher.

In the summer of 1591, when he was twenty-two, he studied the doctrines of the Mādhyamika school in the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery. He received the bhikṣu ordination under Dam-chos yar-ḥphel whom he regarded as his personal teacher (*upādhyāya*). At the end of the autumn he went to Dbus to worship the image of Śākyamuni Buddha in the Jo-khan monastery and made extensive offerings. He also went to the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery to pay homage to the stūpa in which the body of Tsoṅ-kha-pa was preserved. In the winter he established his thesis in the debating congregation and came off successfully with a great reputation.

In the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery he received the baptism of Dus-ḥkor from Mkhyon-rab dbaṅ-phyug, Nam-mkhaḥ rgyal-mtshan and others, and also studied the teachings of *Dus-ḥkhor bsdus-rgyud*, the *Great Commentary*, etc. He received the internal and external baptisms of Bde-mchog, as well as the baptisms of Kyē-rdor, Phyag-rdor ḥkhor-chen, Rta-grin, etc. of the Dril-bu sect, and learned various other teachings. He studied the *Ḥdus-paḥi ḥgrel-pa bshi sbrag* and the works of Dge-ḥdun-rgya-mtsho (2nd Dalai), and various kinds of *anujñā-vidhi* from Dge-ḥdun rgyal-mtshan. He attended the lectures on Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Rim-lṅa gsal-sgroṅ* given by Rnam-rgyal dpal bzaṅ-ba, as well as the teachings of the Tibetan translation of the *Guhyasamājākhyātatantra*. He also studied the various teachings of Gcod-yul from Dgaḥ-ldan khri-pa and Dam-chos dpal-ḥbar. At the same time he taught to many students, and from that time onward he started his career of propagation.

In the spring of 1600, when he was thirty-one, he went to the Srad-rgyud monastery and learned many profound teachings from Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (such as the Hjam-dpal rdo-rje, the red and black Gśin-rje-gśed, the fearful Gśin-rje-gśed of the three sects, etc. of the Anuttara-yoga class; the Rdo-rje-dbyiṅs, etc. of the Yoga class; the Enlightenment of Vairocana Buddha, the baptism of Vajrapāṇi, etc. of the Caryā class; the Dam-tshig gsum-bkod, Rdo-rje rnam-ḥgoms-ma, Gdugs--dkar, Ḥod-zer-cam-ma, etc. of the Kriyā class, a total number of more than thirty baptisms of the four classes of Tantric Buddhism as well as many other religious practices).

In 1603 he went secretly to Lhasa and prayed for the elimination of disasters, and he also secretly visited Dge-ḥdun rgyal-mtshan, from whom he learned several kinds of profound teachings.

His Career: From his youth Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan always engaged himself in study and practice and at the same time spared no pains to propagate the Buddhist teachings.

When he was twenty-three years old (1592) he returned to the Dben dgon-pa monastery in Gtsaṅ. During the summer retreat at the request of the monks in the monastery, he preached on the *Lam-rim ḥbriṅ-po* and at the same time taught them the relevant methods of meditation, with quotations from many sūtras and śāstras as evidence for his lectures. The monks were greatly delighted and said that they had never heard it before. At that time he always lived in the mountains and spent his time in religious practice as well as in studying the *Mṅon-par rtogs-paḥi rgyan*, the *Rgyud bla-ma*, the *Dbu-ma rtsa-baḥi tshig-leḥu*, the *Rin-po-cheḥi phreṅ*, the *Rigs-pa drug-cu-pa*, the *Bśes-paḥi phriṅ-yig*, the *Bstan-bcos bshi-brgya*, the *Dbu-ma-la ḥjug-pa*, the *Bslab-pa kun-las btus-pa*, the *Spyod-pa-la ḥjug-pa*, the *Byaṅ-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma*, the *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems bskyed-pa*, the *Gsaṅ-ḥdus rtsa-rgyud*, the *Bde-mchog rtsa-rgyud*, the *Kyē-rdor rgyud*, the *Dus-ḥkhor bsdus-rgyud*, the *Rim-lṅa* and many other important texts. In the autumn of this year he transmitted the Bde-mchog baptism of the Lo-yi-pa sect at the request of Bkra-śis rin-chen, and also learned many sacred texts from him. From this time onward till he was thirty years old, he always lived in the Dben dgon-pa monastery, and, for the monks in the monastery as well as for the seekers of the Dharma from various places, he preached on the *Lam-rim che-ba*, the *Blo-sbyoṅ*, the *Bkaḥ-gdams glegs-bam*, the *Dpe-chos rin-spuṅs*, the *Ḥdul-baḥi bslas-bya*, the graduated teachings of Gsin-rje Gśed and Bde-mchog. He also transmitted the baptisms of Gsaṅ-ḥdus, Bde-mchog, Gśin-rje gśed and Gdugs dkar, as well as the Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsaḥi rje-gnaṅ, etc. In the autumn and winter seasons he usually lived in seclusion and spent his time exclusively for practising the sādhanas for worshipping various patron Buddhas. In the spring and summer seasons he used to travel to different places to propagate the Buddhist teachings at the request of the monasteries, the local governments, monks and laymen of Ñaṅ-stod, Śab, Saṅs, Thon, etc.

When he was twenty-nine, in 1598, he was invited by the monks and donors of the Gaṅs-can chos-ḥphel monastery to be its abbot. This monastery was constructed by Dge-ḥdun grub's disciple Bzaṅ-po bkra-śis, and it was at first a centre of Tantric Buddhism, but later exoteric Buddhism was also taught there; it was divided into the southern and northern courts. He lectured on the *Lam-rim che-ba* for the monks in the monastery and taught them the ways of practice. Since then he often lived in the Gaṅs-can chos-ḥphel monastery and propagated the Dharma as well as repaired the shrine-halls of the monastery.

In the spring of 1600 when he was thirty-one he visited Bu-ston's Sha-lu monastery on his return journey to pay his homage to the sacred sites after having studied esoteric teachings from Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho in the Srad-rgyud monastery. He also went to the Dpal-ḥkhor bde-chen monastery to disseminate Buddhism and transmitted the Bde-mchog baptism of the Lo-yi-pa

sect. In the summer he returned to the Dben dgon-pa monastery to spend the summer retreat. He prepared many ceremonial appliances and raised a permanent fund to meet the expenditure of making offerings. At this time, his fame greatly increased.

In the autumn of that year he was invited to be the abbot of the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, and on the 3rd day of the 12th month he ascended the "Throne of Dharma" in that monastery. He transmitted various Tantric Dharmas to the monks there (*Snar-thaṅ Brgya-rtsaḥi rje-gnaṅ, Sgrol-ma ñer-gcig, Bkaḥ-gdams chos-ḥbyuṅ, Dbu-ma rtsa-ba, Dbu-ma-la ḥjug-pa, Mṅon-par rtogs-paḥi rgyan* teachings). After that he did numerous things for the propagation of the Dharma.

In 1603, when he was thirty-four, Gtsaṅ fell into extreme confusion and he went secretly to Lhasa and gilded the images of the Buddhas to pray for the elimination of disasters, which threatened the holy Teachings. After that he returned to the Dben dgon-pa monastery.

In the autumn of that year, Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, who was 4th Dala, (born in Mongolia in 1589), came to Tibet by the northern route. The officiating monks of the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery all went to Dbus to pay homage to him, and after that the Master remained in Dbus to transmit the various teachings to Yon-tan rgya-mtsho. The position of Buddhism was elevated day by day. In the 7th month of the next year (1604) he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun po monastery, where he lived in seclusion and practised the Dharma of Service of Dus-ḥkhor.

In the spring of 1605, he went to Dbus and established a colour-painted maṇḍala for transmitting the great baptism of Dus-ḥkhor and many other teachings to the Dalai Lama. That year he was also invited by different monasteries in South Tibet to spread the Dharma at various places. In the summer he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery for the summer retreat.

In the sixth month of 1607 Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, the Dalai Lama, was invited to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, where he stayed for one and half months. Panchen offered all his wealth, including his own horse, to the Dalai Lama and transmitted to him many profound teachings.

In the winter of 1609, he lectured on the *Gsaṅ ḥdus ḥgrel-pa* at the request of the monks, and initiated the Path of Vajrayāna and established the "Court of Mantra".

In 1611 he went to Dbus, at the invitation of the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery, to transmit the great Baptism taught in the *Rdo-rje phreṅ-ba* to the Dalai Lama and the "dge-bśes" of the Sera and Ḥbras-spuṅ monasteries.

In the spring of 1613 he went to Lhasa, at the request of the Dalai Lama, to take charge of the Jo-khaṅ ceremony. He was in charge of this ceremony for six years till the spring of 1618. After the completion of the ceremony, he conferred the bhikṣu ordination on Sprul-paḥi-sku bsod-nams dge-legs dpal bzaṅ-po and more than forty other dge-bśes. After returning to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, he intended to resign from his abbotship, but was obliged to remain by the persistent request of the monks.

In 1614 he conferred the bhikṣu ordination on the Dalai Lama in the Jo-khaṅ ceremony, and in the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery he transmitted the 'Sgrub-thabs rgya-mtsho".

On the 11th day of the 12th month in 1616 he started the construction of the main shrine hall of the Mantra Court in the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery. As Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, the Dalai Lama, passed away in the middle of the 12th month, he went to Lhasa to recite sūtras for him, and took charge of the Jo-khaṅ ceremony.

In 1618 he was requested by the monks of the Sera and Ḥbras-spuṅ monasteries to be the abbot of the two religious establishments.

In the spring of 1618 he was invited by the people of Gu-ge (the Mṅaḥ-ris area) to spread the Dharma there, and he also obliged the monks and laymen who requested him to teach them the Dharma on his way to Gu-ge. On the 13th day of the fifth month, he reached Shaṅ-shuṅ gi luṅ and met a large number of monks and laymen who had come there to welcome him. On the 15th day he arrived at Mtho-ldiṅ gser-gyi lha-khaṅ (which was formerly the working place of Rin-chen bzaṅ-po), where he was entertained by the royal family as well as the monks and laymen of Gu-ge, and there he transmitted the Dharma for four months. On the 13th day of the 9th month, he started from Gu-ge and returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery on the 13th day of the 11th month.

In 1622, the fifth Dalai Lama ascended the "Throne of Dharma" in the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery. Panchen initiated him into the Order and gave him the religious name of Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho. Later, in 1624, he conferred on the

Dalai Lama the śrāmaṇera ordination and transmitted to him the baptisms of Long Life and Gśin-rje-gśed, etc.

In 1623, a dispute arose between the Ḥbri-guṅ sect and the Phag-gru sect, and the Master brought them to a reconciliation. In this year he also renovated the Avalokiteśvara Hall in the Jo-khaṅ monastery.

In 1626, the monks of the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery invited Panchen to be the Dharma-king of Byaṅ-rtse. He consented with a view to repainting the golden top of the stūpa hall of Tsoṅ-kha-pa. On the 1st day of the third month he ascended the "Throne of Dharma" in the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery, preached the Dharma, offered tea and presented gifts of money to the people, to the great delight of all.

In the spring of 1628 he went to Lhasa to take charge of the Jo-khaṅ ceremony and he also visited the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery where he preached the Dharma. In the summer he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery to spend the summer retreat.

In 1629, he went again to Lhasa to take charge of the Jo-khaṅ ceremony. After the ceremony was over, he went to the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery to repair the golden-tiled roof of the stūpa hall of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, and at the same time he also repaired the golden roof of the Byaṅ-rtse Hall. In the 7th month he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery.

On the 8th day of the 3rd month in 1631 he started to copy a complete set of the Tripiṭaka, and it was finished on the 15th day of the 10th month. After that he went to Lhasa, at the request of the monks of Dbus, to transmit the baptism of Rdo-rje phreṅ-ba and to confer the bhikṣu ordination.

In the spring of 1632, he took charge of the Jo-khaṅ ceremony and preached on the *Skyes-rabs*. After the ceremony was over he transmitted the baptism of Dus-ḥkhor and other Dharmas to 5th Dalai Lama in the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery.

In the first month of 1635 he started to copy a set of the Tripiṭaka with pure gold.

On the 25th day of the 10th month in 1637 he reached Lhasa to confer the bhikṣu ordination on the 5th Dalai Lama. At that time Guśri khan, after having defeated Chog-tu (or Chog-thu according to Sum-pa's *History of Buddhism*) who was constantly hostile to the Yellow Sect in the Ch'ing-hai area, came to Tibet to pay his homage to the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and made rich offerings to them.

On the 5th day of the 4th month in 1638, he conferred the bhikṣu ordination on the Dalai Lama, following the preliminary transmission of the baptism of Rdo-rje phreṅ-ba and other Dharmas.

In the autumn of 1639, Se-chen chos-rje, the king of Mongolia, came to Tibet and invited the Master to Lhasa to transmit the baptism of Gśin-rje Gśed, the Ḥjam-dbyaṅs chos-skor, the Sgrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, and many other Anujñāvidhi teachings. He also taught the teachings of the *Ḥgrel-chen dri-med ḥod* (an extensive commentary on the *Dus-ḥkhor*) and of many other sūtras and *śāstras*.

In 1642 the monks of the various monasteries in Gtsaṅ vied with one another in inviting the Panchen to be their abbot, but he gave consent to none except the Sha-lu monastery because it had been the centre of Master Bu-ston in his propagation of both esoteric and exoteric teachings. He accepted their request and ascended the "Throne of Dharma" in the Sha-lu monastery on the 3rd day of the 6th month. In the summer he returned to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery to spend the summer retreat.

In 1643, he used the money offered to him by Ohi-roṅ rgyal-po and Guśri khan to make images of the great masters of India and Tibet (eighty taels of silver being spent for each image). He also spent two thousand taels of silver for making an image of the Śākyamuni Buddha and constructed a new shrine-hall.

In the 10th month of 1644, the emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty despatched an envoy to Tibet to perform meritorious deeds and offered a large amount of wealth to the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. In the 11th month the Master repaired the stone stūpa constructed by Bu-ston in the Sha-lu monastery (See BU-STON for the construction of this stone stūpa).

In 1645, he constructed the main shrine-hall of the Dben dgon-pa monastery. In the 4th month of this year he started to copy another set of the Tripiṭaka with gold and it was completed in the 9th month. He also made images of the various guardian devas.

In the autumn of 1647, the emperor ordered an official to send a large quantity of pearls, jewels and silk to the Master, who used them all to decorate the Triple Gem. In this year he travelled to various places to spread the Dharma.

In the 3rd month of 1652, when the Dalai Lama was going to the capital, the Master went to Na-dkar-ma to see him off, and transmitted to him the doctrine of bodhi-mind and many other teachings. At this time the Master was eighty-three, and after returning to the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, he seldom went out, though he frequently preached on the Dharma and performed other religious duties.

In the 7th month of 1654, the Dalai Lama visited the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, stayed there for five days and made offerings extensively. The Master transmitted to him the distinctive teaching of Dben-sa and many other dharmas.

His Activities to stop Wars: In 1603, Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal and his son and Shwa-dmar Nag-dbaṅ chos-grags in Gtsaṅ became hostile to the Yellow sect. In 1605, Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal sent his troops to Dbus, demolished the castle of Skyid-shod and killed many Tibetan officials. Both Dbus and Gtsaṅ were in a chaotic condition.

In 1610 Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal again sent his troops to Dbus, but in fear of the Mongolian forces, he withdrew his troops and occupied Yar-rgyab. In 1612 he again occupied many important fortresses of Gtsaṅ and entitled himself the King of Gtsaṅ (Gtsaṅ-pa rgyal-po). Later, in 1618, he again led his troops to Dbus, drove away the Mongolian army, demolished the Sera and Ḥbras-spuṅ monasteries, expelled the monks and killed more than one thousand people at Lhasa and on the hill behind the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery. This was a great catastrophe brought upon the monasteries of the Yellow sect by Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal.

In the autumn of 1620 the Mongolian army returned to Tibet and was prepared to fight with the troops of Gtsaṅ. The local government requested the Panchen to reconcile the belligerent parties. The Master paid a visit to Roṅ-po ḥdam for that purpose, but his intercession proved fruitless. So he could not but stay in the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery (of which he was the abbot) for the time being where he carried out extensive relief works.

In the 7th month of 1621, when the troops of Gtsaṅ were stationed at Bkyaṅ-thaṅ sgaṅ, the Mongolian army made a surprise attack on them and killed several hundred men. On hearing this news the Master came out in a hurry to make peace, and consequently both the Tibetan and Mongolian armies agreed to offer Lhasa to him as their common gift, and vowed never to fight with each other again within the area under the gleam of the golden roof of the Jo-khaṅ monastery. By that time the remnant troops of Gtsaṅ had retreated to their own domain, and the monastic properties which Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal had seized the year before were also returned to their original owners.

In 1614 the outlaws of Mongolia plundered the cattle of Mtsho-phu and invaded the region of Ḥbri-guṅ. Another war broke out. The Master again went to the spot to make peace and saved many lives at the risk of his own.

In 1640 Guśri Khan sent a messenger to invite the Master to Lhasa so that he could have a chance to see His Holiness. The King of Gtsaṅ (i.e., Karma Bstan-skyoṅ dbaṅ-po, the son of Karma Phuṅ-tshogs snam-rgyal) also urged him to go. Thus, on the 18th day of the 4th month in 1641 he started his journey from the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery. As the country was then in a chaotic condition, he had to go a round-about way before he was finally escorted by a hundred Mongolian cavalrymen to the Mongolian camp, where he met Guśri Khan. The king and the ministers of Gtsaṅ had formerly entreated the Master to intercede for them to make peace with Guśri Khan, but Guśri Khan expressed that he would not withdraw his troops within seven years and requested the Master to proceed to Dbus as soon as possible. Thus the Master went to Lhasa by the northern route and reached the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery where he transmitted the baptisms and other dharmas to the Dalai Lama.

In 1657 he succeeded in ending the dispute between the Mongolian army and Khams-po dwags-koṅ, and in prevailing upon both parties to release more than two hundred well-learned monks under their custody. Peace was thus restored in the country.

Having spent his life in propagating Buddhism for the benefit of all beings and in performing various religious deeds, the Master passed away in the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery on the 13th day of the 2nd month in 1662 at the age of ninety-three.

The Master was a teacher of very high attainment both in scholarship and in practical activities. Ever since his early youth, he himself would have preferred to live in seclusion at a forest hermitage (*āraṇya*) but for the sake of upholding Buddhism and benefiting all beings, he was obliged to hold from time to time the abbacies of the Gaṅs-can chos-ḥphel monastery, the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery, the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery, the Se-ra monastery, the Dgaḥ-ldan Byaṅ-rtse monastery and the Sha-lu monastery. The wealth he received from his devotees was all used in constructing monasteries, making

images of the Triple Gem, providing innumerable ceremonial and religious appliances, giving alms to the monks of many monasteries, and establishing foundations for scholastic studies and religious practices. Among his disciples were the Dalai Lama of two successive generations, the eminent monks of Khams, Tibet, Chinghai and Mongolia, and more than 50,000 people who received their bhikṣu ordination from him. The total number of his disciples amounted to nearly 100,000, including śrāmaṇeras and lay people. His writings which are now preserved in four cases, are all instructive works for the exposition of the profound doctrines of sūtras and *śāstras*. His merit was particularly great in his repeated efforts to end internal hostilities, thus relieving the people of much suffering.

His Esoteric and Exoteric Writings: The writings of Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan may be classified into the following seven categories :—

(1) Biographies (15 works): *The Life of Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, The Teachers from whom Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan Studied at Different Times, The Jātakamālā* of Blo-bzaṅ don-grub, *The Avadāna of the Ven. Śrīsubhūti, The Avadāna of the Ven. Yaśas*, etc.

(2) Guru-yoga (4 works): *The Methods of Guru-yoga, The Methods of Making Offerings to the Guru*, etc.

(3) Esoteric and exoteric teachings (18 works): *The Establishment of Buddhism and the Four Tantras, An Exposition of the Essential Points of the First Chapter of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā, An Exposition of the Byaṅ-chub lam-gyi sgron-me, A Treatise on the Path of Happiness in Exposition of the Byaṅ-chub-kyi lam-rim, An Explanation of the Method for Cultivating the Bodhi-Mind*, etc.

(4) Tantric doctrines (35 works): *The Method of Practising the Forty-two Maṇḍalas of the Vajramālā-śāstra, An Exposition of Nāgārjuna's Treatise on the Rim-lṅa, An Exposition of the Order of the Rising of Gsaṇ-ḥdus, The Order of the Rising of the Maṇḍala of Bde-mchog, The Order of the Rising of the Ḥjigs byed, The Essence of the Dri-med-ḥod, A Commentary on the Dus-ḥkhor bsdus-rgyud*, etc.

(5) The most secret doctrines (10 works): *The Complete Order of Gsaṅ-ḥdus, The Complete Order of the Maṇḍala of Bde-mchog, The Complete Order of the Ḥjigs-byed*, etc.

(6) Auxiliary Tantric methods (15 works): *The Method of Homa and Making Offerings to the Patron Buddha*, etc.

(7) Miscellaneous works (8 works): *Answers to Dri-ba lhag-bsam rab-dkar, Answers to the Questions of Śes-rab rin-chen, The Sayings of Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, The ceremonies for keeping Valuables inside a Buddha's Image and for its Consecration*, etc.

F.

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BLO-BZAṄ GRAGS-PAḤI DPAL, the original name as a śrāmaṇera of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow-cap sect. Although he is almost exclusively known as Tsoṅ-kha-pa, this is not his actual name, but only indicates that he was a native of Tsoṅ-kha, where he was born in 1357, in the Ch'ing-hai Province.

BLO-BZAṄ RGYA-MTSHO (1617–82 A.C.), the 5th Dalai Lama. Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho was the 5th reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, counting from Dge-ḥdun grub-pa (1391–1474 A.C.). The title "Dalai" began from the third reincarnation in Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (1543–88 A.C.), who, during his visit to Mongolia to propagate the Law at the request of the Mongolian chieftain Altan-khan in the earth-tiger year (1578 A.C.), received from him the appellation of Talai Blama (i.e., Dalai Lama), Vajra-dhara. Henceforth, the title "Dalai Lama" was inherited by all his succeeding reincarnations.

Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho was born in the fire-serpent year (1617 A.C.) at Yar-kluṅs ḥphyoṅ-rgyas in the Palace of Hphyiṅ-dbar stag-rtse. His father was Hor Bdod-ḥdul rab-brtan, and his mother Khri-lcam Kun-dgaḥ lha-mdzes. His lineage was said to be connected with the royal blood of Zahor of East India. At the time of his birth, widespread confusion reigned in Tibet. Therefore, no one dared to recognize his being the reincarnation of the previous Dalai, until the water-dog year (1622 A. C.), i.e., his sixth year, when, owing to his various miraculous manifestations, his spiritual lineage was authoritatively affirmed by the Great Master Pan-chen Blo-bzaṅ Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan through various expedient devices. Thus, on the 25th of the second moon of that year, the Tibetan prince Sde-srid Bsod-nams chos-ḥphel, the eminent monks of the Se-ra and the

Ḥbras-spuṅs monasteries and the laity numbering over 10,000, received him with pomp and solemnity into the Dgaḥ-ldan pho-braṅ of the Ḥbras-spuṅ monastery, where the ceremony of his enthronement was held. Subsequently, the Pan-chen performed the shaving for him, conferred on him the five commandments for the laity and gave him his Buddhist name, Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho.

In the wood-ox year (1625 A.C., both Sum-pa's *History of Buddhism* and *Memoir of the Pan-chen* give the date as the wood-mouse year), when he was nine, he received the ten commandments of a śrāmaṇera, with the Pan-chen acting as his personal instructor and Dgaḥ-ldan khri-pa Dkon-mchog chos-ḥphel as his ācārya. An additional appellation of Ṅag-dbaṅ Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho Ḥjigs-med go-cha Thub-bstan laṅ-tshoḥi sde was bestowed on him. Thereafter, he continued to learn under the Pan-chens taking the courses of the śrāmaṇera, including the recitations and other transmissions. Then he received the Rdo-rje ḥjigs-byed baptism, the Anujñā-vidhi of the system of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs chos-skor, etc. *The Treatise on the Stages of Cultivating Bodhi* and many other traditions. He relied, moreover, upon Ven. Dkon-mchog chos-ḥphel, making thorough studies on the five great *śāstras*, viz., the *Hetuvidyā*, the *Vinayasūtra*, the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. On the 5th day of the third moon of the earth-tiger year (1638 A.C.), when he was twenty-two years old, he received the full ordination of a bhikṣu according to the rituals introduced during the Earlier Period of Propagation (also called smad-ḥdul or the lower rituals). The performance took place before the image of Śākyamuni Buddha in the Jo-khaṅ monastery in Lhasa, also with the Pan-chen acting as his personal instructor. When he was sixty-one, on the 25th day of the tenth moon of the fire-serpent year (1677 A.C.), while celebrating Tsoṅ-kha-pa in the Palace of Potala, he further received the precepts for a bhikṣu according to the rituals introduced by the śāstra master of Kaśmīra, Pan-chen Śākyaśrī (1127-1225 A.C.) who had arrived in Tibet in 1204.

In the iron-serpent year (1641 A.C.), Guśri Khan led his army into Tibet, wiped off the régime of the region of Gtsaṅ, which had hitherto been specially hostile to the Yellow-cap sect, and brought the provinces of Gtsaṅ and Dbus with the population of 130,000 households under the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama. In the wood-cock year (1645 A.C.), the Potala monastery was built as the site of his religious and political administration. Henceforth the bureaucratic officers of all Tibet were appointed according to the Dalai Lama's selections. This marked the establishment of the theocratic hierarchy of the Dalai Lamas with full temporal and spiritual authority in Tibet.

In the water-dragon year (1652 A.C.), when Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho was thirty-six years old, he visited Peking to propagate the Law at the request of the Emperor Shun-chih of the Ch'ing dynasty. On his way, he made liberal donations, in the form of alms-giving and preaching of the Law, to the monasteries, monks and laymen, in various localities of Khams, Kokonor and Mongolia. When he arrived at Peking, the emperor, the empress, the crown prince, and nobles, all thronged around him to beg for baptism and the blessings of the Dharma. An appellation of honour, "The Dalai Lama, General Vajradhara, Superintendent of Buddhism of the whole Empire, Buddha of Great Excellence and Freedom of the West World" (**Nub-kyi** lha-gnas ches-dge-ba bde-bar gnas-paḥi saṅs-rgyas bkaḥ-luṅ gnam-ḥog-gi skye-bo **thams-cad** bstan-pa gcig-tu gyur-pa ḥgyur-med rdo-**rje**-ḥchaṅ rgya-mtshoḥi bla-ma), was conferred on him with a gilded testimonial and a golden seal, in addition to the innumerable presents including more than 10,000 taels of gold and silver and a considerable quantity of silk cloth and satin. In the water-serpent year (1653 A.C.), he went back and arrived at the Jo-khaṅ monastery on the 25th of the tenth moon. From there he returned to the Ḥbras spuṅs monastery, making liberal donations including both material goods and the saving truth.

Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho made many pilgrimages in Dbus and Gtsaṅ to pay homage to famous maṇḍalas and holy places, e.g., the Ra-sgreṅ monastery which was the fountain-head of the Bkaḥ-gdams sect, the Chos-ḥkhor rgyal which was a sacred spot of Tibet, the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery which was the residence of the Great Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the Bsam-yas monastery which was the principal base of the Buddhism of the Earlier Propagation, the Khra-ḥbrug monastery founded by Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po, the Bkra-śis lhun-po monastery of Gtsaṅ, the Sha-lu gser-khaṅ monastery, the Se-ra theg-chen-gliṅ, etc. Wherever he went, he made large-scale donations of two forms, and delivered sermons on Buddhist Law to countless masses of both monks and laymen, encouraging them to abide unswervingly by the right faith and cultivate their good roots. Having completed his mission of propagation, he entered Nirvāṇa in the Potala

monastery on the 25th day of the second moon of the water-dog year (1682 A.C.) at the age of sixty-six.

Education : The tutelage under which Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho left his home, received the commandments and learned the Five Great Śāstras has been related above ; yet, as the supreme religious leader of all Tibet, he had to explore the tenets and theories of all sects old and new. Therefore, besides learning from the Pan-chen and Dgaḥ-ldan khri-pa the teachings of various sūtras and *śāstras* handed down by the Yellow-cap sect, he also accepted the transmissions of the *Tripiṭaka* and the *Cikitsā-vidyā* (science of medicine) delivered by Khra-tshaṅ-pa Blo-mchog rdo-rje. Concerning esoteric methods, he learned many of them, including both old and new transmissions, from Ḥkhon-ston Dpal-ḥbyor lhun-grub, the esoteric doctrines of the eight chief classes of practices (sgrub-sde chen-po brgyad) of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa sect from Zur-chen Chos-dbyiṅs raṅ-grol, and the various Interred Esoteric teachings from Gter-bdag gliṅ-pa. Again, he received from Gnas-gsar-pa (i.e., the Master Bsod-nams mchog-bdan) the General Baptism prescribed in the *Vajramālā Śāstra* and the Specified Baptism, the permission and other methods of the Kāla-cakra-vajra system ; and he learned the doctrine of the " Path and Fruit " and other teachings transmitted by the Sa-skya-pa sect. His knowledge of the various teachings of Vajrayāna was mostly received from this Master. As for the *vidyās*, in addition to the classical works of the *Cikitsā-vidyā* which he learned from Blo-mchog rdo-rje, he also learned from both Smon-ḥgro Tshe-dbaṅ don-grub, the Senior, and Smon-ḥgro Tshe-dbaṅ don-grub, the Junior, the various śāstras of *Śabda-vidyā*, concerning the *Kalāpa Sūtra*, the *Candra Sūtra*, phonetics (Sdeb-sbyor), poetics (Sñan-ṅag), Tibetan grammar (Sum-rtags) etc. ; and he learned the various works on *Śilpasthāna-vidyā* concerning the crafts of image-modelling, stūpa-building, etc. He also studied astrology and mathematics under Lhum-po Don-grub dbaṅ-rygal. Thus the Dalai Lama became the generally recognized great *śāstra* master of thorough cultivation and high understanding in all the spheres of the exoteric and the esoteric teachings, the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna doctrines, as well as of Buddhism and the sciences.

Propagation Works : When he was nine years old, Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho, at the request of Thub-paḥi thaiji, delivered the *vidhi* of Guruyoga to the monks of both Ḥbras-spuṅs and Se-ra at the Jo-khaṅ monastery in Lhasa ; and again delivered the Baptism of Ayurdīrgha for Thub-paḥi thaiji at the Ḥbras-spuṅs monastery. From that time up to his thirty-fifth year, when he delivered the Great Baptism of the Vajra-mālā (Rdo-rje phreṅ-ba) and other *vidhis* at the Ḥbras-spuṅs monastery to an assembly of over 1,000 Lamas and Incarnated Lamas including Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, and Tibetans, Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho's work in propagating the Law and conferring benefit on sentient beings was innumerable. The Manchurian government sent him repeated invitations to propagate the Law in the interior with the purpose of winning over the Kalkan Mongolians. Thereupon, in the 9th year of emperor Shun-chih's reign (1652 A.C.), the Dalai Lama visited Peking and stayed there until his return to Tibet the next year. On his way, he expounded the sūtras and transmitted the Law, benefiting greatly the devout multitude including both monks and laymen, in the regions of the Khams, Kokoner, and Inner and Outer Mongolia. The Manchurian government promised to be his patron, conferred upon him the title of " Superintendent of Buddhism of the Whole Empire " and bestowed on him a gilded testimonial and a golden seal.

After that, his opportunities for transmitting the Law steadily increased. In the Jo-khaṅ monastery alone, there were convoked more than twenty religious assemblies in which he participated as the lecturer. The disciples to whom he transmitted the commandments of bhikṣus in successive years amounted to about 20,000 ; and, including those who left homes and received the commandments of srāmaṇeras from him, the total number of disciples reached 40,000. Blo-bzan ye-śes who was the 5th Pan-chen, Lcaṅ-skya Nag-dbaṅ chos-ldan, Ḥjam-dbyaṅs Bshad-paḥi rdo-rje and others were all his disciples of the commandments. In the iron-ape year (1680 A.C.), at the request of the monks of Ḥbras-spuṅs, he came to that monastery once more to transmit the establishing of three *samayas* (Dam-tshig gsum bkod) and other *vidhis*. On his way back, he came to the Se-ra monastery, received the obeisance and offerings of all its monks and transmitted to them the *vidhis* of the Phyag-rdor ḥbyuṅ-ḥdul, etc. In the water-dog year (1682 A.C.), he transmitted in Potala Palace the Bkaḥ-brgyad sgrub-chen and other systems of baptism of the Rñiṅ-ma-pa sect for Byaṅ-pa Rig-ḥdzin sprul-sku, Padma ḥphrin-las, Gter-bdag gliṅ-pa and the monks of Rnam-rgyal rgya-tshaṅ ; and particularly for the three persons, i.e., Padma ḥphrin-las, Gter-bdag gliṅ-pa and Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, he transmitted the baptism of the Secret Mudrā and many other distinctive *vidhis*

in the Rtseḥi Ñi-ḥod phyiṅ-gur. Hence, these three persons, together with Ḥjam-dbyaṅs grags-pa of the Se-ra monastery, Byams-pa rin-chen of the Ri-khrod dgaḥ-ldan monastery, and his attendant monk Ḥjam-dbyaṅs grags-pa, afterwards all became his successors, specialising in esoteric Buddhism.

Building of Monasteries and Making of Images : In the central part of Tibet, the terrain features of Lhasa somewhat resemble a *rākṣasa* lying face upwards, in whose heart is situated the Jo-khaṅ monastery with the Potala hill as the backbone upholding the heart. On the top of the hill, a palace had been built as early as the time of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (617-50 A.C.), but after long ages of disrepair and decay, only a few houses remained. After the unification of the whole of Tibet by Guśri Khan who presented its sovereignty to the Dalai Lama, a plan was soon laid out to build the Palace of Potala as the permanent seat for the propagation of the Law. On the 25th day of the 3rd moon of the wood-bird year (1645 A.C.), the ceremony of laying the foundation stone was held, in which the Dalai Lama personally performed the ritual of strengthening the ground. He also attended a ceremony in the Rnam-rgyal grva-tshaṅ monastery, executing the maṇḍala of the Dpal-chen rdo-rje Gshon-nu lha nag to remove all possible evil hindrances. After the completion of the Palace, an image of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, carved of "snake-heart" sandal wood, was set up in the central hall (the image was brought back from South India by King Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po in the early period of the T'ang dynasty). Meanwhile, special commissioners were sent out to repair the various ancient monasteries and sacred places in Tibet. Thus, Ḥphrin-las rgya-mtsho was assigned to restore the central precinct of Lhasa (the Lha-ldan bar-skor), Blo-bzaṅ mthub-stob to restore the Ra-mo-che monastery (erected by Princess Wen-ch'êng), Blo-bzaṅ sbyin-pa to restore the Khra-ḥbrug monastery (these three commissioners all became reigning princes of Tibet later), and Ṛdo-rje rnam-rgyal to restore the Bsam-yas monastery. After their restoration, the ceremony of consecration was conducted by the Dalai Lama himself.

Thirteen new monasteries, founded by the Dalai Lama : (1) the Dgeḥ-ldan Chos-ḥkhor gliṅ (in the wood-bird year, 1645 A.C.), (2) the Dgaḥ-ldan Chos-ḥkhor yaṅ-rtse (in the earth-mouse year, 1648 A.C.), (3) the Dgaḥ-ldan Gsuṅ-rab gliṅ (in the same year), (4) the Dgaḥ-ldan Ḥog-min gliṅ (in the earth-ox year, 1649 A.C.), (5) the Dgaḥ-ldan Don-gñis gliṅ (in the same year), (6) the Dgaḥ-ldan bśad-sgrub gliṅ (in the wood-horse year, 1654 A.C.), (7) the Dgaḥ-ldan Thos-bsam dar-rgyas gliṅ (in the iron-hare year, 1651 A.C.), and (8) the Dgaḥ-ldan Chos-ḥkhor gliṅ (in the earth-bird year, 1669 A.C., in the locality of Nug). These eight monasteries were dedicated to the study and practice of exoteric doctrines. (9) The Dgaḥ-ldan Gsaṅ-sṅags yaṅ-rtse of Yer-pa (in the fire-hog year, 1647 A.C.), and (10) the Dgaḥ-ldan Ḥphel-rgyas gliṅ (in the iron-hare year, 1651 A.C.). These two were dedicated to the study of the newly-introduced esoteric doctrines. (11) The Gsaṅ-sṅags Byaṅ-chub gliṅ (in the iron-hare year, 1651 A.C.), (12) the Bdud-dpun Zil-gnon gliṅ (in the earth-sheep year, 1678 A.C.), and (13) the Bdud-ḥjoms gliṅ (in the water-dog year, 1682 A.C.). These three were dedicated to the propagation of the formerly introduced esoteric doctrines. These monasteries were all new constructions in the regions of Dbus and Gtsaṅ. Besides, there were thirty-six old monasteries administered by the appointed abbots of the Dalai Lama and supplied with four kinds of offerings on the requests of the monks, while other monasteries that he restored and promoted were innumerable.

Concerning his works of image making, a statue of Śākyamuni of the same size as that of the Jo-khaṅ monastery was moulded with pure silver for the happiness and longevity of his mother. A gold image of Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa was modelled for the sake of the reigning prince Bsod-nams rab-brtan, and eight silver images of the eight Buddhas of the Bhaiṣajya-guru group and one silver image of Vajrapāṇi bodhisattva were modelled for the sake of Guśri Khan. All these images were larger than the average human size. Other important images made by him included the gilded One Thousand Buddhas, the Gurus, the Satyadevatās and various gold Buddhas and bodhisattvas, large and small, over one hundred in number. In addition, images of the eight Mahā-bodhisattvas were carved of sandalwood and installed around the sandalwood image of Avalokiteśvara. The Buddha images made of incense stucco were so numerous that they occupied more than twenty halls. The painted and embroidered images as well as the fresco images in various great monasteries, were countless.

Concerning the transcription of the Buddhist canon, three complete copies of the *Tripiṭaka* were written with gold, one copy with a mixture of gold and copper and thirteen wth carbon iink, besides, one copy of the *Abhidhaarm-piṭaka*. Of

Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa's works, three copies were transcribed, one with gold and two with carbon ink. Moreover, a press was established at Rtag-brtan Phun-tshog gliṅ to engrave on wooden blocks the *Tripiṭaka*, including the Buddhist canon translated during the Earlier Period of Propagation, the works of Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the writings of previous Dalai Lamas, and the important biographies of the eminent monks of various sects, amounting to 29,555 blocks in all to the extensive benefit of the learners of succeeding ages.

Concerning his erection of stūpas, eight great sacred stūpas were built of pure silver in the Ḥras-spuṅs monastery. In the name of the Khatun of Guśri Khan, he built in the Se-ra monastery a great Bodhi-stūpa to the height of a house, and eight great sacred stūpas of the Tathāgata, each eleven spans (five and half cubits) high, for which 3,300 taels of silver were used. In the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery, he made another series of the eight sacred stūpas of the Tathāgata, each eleven spans high, in the name of the reigning prince Bsod-nams rab-brtan, 4,000 taels of silver and 67 taels of gold being used. Another great Bodhi-stūpa, 17 spans (eight and half cubits) high, was made in the name of the reigning prince Ḥphrin-las rgya-mtsho, 873 taels of silver being used. The religious instruments and the offering utensils that he provided for the great monasteries and the decorative articles for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas were innumerable.

In order to effect the permanent existence of the right Dharma in the world, the Dalai Lama made regulations to be observed by the monasteries of different regions, and provided the monks with regular funds for their studies and practices, enabling them to recite the *Tripiṭaka* in turn and to perform the kalpas of the eight Buddhas prescribed in the *Bhaiṣajya-guru Sūtra* and the rituals of making offerings to the sixteen arhats. Besides, he ordered all Tibetans to practise the recitation of the *ṣaḍakṣarē vidyā* (the mantra of six syllables) of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, and to observe the eight commandments.

The Writings: The writings of the 5th Dalai Lama may be grounded under three main categories: the External, the Internal and the Secret Dharmas. The works on the External Dharmas, arranged in twenty one packages according to current editions, but Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mthsho's *Biography of the 5th Dalai Lama* puts the number of packages as twenty-three), deal with the teachings and methods of the general nature, and may be sub-divided into six classes.

1. Biographical Writings: 18 works, including his *Autobiography*, *Biography of Bsod-nams rya-mtsho the 3rd Dalai Lama*, *Biography of Yon-tan rgya-mtsho the 4th Dalai Lama*, *History of the Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, etc.

2. Commentary Writings: 6 works, including *A Commentary on the Madhyamakāvatāra*, *Explanations of the Difficulties in the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Commentary on the Abhidharmakośa*, *Commentary on the Whole Buddhist Disciplines*, etc.

3. Works on the Esoteric: 37 works, including *Rituals of Making Offerings to the Guru*, *An Elucidation of Śrīvajrabhairava-sādhana-vidhi to be Practised Daily*, *An Elucidation of the Pañcātmaka-rakta-yamāri-sādhana-vidhi*, *An Explanation of the Śrīcakra-śambara-pañcātmaka-bahir-maṇḍala-sādhana*, etc.

4. Laudatory Writings: 5 works, including *Stotras on the Buddhas, bodisattvas and Saṅghas of Both Śaikṣa and Aśaikṣa of the ten Quarters*, etc.

5. Lectures and Instructions: 10 works, including *Expositions of the Byaṅ-chub lam-rim*, *The Profound Method of Cultivating the Doctrine of Mādhyamika*, *Commentary of Esoteric Meaning on Tsoṅ-kha-pa's Lam-gyi gnod-gsum*, *The Message Addressed to Nobles and Commons in China Proper, Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia*, etc.

6. Miscellaneous Writings: 5 works, including *A Buddhist Guide-book*, *An Explanation of the Sthirāsana-vidhis of Jo-bo in Jo-khaṅ and of Akṣobhya-buddha in Ra-mo-che in Lhasa*, *An Explanation of the Transference of Merits*, etc.

The works on the Internal Dharmas, arranged in four packages (according to current editions, but in seven, according to Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's *Biography*), include the *Gsan-yig* (Records of the Dharmas that he has heard), the *Rñiṅ-ma chos-skor* (Various methods of cultivation transmitted by the *Rñin-ma-pa* sect), the *Yi-dam chos-skyoṅ gi sgrub-skor* (Methods of cultivation, transmitted by Satyadevatās and Tutelary Deities), etc., amounting to more than 150 methods, impossible to be enumerated here.

The works on Secret Dharmas, arranged in two full packages, consist of the records of the manifestations of Satyadevatā to the Dalai Lama in the course of his observances. There are altogether twenty-four documents, e.g., *Ḥkhor-lo* (the Wheels),

Lde mig (the Keys), *Rdo-rje* (the Diamonds), etc. These are all wrapped up and sealed, only to be opened on condition of special transmission.

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BLO-GROS MI-ZAD-PAS BSTAN-PA RGYA-CHER ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AKṢAYAMATI-NIRDEŚA-ṬĪKĀ.

BLO-GROS-MI-ZAD-PAS BSTAN-PA ŚES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AKṢAYAMATI-NIRDEŚA (NĀMA-MAHĀ-YĀNA) SŪTRA.

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BLOOD (*lohita*) is frequently mentioned in the texts as one of the 32 constituents (*dvattiṃsākāra*) of the body, when 'mindfulness of the body' (*kāya-gatāsati*) is explained, e.g., *M.* III, p. 90. It is described in detail in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* viii, §130, p. 216; xi, § 72, p. 301) where a distinction is made between the blood in circulation (*saṃsaraṇa-lohita*) and accumulated blood (*sannicita-lohita*). The mobile blood follows the network of veins (*dhamanijālānusārena*), permeating the whole body, except for the hair on the head and on the body, teeth and nails, bones and dry skin.

As to the colour, although blood is always red, it is said that its particular hue depends on the actual state of mind: when there is joy in the mind, blood will be red, like the berry of the banyan tree; grief darkens the blood, like the colour of the rose-apple fruit; and when the mind is clear and calm, the blood will be like sesamum oil (*Vism.* xiii, §9, p. 345). This, of course, cannot be discerned under normal conditions, but only through clairvoyance (*dibba-cakkhu*).

Blood-letting was well known as a cure for snake poisoning (*Vin.* II, p. 109), although as a cure for rheumatism in the joints it seems unusual (ibid. I, p. 205).

Blood-sacrifices (*lohita-homa*) are, of course, entirely forbidden, even if it is only low art (*tiracchāna-vijjā*; *D.* I, p. 9) by which blood is drawn from one's right knee for the purpose of sorcery (*DA.*I, p. 93). Diarrhoea with the passing of blood, or dysentery having weakened the bowels to the extent of a haemorrhage (*lohita-pakkhandika*), appears to have been the final illness of Gotama, the Buddha (*D.* II, p. 127).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BLUE (*nīla*) is the term used, both in Pali and Sanskrit, to denote this colour and also dark blue. It designates dark-green, too, as seen in the description *nīlapaṇṇa* (dark-green of leaves: Fausböll, *Ten Jātakas*, p. 119; cp. *SnA.* p. 283, *haritapaṇṇa*). Blue serves also as a general term to designate black and thus it seems to have a fluctuating connotation, its only standard combination being with *pīta* (yellow).

The fact that the two terms *nīla* (blue) and *kāla* (black) are interchangeable is seen from the following examples. In one instance in the *Jātaka* (*J.* I, p. 89) hair is described as *nīla . . . kesa* (lit. blue hair) and in another instance (ibid. VI, p. 578) as *kālakesa* (black hair). When used to designate black, blue colour symbolises an unfortunate state, as in *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (A. III, p. 383) where the phrase *nīla-abhijāti* means an unfortunate birth (cp. loc. cit. *kaṇha-abhijāti*).

Blue is one of the five colours which appear in the Buddha's bodily eye (*Nd.* II, p. 133), as well as one of the six colours found in the halo of the Buddha

(*buddharasmi*). In the *Buddhavaṃsa* (ch. i, *v.* 58) Moggallāna thera's body is said to be of the colour of the rain cloud (*kālamegha*) or the blue lotus (*niluppala*). This also shows that the two forms are interchangeable. According to a tradition prevalent in Ceylon, Moggallāna's complexion was a sign of his having suffered in hell in a previous birth (*DPPN.* II, p. 547). The bodhisattva Avalokiteś-vara, too, in accordance with his duties, is said to assume different forms and colours in each realm of the world of sentient beings. Thus, in the animal realm, appearing under the name of the Steadfast-Lion, he assumes the form of a blue coloured Buddha (Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, London, 1959, p. 247).

Further, the colour blue is employed as one of ten *kasiṇas* (Pali *nīlakasiṇa* = Sanskrit *nīla kṛtsna*), which forms an aid to the practice by means of which abstract meditation (*bhāvanā*) may be attained (cp. *M.* II, p. 13 with the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *BB.* XIII, p. 26).

In Tantric Buddhism, too, blue finds an important place, for it is said to be the colour of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya as well as of other deities belonging to the family of Akṣobhya and it is associated with fierce deities and awe-inspiring rites. In the case of the goddess Nairātmā (Soul-less), another of the Akṣobhya family, the blue colour is used not to denote the dreadful aspect of her character, but to designate the void (*śūnyatā*) which the goddess symbolises, for the Buddhist tradition regards the sky, which is of blue colour, to be a standard symbol for voidness (B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1932, pp. 111, 135).

S. K. N.

BLUE ANNALS, translation by George N. Roeirch of the historical chronicle of Tibet, usually referred to in its abbreviated title *Deb-ther.* The *Blue Annals* or the *Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet* (*Bod-kyi yul-du chos-dan chos-smra-ba .ji-ltar byun-baḥi rim-pa deb-ther snon-po*) form the main source of information for all historical compilations which followed it. *The Blue Annals* or *Deb-ther* were composed between 1476–78 by the well-known scholar Gos lo-tsāba Gzon-nu-dpal. The English translation by George N. Roerich was published n two parts: Part I in 1949 in the Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series, Vol. VII, and Part II in 1953 in the Asiatic Society Monograph Series, Vol. VII. See DEB-THER.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BO, demon. Also name of demons in Devadūta hell. See ABO.

BODAIJŌKYŌ-RYKUGISHAKU (*P'u-ti-ch'ang-ching-lueh-i-shih*, C. 6, *Taishō*, No. 2230, Vol. 61, pp. 513–64), a work of Japan in classical Chinese. The title means 'a concise explanation of the Bodaijōkyō'. It is a commentary in 5 fascicles on the *Bodaijō-(shosetsu-ichijichōrin-o-) kyō* or *Pu-ti-ch'ang-(so-shun-tzŭ-ting-lun-wang-)ching* (*Taishō*, No. 950, Vol. 15, pp. 193–224), which is a translation also in 5 fascicles by Amoghavajra (705–74) of an esoteric sūtra, which gives the ritual manuals of the Ekākṣara-buddha-uṣṇiṣa-cakra-rāja-jāpa. The original of this work is no longer extant. The commentary is composed of 13 chapters as well as the expounded sūtra. Under the same titles as those of corresponding chapters in the sūtra, some annotation is given on each important word and phrase of the sūtra. The commentator is Chishō-daishi Enchin (814–91), a Tendai-priest who founded the Jimon Branch.

S. Mo.

BODAI-KŌ (C. 7), name of a fraternity in Japan. 'Bodai' is derived from Sanskrit *bodhi* meaning 'enlightenment' and '*ko*' means 'fraternity'. The whole term, therefore, means 'fraternity for enlightenment'.

This is a fraternity of Nembutsu (q.v.) which held its meetings every month at the Unrin-in (temple) in Murasakiko of Kyoto since the Heian period (794–1192). This fraternity is already mentioned in the *Ōkagami* (C. 8), an old book of Japanese history, written perhaps within the second decade following 1087, and also in the *Heike-monogatari* (C. 9), war-stories about the Heike family, composed between 1190 and 1221.

Concerning the origin of this fraternity, in the *Konjyaku-monogatari* (C. 10), a narrative written probably a few years earlier than 1077, it is stated that the promoter of this fraternity had been a notorious thief coming from Chinzei (present Kyūshū district). He later became a priest, daily practised Nembutsu fervently and founded the fraternity at the Unrin-in (temple). On the other hand, according to the *Nembutsu-ji Shūzō Kanjin-mon* (C. 11), the subscription for the repair of the Nembutsu-ji, written by Ganren in April of 1308, a Nembutsu-ji (temple) was founded between 985 and 987 in the grounds of the Unrin-in, and there was enshrined an image of Amitāyus Buddha made by Dengyō-daishi (767–822), the founder of the Tendai sect in Japan. On the first day of every month, thereafter, there was held a meeting of the fraternity which was led by Genshin (942–1017), a pioneer in the history of the Pure-Land teachings in Japan, and which was based on a certain rite composed by Genshin himself.

Although the rite is not actually known today, there remains the rite of a fraternity written by Genshin, the title of which is the *Yokogawa Shuryōgon-in Nijyūgo-zammai Shiki* (C. 12, Rite of 25 Samādhis at the Shuryōgon-in in Yokogawa : *Taishō*, No. 2723, Vol. 84, pp. 876 b. ff.). It is not difficult, therefore, to suppose that the rite adopted at the Bodai-kō-fraternity might have been this one of Genshin (*MOC*. Vol .5, p. 4666 b & c, etc.; H. Ui, *A Summary History of Japanese Buddhism*; T. Hashikawa, *A History of Japanese Buddhism*; *A Dictionary of Japanese History*, ed. by the Laboratory of Japanese History, Kyōto University, etc.).

S. Mo.

BODAISHINRON-GUGI (*P'u-t'i-hsin-lun-yu-i*, C. 13; *Taishō*, No. 2295, Vol. 70, pp. 117b–118a), a classical Chinese work written in Japan in 1 fascicle. This is a note of correction of words and passages in the *P'u-t'i-hsin-lun* or *Bodaishinron* (*Taishō*, No. 1665), which is the classical Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (705–774) of the *Vajraśekharayoga-anuttarasamyaksambodhicittotpāda-śāstra*. The annotator Sontsū of the Mi-i-dera (temple), the headquarters of the school under the same name in the Tendai-sect, corrected some words and passages in a popular edition of the text in his days based on his own knowledge. This work appears in the *TaishōTripiṭaka* as the appendix to the *Bodaishinron-ihon*, one of Sontsū's own writings.

S. Mo.

BODAISHINRON IHON (*P'u-t'i-hsin-lun-i-pên*, *Taishō*, No. 2295, Vol. 70, pp. 116a-117a), a classical Chinese work written in Japan in 1 fascicle. This is a note on the differences in word and passage of different manuscripts of the *P'u-t'i-hsin-lun* or *Bodaishinron* (*Taishō*, No. 1665), the classical Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (705-774) of the *Vajraśekharayoga-anuttarasamyaksambodhicittotpāda-śāstra*. The annotator Sontsū of the Mi-i-dera (temple), the headquarters of the school under the same name in the Tendai-sect, recorded all differences of words and passages comparing various manuscripts of the text with one another. According to its foreword, he completed the work on the 9th of September of the 6th year of Meiō (1497).

S. Mo.

BODAISHINRON-KENMON (*P'u-t'i-lun-chien-wên*, *Taishō* No. 2294, Vol. 70, pp. 33-116), a work written in Japan in classical Chinese. This is a commentary in 4 fascicles on the *P'u-t'i-hsin-lun* or *Bodaishinron* (*Taishō*, No. 1665). The text commented upon is the classical Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (705-74) of the *Vajraśekharayoga-anuttarasamyaksambodhicittotpāda-śāstra* which is considered to be one of the most essential seven texts in the Shingon (esoteric) sect in Japan. Although the commentator is unknown today, the following statement is found in the colophon of the work : On the 7th of August of the 3rd year of Kareki (1328), Anchō finished noting down what had been preached at the residence of the Gakutō of the Anrakuji (temple) in Owari Province (present Aichi Prefecture).

S. Mo.

BODE, MABEL HAYNES, Ph. D., M.R.A.S., Pali Scholar, best known for her studies of early Buddhist literature in Burma, with which country her name has now come to be closely linked in the world of Buddhist scholarship.

In the long connection Mrs. Bode had with Burma, she made a special study of Buddhism and Pali literature in that country. Burma had long been known for its scholarly studies in the Tipiṭaka, especially the Abhidhamma, while its monasteries contained rich collections of Pali manuscripts. Mrs. Bode concentrated her attention on this large store of knowledge and the fruit of her researches was embodied in her major work, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, (1909), a Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication which appeared, incidentally, twelve years after E. Forchhammer's report on the same theme, pubilshed by the Government of India in 1897.

The year 1897 saw also the publication in London of Mrs. Bode's edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, a history of Buddhism, which, together with the *Sāsanapaveṇi*, an ancient historical work, deals with, among other things, a question on which many modern scholars of both East and West differ— viz., the beginnings of Buddhism in Burma. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, in the eighth year after he had gained omniscience, the Buddha, with many hundreds of monks, went to Sudhammapura (present Thaton) in the Ramañña country, and gave the Buddha Dhamma to the inhabitants of the country, together with their king, and established them in the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts. Although the people did not understand all of the Buddha's teachings, those who were believers at heart took faith (*saddhā*) according to their own ability to understand. But subsequently, after the Third Great Buddhist Council held at Pāṭalīputra, the Ven. Moggaliputta Tissa Mahāthera deputed his disciples Soṇa and Uttara to visit the Buddha country (Suvaṇṇabhūmi) and establish the Buddha Sāsana there. This was 235 years after the Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna.

For the text of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Mrs. Bode relied mainly on the two-palm leaf manuscripts from the British Museum and T. W. Rhys Davids, who seems to have had much regard for Mrs. Bode's scholarship, had a special word of praise for the valuable introduction she had prefixed to it. Bode's *Pali Literature of Burma* was mainly based on this text.

Mrs. Bode is also known for her association with Wilhelm Geiger in the translation of the Pali *Mahāvaṃsa* into English in 1912. The circumstances in which Mrs. Bode came to be associated with this understanding were as follows :

Early in 1908 the Government of Ceylon were contemplating a new and revised edition of Turnour's translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, published in 1837 and reprinted in L. C. Wijesinha's *Mahāvaṃsa*, published in 1889. On the recommendation of T. W. Rhys Davids, founder-president of the Pali Text Society, Geiger, who had made a translation into German of his own revised critical edition of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (published in 1908 by the Pali Text Society, with an introduction, appendices and notes), was asked to undertake the task of bringing out a revised edition. At his request Mrs. Bode translated the German version into English and Geiger then revised the English translation.

Mrs. Bode has to her credit another book, *A Burmese Historian of Buddhism* (London, 1898), three papers published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, namely, An Index to the Gandhavamsa (1896), An Index of Pali Words discussed in translation (1901), and Early Pali Grammarians in Burma (1908), and a thoughtful essay on the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1899).

M. R. R.

BODHĀHĀRAKULA, the name given to the descendants of the eight families who brought the branch of the Bodhi-tree from Pāṭaliputta to Ceylon. See BODHIDHĀRAKULA.

BODHANĀ SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Udāyi-vagga* of the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* (*S.* V, p. 83). When questioned by a monk the Buddha explains that the *bojjhaṅgas* (Factors of Enlightenment) are so-called because they conduce to wisdom.

BODHĀRĀM (var. **Mahābodhārām**) former name of a 15th century temple (*wat*) in Chiangmai, Thailand. See CEDYOD.

BODHI (1), one of the five hundred pacceka-buddhas who in ancient times lived on the Isigili mountain in seclusion. These pacceka-buddhas were seen by the people entering the mountain range, but were never seen thereafter. Hence the name of the mountain Isigili (q.v.). The names of the pacceka-buddhas are given in the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, p. 69 f.).

Buddhaghosa in his commentary (*MA*. IV, p. 127) relates how these sages had made their dwelling inside the mountain behind a rock which would open and close, like a folding door.

H.G.A.v.Z.

BODHI (2), from the root *budh*[1] (to be awake) meaning knowledge (*ñāṇa*), Enlightenment, and therefore, the knowledge[2] possessed by the Enlightened One, the Buddha. Generally, bodhi is said to consist of seven Constituents of Enlightenment (Pali, *bojjhaṅga* ; Skt. *bodhyaṅga*) and it is considered as being attainable through the accomplishment of the principles conducive to the maturing of Enlightenment (Pali, *bodhipakkhikā-dhammā* or *bodhi-pācanā-dhammā* ; Skt. *bodhi-pakṣyā-dharmā*). Besides, in this specific meaning of Enlightenment, the term bodhi is also used to express the Enlightenment of pacceka-buddhas[3]. Sometimes, the term *sambodhi* (prefix *sam*+*bodhi*) is used to denote the Enlightenment of the Buddha, pacceka-buddhas and all arahants.[4] There are also the terms *abhisambodhi* and *sammā-sambodhi* which are exclusively used to connote the Enlightenment of the Buddhas, sometimes as distinguished from the Enlightenment of the pacceka-buddhas and arahants.

The Nikāyas as well as the commentarial literature attempt to explain the exact meaning of the term *bodhi*. Thus, according to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V p. 423) it is the acquisition of the knowledge of the Four Truths. Elsewhere, it is said that Enlightenment is the Way (*bodhīti maggo : MA*. I, p. 54 ; *VinA*. I. p 139), meaning the Noble Eightfold Path. It is also explained as penetration into the four worthy and true things, probably meaning the Four Noble Truths[5] (*VbhA*. p. 310).

The attainment of Enlightenment is a personal experience, and therefore, the exact nature and the content of Enlightenment cannot be known except by him to whom it has come. Yet, there are several passages in the Nikāyas which attempt to explain the attainment of Enlightenment by the Buddha as well as the content of his Enlightenment.[6] These attempts are of two types. In one it is simply described as the dawn of Truth brought about by the practice of meditation, after a long process of trial and error. In the other, it is graphically described as being preceded by a fierce battle with Māra, in which the bodhisatta ultimately defeats Māra and consequently attains Enlightenment (*M*. I, pp. 160 f., 240 f. ; *Sn. vv.* 425-49 ; cp. *Lal*. pp. 218ff.; *Mhvu*. II, p. 238). It is apparent that of these two representations the first one is the earlier and the latter is a later mythological development, probably the result of an effort to represent symbolically the mental conflict of the bodhisatta that took place at the moment of Enlightenment.

The earliest textual references show that Siddhattha Gotama left the household-life with the sole intention of putting an end to the saṃsāric existence which he considered to be full of ill (*dukkha : M*. I, p. 163 ; *A*. I, p. 145 ; *S*. II, p. 104 ; III, p. 65). It is after quite a long process of trial and error that he ultimately succeeded in comprehending fully the cause of all ill (*dukkha*) and the way that leads to the cessation of ill. It is this comprehension that is known as Enlightenment (*M*. I, p. 167).

From early textual references it is quite apparent that the highest point of knowledge reached by the Buddha is the acquisition of the knowledge which brings about the extinction of the cankers (*āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa*)[7]. The other two types of knowledge, i.e., *pubbenivāsānussati-ñāṇa* and *dibbacakkhu*, are preliminary acquisitions. In the texts, the moment of the acquisition of this knowledge is described as follows: " Then with my mind composed. . . . I directed my mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the cankers (*āsavānaṃ khayañāṇāya cittaṃ abhininnāmesiṃ*). I understood as it really is (*yathābhūtaṃ*) : This is ill (*dukkha*), this is the arising of ill, this is the stopping of ill, this is the path leading to the stopping of ill. I understood

1 *Bodhin-manas : Ṛg-veda*, v. 75,1. viii, 82, 18.

2 In this context 'knowledge' denotes the insight into the true nature of things (*yathābhūtañāṇa*).

3 cp. the coined terms *pacceka-bodhi* (*J*. III, p. 348 ; in *SnA*. p. 73 used as distinguished from *sammā-sambodhi*) and *pacceka-bodhi-ñāṇa* (*J*. IV, p. 114). It is noteworthy that the term *sāvaka-bodhi* does not occur in Pali canonical and commentarial literature though its Sanskrit equivalent *śrāvaka-bodhi* is quite common in Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Note also that *DA*. I, p. 100 enumerates the three degrees of knowledge as *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa*, *pacceka-buddha-ñāṇa* and *sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*. Occasionally, the term *bodhi* is also used to denote the lofty knowledge of an ascetic (e.g., *J*.V, p. 229 f.).

4 Rhys Davids is of opinion that this term never means the wisdom of a Buddha, but always the insight of the higher stages of the path to arahantship (*Dialogues*, I, p. 190ff.). But his view is not acceptable in the light of textual evidence (cp. *S*. I, p. 181 ; *M*. I, pp. 17, 163 ; *Sn. vv.* 693, 696).

5 But cp. I. B. Horner, *Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, London, 1936, pp. 34ff.

6 Canonical texts contain also several passages which describe the attainment of Enlightenment of the Buddha's disciples. The *Thera* and *Therī-gāthā*, too, abound in such descriptions.

7 The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M*. I, p. 163) does not use this particular term, but the idea expressed amounts to it.

as it really is: These are the cankers...., this is the course leading to the stopping of the cankers. Knowing this thus, seeing thus, my mind was freed from the canker of sense-pleasure (*kāmāsava*), from the canker of becoming (*bhavāsava*) and from the canker of ignorance (*avijjāsava*). In freedom the knowledge came to me : I am freed ; and I comprehended : Destroyed is birth (*khīṇā jāti*), brought to a close is the holy life (*vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*), done is what was to be done (*kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ*), there is no more of being such or such " (*nāparaṃ itthattāya* : *M.* I, pp. 23, 249). From this it is clear that the knowledge of the destruction of the cankers becomes complete after freeing the mind from the canker of ignorance which is the main root of all ills and continued rebirth. After Gotama's attainment of Enlightenment (*bodhi*), he is called the Enlightened One, the Buddha.

The earliest canonical texts do not attempt to show that bodhi is the exclusive possession of the Buddha. All those who had gained release from the vortex of recurring briths, by the acquisition of *āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa* were regarded as being enlightened and were referred to as those who had destroyed the cankers (*khīṇāsava*) or arahants. The highest point of spiritual advancement reached by the Buddha by becoming enlightened is arahanthood. The Buddha is the first arahant and was regarded as such along with the other arahants (*Vin.* I, p. 14). By attaining Enlightenment before others he merely found anew the path that was so long lost to the world (*S.* II, p. 105 ; V, p. 160 f.; *M.* III, p. 8). Thus, he was the pioneer in this successful search of the goal, while the other arahants were followers after him, hence they are called *buddhānubuddhā*[8].

There were attempts from very early times to differentiate the Buddha's Enlightenment from that of his disciples. It was probably with this intention that his Enlightenment was exclusively referred to as the most perfect Enlightenment (*anuttara-sammā-sambodhi*). With the development of the Buddha-concept, the content of the Buddha's Enlightenment, too, underwent further changes. Thus, it was said that though both the Buddha and the arahants have the threefold knowledge (*tisso vijjā*) the Buddha's threefold knowledge differed from that of the arahants in the length of time it could remember. The Buddha's Enlightenment was considered as being constituted of numerous other aspects. Thus, it was said that he possessed the sixfold higher knowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*), the ten powers (*dasabala*), the four confidences (*catu-vesārajja*) and so on. It was accepted that he had matured all the factors that lead to Enlightenment (*bodhi-pakkhikā-dhammā*). Still later, he was considered as being omniscient (*sabbaññu*). All these attributes were regarded as part and parcel of the Buddha's Enlightenment (See also *ERE.* II, p. 740).

Just as the content of Enlightenment changed the ideas regarding the path that leads to Enlightenment, too, seems to have undergone certain changes. The earliest textual references which describe the Buddha's attainment of Enlightenment reveal that the Buddha after abandoning the two extremes, i.e., indulgence in excessive sense-pleasures and self-mortification (*attakilamthānuyoga* and *kāmasukhallikānuyoga*), followed the Middle Path (*majjhimā-paṭipadā*), cultivating virtue (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*), which led him to Enlightenment. Yet, there are certain canonical references which represent Enlightenment as being attained by other means. Thus, in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*M.*V, p. 257) it is saidth at it is by the fact of cultivating and making much of the four psychic powers (*iddhi-pāda*) that the Tathāgata is called an arahant, a fully Enlightened One. Elsewhere, the cultivation of the seven Limbs of Enlightenment is said to be a cause and condition for Enlightenment (*S.* V, p. 127f.). In the older texts there are no stereotyped lists of principles that are conducive to Enlightenment (*bodhi-pakkhikā-dhammā*). Later, the number of these principles (*dhammā*) was increased to thirty-seven or forty-three. Still later, with the development of Mahāyāna, perfections (*pāramitā*) and bhūmis were also considered as causes and conditions governing the attainment of Enlightenment[9].

The attainment of Enlightenment is identical with the realisation of Nibbāna. This is the goal reached by all those who have destroyed the cankers (*āsava*) whether they be Buddhas, pacceka-buddhas or buddhānubuddhas. Therevāda Buddhism does not persuade its adherents to become Buddhas in order to attain Nibbāna, but advocates the destruction of the cankers for this purpose. It is a fact that even in Theravāda Buddhism reference is made to three types of enlightened persons, viz., Buddhas, pacceka-buddhas and buddhānubuddhas or arahants. But these were not put forward as three different ideals to be persued by adherents according to their choice. However, later, with the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the bodhisattva-concept, these

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8. Regarding the difference between the Buddha and arahants see ARAHANT, BUDDHOLOGY.

9. Regarding the Tantric explanation of bodhi and means of attaining it see BODHICITTA. see also BODHIPAKKHIYA DHAMMA.

were explicitly declared to be three different stages of spiritual advancement leading to three different types of Enlightenment, called *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*, *pratyeka-bodhi* and *śrāvaka-bodhi*[10] and in accordance with these were formed the *bodhisattva-yāna*[11], *pratyekabuddha-yāna* and *śrāvaka-yāna*. Of these the latter two were considered to be much inferior to the *bodhisattva-yāna*.

As Buddhism, specially Mahāyāna Buddhism, spread into different countries its teachings and tenets underwent further changes owing to the incorporation of beliefs and ideas peculiar to each country. Consequently the content and nature of Enlightenment, too, were changed to some extent. Each school of Buddhism in China and Japan put forward different views regarding the nature of Enlightenment and the path that leads to Enlightenment. For instance, on the one hand Zen Buddhism teaches that Enlightenment comes by means of direct intuition regarding one's own nature. On the other hand, the Pure Land school says that it comes through the grace of Amitābha. Tendai Buddhism enumerates fifty-two stages which must be passed through before perfect Enlightenment can be attained. Some schools taught that the attainment of Enlightenment is gradual, whereas others taught that it is instantaneous. This distinction itself led to the formation of two different schools of Zen Buddhism.

S.K.N.

BODHI (3), a bhikkhu who lived in Ceylon in the time of king Silāmeghavaṇṇa (610–28 A.C.) who is known in the Sinhalese writings as merely Asiggāhaka (sword-bearer), because of his office under the previous king whom he destroyed to ascend the throne. Bodhi had something to say about some members of the Abhayagiri vihāra which the king had embellished. He complained to the king that there were many indisciplined bhikkhus in this vihāra. Being young in years he was of an impatient turn of mind, for, having brought his complaint, he seems to have urged the king to take strong action against these unworthy members and proclaim a regulative act. The act has to be carried out by the bhikkhu community according to the formalities laid down in the Vinaya. In the present case the king invested Bodhi himself with the authority to execute the decree. It resulted in the expulsion of the offending persons. They, however, plotted revenge and secretly murdered Bodhi. The king was furious, had the miscreants seized and their hands cut off. They were then put into mean service as guards of bathing-tanks. Bodhi had been foully murdered, but his spirit triumphed. The king pursued stern action against offenders and banished one hundred of them to India. He cleansed the Saṅgha and attempted, though without success, to reconcile the two great rivals, Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri, by holding the uposatha ceremony in unison; however, the former stood determinedly aloof.

D. T. D.

BODHI (4), a virtuous monk of Burma who lived in the reign of king Alaungsithu (1112–67 A.C.). The king presented him with a golden carriage (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, p. 119).

BODHI (5), also called Mahābodhi (q.v.), name of the Buddha Gotama in a previous birth as a wandering ascetic. He was born in an Udicca brāhman family (*J*. V, pp. 227–40) and, when still a householder, had become proficient in such branches of learning as are esteemed in the world. Being interested in the fine arts, he had also acquainted himself with them. Afterwards, he renounced household life and, as he was exerting himself for the benefit of the world, he directed his mind more earnestly to the study of law-books, and obtained mastery in that science. He was very much esteemed by the people on account of his possession of a store of merit, the loftiness of his wisdom, his knowledge of the world, and his superior skill in the art of logical argumentation. Pleased by the inspiring sermons given by Bodhi, the religious mendicant, the king had a monastery built for him in his own pleasure-park, and regarded him as his spiritual teacher (*Jm.* xxiii). See *Mahā Bodhi Jātaka*.

W. S. Ktl.

BODHI (6), a pagoda in Burma. It was constructed to depict the Buddha attaining Enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree. It was built by king Nanda-ungmya (*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, p. 154).

10 These ideals were later adopted by popular Theravāda Buddhism, especially in Ceylon. They seem to have been introduced into the Buddhism of Ceylon during the Polonnaruwa period, during which time numerous other Mahāyānic beliefs, too, found their way in.

11 This is the same as Buddha-yāna, Tathāgata-yāna or Mahāyāna.

BODHĪ, a therī. She was a friend of Isidāsī ther who recounted her past lives at the request of Bodhī therī while they were staying at Pāṭaliputta (*ThīgA.* p. 261).

BODHICARYĀPRADĪPA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan work, the *Byaṅ-chub spyod-paḥi sgron-ma shes-bya-ba*, attributed to Kamalaśrī (Kamalaśīla) and Jñānaguhya of Kaśmīr and Oṅ-po lo-tsā-ba translated the work into Tibetan. This text is found in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 2321). According to the Peking edition it is incorporated in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3160).

The text commences with salutations addressed to Vāgīśvara, Tārā (Tib. *sgrol-ma*) and the great lamas. The author mentions that everything which exists in the world is impermanent like the vanishing rainbow (*hiḥ tshon*) and all beings are tormented with sorrow and afflictions. The miseries should be got rid of by discarding all sins, defilements and indolence (*le-lo*) and by accumulating religous merit through virtue (*bsod-nams*). After attaining the bodhicitta (q.v.), through the practice of meditation, the believer is instructed to live up to the dharma. Thereupon, he is asked to take the three vows, namely, the vow of an ordinary Buddhist for self-emancipation (*so-thar-gyī sdom-pa*), the vow of a bodhisattva for universal liberation (*byaṅ-sems-kyi sdom-pa*) and the Tantric or mystical vow (*gsaṅ-sṅags kyī sdom-pa*). In order to attain the bliss of emancipation, the author says, one should attain the realization of the happy state of meditation by becoming an ascetic.

I. K.

BODHICARYĀVATĀRA. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[1] and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (q.v.) constitute the most important works of Śāntideva. While the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is only a compendium of the doctrine of Mahāyāna, containing citations from sūtras explaining the subject-matter set out in 27 verses which serve as chapter headlines- a work which displays an extraordinary erudition and vast reading but little originality on the part of the compiler- the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* represents one of the most elegant and inspiring peices of poetic literature inculcating a religious ideal, strong in appeal and born of deep philosophical maturity and insignt.

According to Tāranātha[2] and Bu-ston[3], the author of this śāstra, Śāntideva, was the son of King Kalyāṇavarman of Saurāṣṭra, and was born in the eighth century A.C. He was to have been crowned king in sucession to his father, but renounced this on the advice of Mañjuśri who appeared to him in a dream. Tradition has it that he fled and took orders in Nālandā with Jayadeva; henceforth he was known by the name Śāntideva.

The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* consists of ten chapters composed entirely of ślokas. The work begins with a glorification of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta* q.v.) and goes on to enumerate a gradual path which a bohisattva has to follow culminating in the perfection of wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*). The last chapter is a final dedication of merit acquired by the composition of the treatise for the purpose of saving the whole of humanity from the trammels of saṃsāric existence.

As will be evident, Śāntideva's primary concern was to enunciate and extol the ideal of life recommended in the Mahāyāna, especially in the Mādhyamika system. Except in the ninth chapter, where the discussion pivots round the kind of highest knowledge to be acquired by the bodhisattva, there are no hair-spilitting arguments and abstruse dialectics which characterise Mādhyamika thought. The work is primarily intended to evoke religious enthusiasm and spiritual earnestness. The reason is not far to seek. The dry and purely academic study of the elements of existence during the period of the Abhidharma evoked a certain amount of antagonism from the masses whose cause was taken up by the Mahāsaṅghikas and led to the emergence of Mahāyāna with its emphasis on popular religious sentiments. These religious ideas developed, in the course of time, culminating in the monistic conception of reality as represented by the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha. This was the basic theme of the class of literature called Prajñāpāramitā. The acceptance of the monistic principle led to the rejection of

1 The Sanskrit text was collated and published by the Russian scholar, P. Minayeff, in 1889 and was later reprinted in India (*JBTS.* 1894). L. de la Vallée Poussin brought out a fresh publication together with the commentary of Śes-rab ḥbyuṅ-gnas (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1901-14), and the ninth chapter together with the commentary was separately published in his *Bouddhisme* (1898). The text was translated into French by de la Valiée Poussin (Paris, 1907), while a German translation was produced by R. Schmidt (Paderborn, 1923). An abridged translation in English was published by L. D. Barnett, see *The Path of Light* (Wisdom of the East Series, London, 1909). The text was rendered into Chinese as *P'u-t'i-hsing-ching.* (*Taishō*, No. 1662) and the Tibetan version entitled *Byaṅchub sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la-ḥjugs pa* is included in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

2 See Schiefner, A., *Taranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (1896), pp. 163 ff.

3 *History of Buddhism* (*Chos-hbyuṅ*), Bu-ston, translation from Tibetan by E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, 1931-2), Vol. II, pp. 161 ff.

duality of subject and object, hence of validity o speculative or conceptual thinking. The logic and dialectic of the early Mādhyamikas, especially of Nāgārjuna, were directed at exposing the futility of speculative metaphysics. This emphasis on abstruse logic and dialectic, which the early Mādhyamikas adopted in their polemics against their opponents, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, led to a neglect of the religious ideal which Śāntideva attempts to revive in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

The development of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) being the most important as well as the initial phase in the career of a bodhisattva, Śāntideva has devoted the first chapter of his work for its glorification. It is intended to show the efficacy of the Thought of Enlightenment and thereby induce and encourage people to adopt the path that leads to Perfect Enlightenment. The merits of developing the Thought of Enlightenment are described in detail; it is said to be the fountainhead of all happiness, the foundation for the attainment of Buddhahood, a state of mind capable of enhancing good, extinguishing suffering and leading to the acquisition of limitless merit. In fact, it is even considered to be superior to righteousness: "Like the plantain tree, all other righteousness fades away after its fruit is cast; but the tree of the Thought of Enlightenment bears everlasting fruit and fades not, but is ever fecund."[4] Śāntideva distinguishes two kinds of bodhicitta: (1) making of the great resolve towards the bodhi (*bodhi-praṇidhi-citta*) and (2) the entering upon the career of the bodhi (*bodhi-prasthāna-citta*). While the former represents the aspiration to attain Buddhahood, the latter denotes the actual setting out on the journey towards that goal.

Having described in laudatory terms the value of the Thought of Enlightenment, Śāntideva goes on to discuss a pre-requisite condition for the development of the Thought of Enlightenment, i.e., the confession of sins (*pāpadeśanā*). Thus, in Chapter ii, he points out that, first, it is necessary to seek refuge in the Three Jewels (*triratna*), and, secondly, that it is a condition *sine qua non* that one has to confess the wrong committed by oneself before proceeding to the other stages in the path. The importance of this preparatory stage was emphasised even in the early sūtras. The confession of sins was believed to have a restraining influence on one's future behaviour.[5]

Chapter iii is on the assumption of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicittaparigraha*). The idea of renunciation, which is the basic principle behind the Buddhist philosophy of life, pervades the entire chapter. The Mahāyānist ideal of renouncing one's own happiness for the benefit of those who are confined to suffering in this saṃsāric existence is again and again emphasised. The assumption of the Thought of Enlightenment is represented by the vow of the bodhisattva: "As the Blessed of old took the Thought of Enlightenment and held fast to the rule for the Sons of Enlightenment in the order thereof, so do I frame the Thought of Enlightenment for the weal of the world, and so will I observe these rules in their sequence."[6]

Next comes the chapter on "Heedfulness i the Thought of Enlightenment" (*bodhicittāpramāda*). It emphasises the fact that the mere taking of the Thought of Enlightenment is not sufficient unless "one constantly strives, without slackening, to observe the rule."[7] In fact, the evil consequence of neglecting this vow are described in detail. The determination to adhere to the vow is made stronger as a result of the realization that the bodhisattva himself is not freed from passions. It is said: "Ah! when I vowed to deliver all beings within the bounds of space in its ten points from the passions, I myself had not won deliverance from the passions. Knowing not my own measure, I spoke like a madman. Then I will never turn back from smiting the passions."[8]

Chapter v emphasises the importance of watchfulness (*samprajanya*) in the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*), of charity (*dāna*), righteousness (*śīla*), forbearance (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*) and knowledge (*prajñā*). It is maintained that "the rules cannot be kept by him who guards not fickle thought."[9]

One whole chapter (vi) is then devoted to the "Perfection of Forbearance" (*kṣānti-pāramitā*) which became a rather important and generally popular theme in Mahāyāna literature, as is evident from texts like the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra.

Chapter vii extols the virtues of strength or energy (*vīrya*). Forbearance (*kṣānti*) needs to be continually supported by strength or energy (*vīrya*) which, in its turn, will bring about Enlightenment. Selfless service on the part of a person who is not yet freed from the passions for worldly things, demands an enormous degree of strength. "From inaction, delight in pleasure, slumber, and eargerness for repose springs the spirit that feels no horror at the miseries of life,"[10] but such an attitude is not in keeping with the determination of one who has vowed to help the whole of humanity in its struggle against worldly passions.

Chapter viii is devoted to the exposition of the "Perfection of Contemplation" (*dhyāna-pāramitā*). The energy and strength called for in the practice of the earlier stages of the career of a bodhisattva is then channelled on to the concentration of thought, which becomes most essential if he is to develop the highest knowledge and achieve freedom from the bonds of existence.

4 *Bc.* I, 12; *The Path of Light*, p. 38.

5 *M.* I, pp. 437 ff. (*Bhaddāli Sutta*).

6 *Bc.* iii, 22-3; *The Path of Light*, p. 46.

7 ibid. iv, 1.

8 ibid. iv, 41-2; *The Path of Light*, p. 51.

9 ibid. v, 1.

10 ibid. vii, 3.

Chapter ix is devoted to the exposition of the "Perfection of Knowledge" (*prajñā-pāramitā*). It represents one of the most important attempts by a Mādhyamika to reconcile the apparently nihilistic conception of "the void" (*śūnyatā*) with the "path of release" (*vimuktimārga*) enunciated in Mahāyāna and described with such pious devotion in the early part of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. As is evident from the *Mādhyamika-kārikā*[11] of Nāgārjuna, the emphasis on the unknowability of the subjective as well as objective reality led to a denial of the efficacy of the path to Enlightenment, nay, even Buddhahood. But the Mādhyamika tried to avoid these pitfalls by emphasising the dual nature of reality, the phenomenal (*saṃvṛti*) and the ultimately real (*paramārtha*).[12] The former conceives objects as they appear to the normal intelligence of finite beings; but this mode of conception is erroneous when viewed from the standpoint of transcendental verity, which insists upon the infinite and inconceivable nature of things. According to the higher reality, nothing can be predicated of anything; all is inconceivable, "void" (*śūnya*). In this chapter, Śāntideva launches an attack upon both realism and idealism. He criticises the Hīnayāna (i.e., Sarvāstivāda) theory of the elements of existence as an illusion. On the other hand, the theory of the Vijñānavādins that nothing exists but pure absolute thought, is equally erroneous. He also criticises the theories of the various non-Buddhist schools of thought and holds that the legitimate attitude is that of the Mādhyamikas, with their denial of the validity of the means of knowledge. Reality for them is inconceivable, hence "void" (*śūnya*). The realization that everything is "void" (*śūnya*) is the perfection of knowledge (*prajñā-pāramitā*) which leads one to Perfect Enlightenment (*samyak-sambodhi*).

The moral standpoint advocated by Śāntideva in the first part of his work is gracefully followed by him in the last chapter where all the merits gained by him by his work are diverted not only to uplift him to the higher grades of beatification as a bodhisattva, but also for the benefit of fellow-creatures. Thus is affirmed the principle of *pariṇāmanā*, the principle that the karma of an individual is no longer confined to his own experience, but can be made to redound to the benefit of others.

As was mentioned earlier, this treatise of Śāntideva is an endeavour to explain and justify the career of a bodhisattva on the basis of Mādhyamika philosophy. It is true that the bodhisattva-ideal was expounded in numerous texts compiled before the time of Śāntideva. But the systematic treatment of the various stages of the path showing their interconnection, as well as the language and metaphors used in the work had such popular appeal that the work gained wide approval in India and numerous commentaries came to be written on it. Of the numerous commentaries, ten have been preserved in their Tibetan translations. They are: (1) the *Dkaḥ ḥgrel* by Śes-rab ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Prajñākaramati), (2) the *Rnam-par bśad-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* by an unknown author, (3) the *Legs-par sbyar-ba* by Dge-ba lha (Śubhadeva), (4) the *Rtogs-par dkaḥ-baḥi gnas gtan-la-bdaḥ-pa* by Kṛṣṇa-pa (Kṛṣṇapāda), (5) the *Dkaḥ-ḥgrel* by Vairocanarakṣita, (6) the *Śes-rab leḥuhi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* by an unknown author, (7) the *Śer-leḥi sño-baḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* by an unknown author, (8) the *Don sum-cu-rtsa-drug bsdus-pa* by Gser-gliṅ-gi bla-ma Chos-skyoṅ (lama Dharmakīrti of Svarṇadvīpa), (9) the *Don bsdus-pa* by the same author and (10) the *Dgons-paḥi ḥgrel-pa khy ad–par gsal byed śes-bya-ba* by Vibhūticandra.[13]

D. J. K.

BODHICARYĀVATĀRA-PAÑJIKĀ, a commentary in Sanskrit by Prajñākaramati on the first nine chapters of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (q.v.). This commentary was edited by L. de la Vallee Poussin along with the text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in his work: *Bouddhisme, Ètudes et Materiaux* Vol. I, London, 1898. A more recent edition has been published by P. L. Vaidya: *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva with the commentary, *pañjikā*, of Prajñākaramati, Mithila Instituto, Darbhanga, 1960, *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, No. 12. In his introduction to this work, Vaidya mentions an earlier edition in Devanāgari script by Poussin in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series, Calcutta, 1902–14.

A Tibetan translation of this *pañjikā*, the Tibetan translation of which is *Byaṅ-chub-kyi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel*, occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* in the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* No. 3872) and in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5273). The translation of this work into Tibetan is ascribed to Sumatikīrta (var. Sumatikīrti), Mar-pa chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug (Dharmeśvara) and Gñan Dar-ma grags (Dharmakīrti) and Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (Guṇodadhi) is said to have revised it (*Cordier*, III, p. 306 ff.)

A very long commentary to *Bodhicaryāvatāra* forms the contents of this work. The entire text is divided into nine chapters. They are as follows:

1. *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems-kyi phan-yoṅ-gyi leḥu dan-po* (the good effects of the Thought of Enlightenment: bodhicitta),
2. *Sdig-pa bśags-pa* (expiation of sin by confession and repentence),
3. *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems yoṅs-su bzuṅ-ba* (complete grasping of the bodhicitta),

11 *Mdhvṛ.* pp. 477–478.

12 Ibid. p. 492.

13 This information is taken from an article on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* written for the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* by Li An.

4. *Ḍag-yod bstan-pa* (doctrine of chastity),
5. *Śes-bshin bsruṅ-ba* (ensuring the state of knowing),
6. *Bzod-pa bstan-pa* (the doctrine of forbearance)
7. *Brston-ḥgrys-kyi leḥu* (diligence),
8. *Bsam-gtan-gyi leḥu* (meditation),
9. *Śes-rab-kyi leḥu* (sublime wisdom).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta and Avalokiteśvara. See also BODHICARYĀVATĀRA

I. K.

BODHICARYĀVATĀRA — TĀTPARYAPAÑJIKĀ-VISEṢADYOTANĪ—NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* in the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* No. 3880) and in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sūtra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5282). Its author is Vibhūticandra of Jagantalavihāra in east India, and he himself translated the work into Tibetan at the monastery of Dpal rgya-rtags in the Rulag district (*Cordier*, III, p. 310).

The text is a sub-commentary to *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*, containing ten chapters. The tenth chapter is called, the *Yoṅs-su bsṅo-baḥi leḥuḥi* .... *bcu-pa* (complete blessing ?), which is missing in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*.

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas.

I. K.

BODHICITTA, or the 'Thought of Enlightenment', is an important concept common to Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism. Though not directly mentioned, the idea is explicit in Theravāda Buddhism. It was in Mahāyāna, however, that the bodhicitta concept developed along both ethical and metaphysical lines and this development is found in Tantrism, too, wherein it also came to be regarded as a state of great bliss (*mahāsukha*). In Mahāyāna it developed along pantheistic lines, for it was held that bodhicitta is latent in all beings and that it is merely a manifestation of the *Dharmakāya* (Body of Law) or *Bhūtatathatā* (suchness of existence, i.e., the Universal Spirit) in the human heart. Thus it came to be analogous to the Brahman concept of the *Upaniṣads* and was considered immeasurable (*aprameya*) infinite (*aparyanta*) and indestructible (*akṣaya*).

Though the term bodhicitta does not occur in Pali, traces of this concept are found in Pali canonical literature where, for example, we are told how Gotama after renouncing household life resolved to strive to put an end to all the ills of existence by comprehending fully the causes of all ill (*M.* I, p. 163 *A.* I, p. 145). It is this comprehension that came to be known as the Enlightenment (*bodhi*, q.v.), and Gotama came to be known as the Enlightened One—the Buddha. The earliest canonical references do not say that Gotama, when he first resolved to attain Enlightenment, did so in pursuit of the welfare of others. It was after attaining Enlightenment that he decided to preach the doctrine to others for their welfare. According to tradition the Buddha took this decision only after being persuaded by Brahmā Sahampati (*M.* I, p. 168). But underlying this tradition is the fact that it was out of great compassion for beings (*sattesu kāruññatam paṭicca*) that the Buddha decided to preach to others the Truth he comprehended.[1] But later when the Buddha came to be looked upon as the Being of Great Compassion (*mahākāruṇika*), it came to be accepted that his resolution to attain Enlightenment was motivated by altruism. The development of the bodhisattva concept further established this belief. Thus, it is explicitly stated in the *Jātakanidānakathā* that Gotama Buddha in a previous birth as Sumedha could have attained Nibbāna as an arahant, but instead he resolved to attain Enlightenment as a Buddha for the welfare of others.[2]

The term *abhinīhāra* (q.v.) used in this connection is also noteworthy. It occurs twice in the *Jātakanidānakathā* (*J.* I, pp. 14, 15) in the phrases *buddhabhāvāya abhinīhāraṃ katvā* and *buddhattāya abhinīhāraṃ katvā*. The term *abhinīhāra*, literallaly meaning 'to take out', or 'to direct to', is defined in the commentaries as, 'an initial aspiration', (*pubbapatthanā*) or 'a first resolve' (*mūlapaṇidhāna* : *AA.* I, p. 135 ; *ApA.* p. 140). The *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Buv.* p. 9), where this term occurs, enumerates eight prerequisites essential for a person who seeks to resolve to attain Enlightenment. The *Apadāna* commentary describes these basic qualifications in detail (*ApA.* p. 140). These prerequisites are not

1 See also *M.* I, p. 235 which describes the Buddha as " *buddho so Bhagavā bodhāya dhammaṃ deseti, danto so Bhagavā damathāya dhammaṃ deseti, santo so Bhagavā samathāya dhammaṃ deseti, tiṇṇo so Bhagavā taraṇāya dhammaṃ deseti, parinibbuto so Bhagavā parinibbānayā dhammaṃ desetīti.*"

2 *aññātakavasena pana me kilese jhāpetvā nibbānapattiyā kiccaṃ n'atthi, yan nūnāhaṃ Dīpaṅkaradasabalo viya paramābhisambodhim patvā dhammanāvaṃ āropetvā mahājanaṃ saṃsārasāgarā uttāretvā pacchā parinibbāyeyyaṃ, idaṃ mayhaṃ patirūpaṃ* : *J.* I, p. 14.

referred to in the early canonical suttas such as the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.* 1, pp. 160 ff.) and are, therefore, probably later additions resulting from the development of the bodhisattva concept.

A still later stage of the development of the bodhicitta concept is seen in the *Abhidharmadīpa*, where this term itself is found. Here the altruistic motive of the bodhisattva is more explicitly stated. A very graphic description is given of how an aspirant to Enlightenment should vow to save all the beings of the world who are engrossed in all sorts of suffering and who are without any protection.[3]

This altruistic motive is further stressed in such texts as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*. Both these texts clearly state that the bodhisattva resolves to develop bodhicitta for the well-being of others (*Mhvu.* p. 112, *v.* 2; p. 113, *v.* 10; p. 118, *v.* 36; p. 119, *v.* 56). Later Mahāyāna texts such as the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gvyū.* p. 493), the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Śikṣ.* p. 8) and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (ch. i, *v.* 26, ch. iii) give this altruism of the bodhisattva still more prominence. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gvyū.* p. 494 ff.) describes the bodhicitta in detail with the aid of numerous metaphors and similies. Thus, it is compared to the earth since it affords protection to all beings; it is likened to water since it washes away all defilements; it is likened to the father as it protects all those who are intent on attaining Enlightenment; it is compared to the mother and the nurse as it protects one on all sides. This description continues with further comparisons and some of the similies are found repeated in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (ch. i; see also *Abhisamāyālaṅkārāloka*, *GOS.* LXII, pp. 31 ff.).

However, it is noteworthy that the early Buddhist Sanskrit texts such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* clearly state that though altruism is a main motive, the bodhisattva should first set himself free and then commence to release the others from the bonds of saṃsāra for a person who is already in bondage cannot set free another just as a blind man cannot show the way to others. But, in later Mahāyāna, with the supersession of compassion (*karuṇā*) over wisdom (*prajñā*) altruism became the sole motive for the development of the bodhicitta and this change is well represented by the character of Avalokiteśvara, the great compassionate being who abandoned his own emancipation for the sake of others.

Alongside with the development of the ethical aspect, bodhicitta also developed on the metaphysical side. This development is seen in the works of such Buddhist philosophers as Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Sthiramati. D. T. Suzuki (*Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 297) quotes Nāgārjuna, who explains this concept thus: "Bodhicitta is free from all determination, i.e., it is not included in the categories of five skandhas (factors of existence), twelve *āyatanas* (elements of sense-perception), eighteen *dhātus* (physical elements), it is not a particular existence which is palpable. It is non-ātmanic, universal. It is uncreate and its self-essence is void."

Vasubandhu in his *Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra* (*VBS.* II, p. 209) compares bodhicitta to the ocean: "In the beginning when the great ocean manifests itself, it should be known that it is the store of all kinds of jewels, inferior, medium and superior, valuable and invaluable wish-yielding gems. Just so, at the beginning, bodhicitta, too, should be thought of as the store of gods, men, disciples, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, merits, meditation and wisdom."[4]

D. T. Suzuki (op.cit, p. 299) also quotes Sthiramati who says: "Nirvāṇa, Dharmakāya, Tathāgata, Tathāgatagarbha, Paramārtha, Buddha, Bodhicitta, Bhūtatathatā—all these terms signify merely so many different aspects of one and the same reality and Bodhicitta is the name given to a form of the Dharmakāya (Law-body) or Bhūtatathatā (suchness of existence) as it manifests itself in the human heart, and its purification or negatively its liberation from all egoistic impurities constitutes the state of Nirvāṇa." With the further development of the metaphysical aspect, the concept of bodhicitta became indefinable so that ultimately Buddhist teachers either had to describe it by comparison (see *Gvyū.* p. 494; *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, ch. i) or be content with saying that it is immeasurable (*aprameya*), infinite (*aparyanta*) and indestructible (*akṣaya*: e.g., *Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra*, p. 209 f.). However, it should be noted that with the lapse of time these two aspects of the bodhicitta, namely the ethical and the metaphysical aspects, blended together and bodhicitta

[3] [illegible] prabhṛti kalyāṇamitraṃ bhagavantaṃ samyaksambuddha (māpa)dya tadupadarśitadakṣiṇamārgaḥ yonisomana-[illegible]buddhiḥ kṛtsnaṃ lokamatrāṇamaśaraṇamaparāyaṇaṃ..saṃsāramahāsamudre nimagnamavalokya kṛpāviṣṭace-[illegible]uddharaṇāya vīryabāhumabhiprasārya, avivartyaṃ cittamevamutpādayati: *Abhidharmadīpa*, ed. P. S. Jaini, [illegible] 15

[4] [illegible]mudro yadādau samudeti jñātavyaḥ so'dhamamadhyamottamāṃ cintāmaṇiratnamuktāphalānāmākaro bhavati. Bodhi-[illegible]pāda apyevaṃ. tad devamanuṣyānāṃ śrāvakapratyekabuddhabodhisattvānāṃ dhyānasya prajñāyaścopaptatterāharaḥ.

came to be regarded as consisting of both void (*śunyatā* which is identical with *prajñā* and therefore representing the metaphysical aspect) and compassion (*karuṇā* representing the ethical aspect : see *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, *GOS*. LXII, p. 19 where it is said *śūnyatākaruṇā-garbhaṃ bodhicittam*).

Bodhicitta is the same as *Bhūtatathatā*, *Tathatā* or *Buddhatā* and as such it is universal, being latent in all beings (*Sūtral.* ix, *v* 537). This latent bodhicitta has to be awakened and cultivated. But, bodhicitta cannot be successfully cultivated if one resolves to do so merely for the sake of cultivating it. One should resolve to save oneself and, above all, to save others. If a person resolves to attain it merely for the sake of attaining it, it should be known that such a person will not overcome birth and death ; nor will he attain Enlightenment, for the very thought of attainment then becomes an attachment. Attachment of the mind itself is called a false-belief.[5] Thus, only a person with a proper predisposition could resolve to awaken successfully the bodhicitta in him. One may set one's heart on awakening the bodhicitta by seeing a miracle performed by the Buddha or a bodhisattva, or by studying the doctrine and scriptures or by being encouraged by the Buddhas.[6]

The *Bodhicittotupādasūtra-śāstra* (p. 211) enumerates ten qualities that should be cultivated by an aspirant. Thus, one who aspires to awaken the bodhicitta should (i) gather friends (*paricinoti kalyāṇamitrāṇi*), (ii) worship the Buddhas (*pūjayati buddhān*), (iii) acquire roots of merit (*saṃgṛhṇāti kuśalamūlāni*), (iv) search the good laws (*gaveṣayati praṇītadharmān*), (v) remain ever compassionate (*bhavati nityaṃ suratacittaḥ*), (vi) bear all suffering that befall him (*kṣamate duḥkhānyāpatilāni*) (vii) remain kind, compassionate and honest (*bhavati maitraḥ kāruṇikaḥ*), (vii) remain even-minded (*bhavati samacittāśayaḥ*), (ix) rejoice in Mahāyāna with faith (*śraddhayābhinandati mahāyānam*) and (x) search the Buddha-wisdom (*gaveṣayati buddha-prajñāṃ*). Four other qualities, too, are mentioned in the same text. They are, (i) reflecting on the Buddhas (*anuvicintayan buddhān*), (ii) reflecting on the defects of the body (*pratyavekṣamānaḥ kāya-syādīnavān*), (iii) being compassionate towards beings (*dayamānaḥ sattveṣu*) and (iv) searching after the highest fruit (*gaveṣayannuttamaṃ phalaṃ*).

There are ten great aspirations (*praṇidhāna*) which an aspirant has to cherish for his own well-being and for the good of others. These, in brief, are (i) to provide for the worship of all Buddhas, (ii) to maintain the religious discipline that has been taught by all the Buddhas and to preserve the teaching of the Buddhas, (iii) to see all the incidents of the earthly career of the Buddha, (iv) to realize the Thought of Enlightenment, to observe all the duties of a bodhisattva, to acquire all the pāramitās and to purify all stages of one's career, (v) to bring all beings to maturity and establish them in the knowledge of the Buddha, (vi) to perceive the whole universe, (vii) to purify and cleanse all the Buddha-fields, (viii) to pursue Mahāyāna and to produce a common thought and purpose in all bodhisattvas, (ix) to make all action of the body, speech and mind fruitful and successful (*Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, pp. 14—16 ; *Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra*, pp. 214 ff. ; see also Har Dayal, op. cit. p. 66). From the time an aspirant sets his heart on the awakening of bodhicitta up to his declaration of these great aspirations, it forms the preparatory stage and is called *bodhi-praṇidhi-citta*.

The second stage of the development of bodhicitta commences with the practice of pāramitā and this stage is called *bodhi-prasthāna-citta* (*Śikṣ*. p. 8 ; *Bc*. ch. i, *v*. 15). The aspirant has to practise the six pāramitas, namely, giving (*dāna*), virtue (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), effort (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). After perfecting these pāramitās the aspirant has to proceed along the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of the bodhisattva career (see BHŪMI).

Later, presumably due to the influence of popular teachings of Mahāyāna, certain rites and ceremonies came to be regarded as essential for the cultivation of the bodhicitta. Thus, obeisance (*vandanā*), worship (*pūjā*) of the Buddhas and of shrines, seeking refuge (*śaraṇāgamana*), confession of sin (*pāpadeśanā*), rejoicing in merit (*puṇyānu-modanā*), prayer, (*adhyeṣaṇā*), supplication (*yācanā*) and transference of merit (*pariṇāmanā*) came into vogue as prerequisites for awakening bodhicitta (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, chs. ii, iii).

In Tantric Buddhism, too, the bodhicitta concept developed along both aspects. Thus, the explanation of bodhicitta in the *Śrī-guhyasamāja* (*Gst*. p. 11 ff.) is centred round the idea of voidness of all phenomena. There it is said that the Tathāgatas approached the Lord and entreated him to explain the nature of bodhicitta. Entering into a special trance (*samādhi*), he explains bodhicitta as "neither perception of absence of existence in non-existence,

5 *Punaḥ khalu puruṣaḥ prāptihetorutpādayati bodhicittaṃ jñātavyaṃ na sa puruṣaḥ prajahāti jātimaraṇaṃ, na gacchet bodhiṃ. Tat kasya hetoḥ yat kiñcit prāptavyadṛṣṭiḥ sarvameṣāṅgaḥ cittāsaṅga evocyate mithyādṛṣṭiḥ : Bodhicittotpādasūtra śāstra.*

6 see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London, 1 932 for numerous references.

nor the perception of existence in existence. When so viewed, no thought construction remains a positive thought construction and existence also ceases to be."[7]

Then the Tathāgata Vairocana defines it as follows: "My thought (*citta*) is devoid of all notions of existence; it is unconnected with factors of existence (*skandha*), physical elements (*dhātu*) or elements of sense-perception (*āyatana*) or with subjectivity or objectivity; it is without beginning and is of the nature of void as all phenomena are by nature."[8] Akṣobhya gives his definition: "Bodhicitta is essenceless like the sky, it considers all existence as devoid of origination; in it there are neither objects (*dharma*) nor qualities of objects (*dharmatā*)"[9]

According to the Tathāgata Ratnaketu it is thought (*citta*) which views all phenomena as non-existent and devoid of qualities and that all originate from void.[10]

Amitābha puts forward his explanation thus: "All phenomena are without beginning. Therefore, there is neither existence nor notion of existence. Existence of things is spoken of in the same manner as the existence of the sky"[11]. The last explanation is by Amoghasiddhi: "all phenomena are naturally resplendent, are pure and are comparable to the sky; bodhicitta is neither Enlightenment nor comprehension"[12]

Then they all praise bodhicitta as being of the nature of pure truth (*śuddhatattvārtha*), pure (*śuddhārtha*), evolving from the voidness of all phenomena (*dharmanairātmyasambhūta*), fulfilling buddhahood (*buddhabodhiprapūraka*), devoid of thought construction (*nirvikalpa*), without any support (*nirālamba*), good in every respect(*samantabhadra*), beneficial to beings (*sattvārtha*), producer of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicittapravartaka*), practice leading to Enlightenment (*bodhicaryā*), great thunderbolt (*mahāvajra*), pure like the Tathāgata's heart (*cittaṃ tathāgataṃ śuddhaṃ*), bearer of the thunderbolt consisting of body, speech and mind (*kāyavākcittavajradhṛk*), bestower of Buddha—Enlightenment (*buddhabodhipradātā*). These various definitions and epithets, on the one hand, show the mysterious nature of this concept, and on the other, they point to the fact that bodhicitta is the realisation of the voidness of all phenomena. The importance of its ethical aspect is seen from the *Guhyasamāja* (*Gst.* p. 153) itself where it is said that the bodhicitta is devoid of beginning or end, tranquil, it is immutable in existence as well as in non-existence, the Lord; it is the unity of void and compassion.[13]

In the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* (ch. ii, *v.* 29) bodhicitta is described as "eternal, resplendent, pure, the abode of all Jinas. It includes all phenomena, it is divine, it is the cause of the whole universe.[14]

In the *Jñānasiddhi* (ch. xv), too, bodhicitta is explained as the *vajra* which is synonymous with void (*śūnya*). Therein it is said that the bodhicitta is of the nature of *vajra*, that it is by viewing all existence as self which is of the nature of void that one could attain Enlightenment.[15]

An aspirant who resolves to awaken bodhicitta is required to possess compassion. A teacher before initiating a disciple had to make sure that the latter is endowed with this requirement which would induce him to work for the welfare of others. A *Dohā* of Sarahapāda quoted by Das Gupta (*An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1958 p. 29), says: He who discards *karuṇā* (compassion)and sticks to *śūnyatā* (void) alone never has access to the right path. He, again, who meditates only on *karuṇā*, is not liberated even in thousands of births; he, on the other hand, who can mingle *śūnyatā* with *karuṇā* remains neither in *bhava* (existence) nor in Nirvāṇa (extinction).

In Tantric Buddhism the development of the concept of bodhicitta took a different turn. There, when esoteric practices gained importance, bodhicitta came to be regarded as a state of great bliss (*mahāsukha*, q.v.) reached through sexo-yogic practices. Thus, in the Sahajayāna school it came to be identified with semen (*śukra*). This identification is occasionally found in the Vajrayāna school, too.

7 *abhāve bhāvanābhāvobhavanā naiva bhāvanā iti bhavo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā no' palabhyate.*

8 *sarvabhāvavigataṃ skandhadhātvāyatanagrāhyagrāhakavarjitaṃ dharmanairātmyasamatayā svacittamādyanutpannaṃ śūnyatābhāvāṃ.*

9 *anutpannā ime bhāvā dharmā na ca dharmatā ākāśamivanairātmyamidaṃ bodhinayaṃ.*

10 *abhāvaḥ sarvadharmāste dharmalakṣaṇavarjitāḥ dharmanairātmyasambhūtā idaṃ bodhinayaṃ dṛḍhaṃ.*

11 *anutpanneṣu dharmeṣu na bhāvo na ca bhāvanā ākāśapadayogena iti bhāvaḥ prahīyate.*

12 *prakṛtiprabhāsvarā dharmāḥ suviśuddhā nabhaḥsamā na bodhirnābhisamayamidaṃ bodhinayaṃ dṛḍhaṃ.*

13 *anādi nidhanaṃ śāntaṃ bhāvābhāvākṣayaṃ śūnyatā karuṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittamiti smṛtaṃ*; cp. *Hevajra Tantra*, II, p. 40.

14 *nityaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ śuddhaṃ bodhicittaṃ jinālayaṃ divyaṃ nikhilāspadakāraṇaṃ.*

15 *bodhicittaṃ idaṃ vajraṃ sarvabuddhatvaṃ ātmanah tasmāt sarvātmayogena sarvabhuddhatvamāpnute.*

In the Sahajayāna school it is held that bodhicitta cannot be produced without esoteric practices and, therefore, arose the need of a competent teacher (*guru*) to instruct the aspirant. The aspirant had to select a teacher and entreat him for guidance. Thereafter, the teacher initiates (*abhiṣeka*) the aspirant and leads him to the mystic circle (*maṇḍala*) and instructs him in the esoteric practices. Some texts mention elaborate preliminary rites. Through the mystic union of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (means), which are similar to *śūnyatā* (voidness) and *karuṇā* (compassion), bodhicitta is produced within the body. Some scholars believe that to produce bodhicitta, semen (*śukra*) in this case, the real sexual-act is performed, whereas others take it to be a mere mental process (*bhāvanā*). In the *Hevajra-tantra* (II, p. 18) a detailed description of the performance of the sexo-yogic practice is given, and there it is stated that the aspirant should take a girl belonging to the *vajra*-family and with her the practice should be performed. In Tantric texts bodhicitta is represented as the product of the union of certain pairs which are considered as symbolising the masculine and the feminine forces, and this concept which, at the beginning, was limited to its doctrinal sense, gradually spread into various other spheres. Thus, in the doctrinal sphere, as the result of the union of *upāya* and *prajñā*, it is called bodhicitta ; in the cosmical sphere, as the result of the union of moon and sun it is called fire ; in the sexual sphere, as the result of *vajra* and lotus it is *śukra ;* in the biological sphere as the product of *śukra* and *rakta* (blood) it is called the *bīja* (seed) ; in the vocal sphere, as the result of the union of *kālī* (consonants) and *ālī* (vowels) it is called *akṣara* (syllable) and finally, as the result of the union of the two veins, *rasanā* and *lalanā*, it is called *avadhūtī*. Again, in the same text (p. 50) bodhicitta is represented as the essence of the five elements. It should also be remembered, at this point, that the five Dhyāni-Buddhas are the presiding deities over these elements and at the same time they represent the five *kulas* (families). Through their cross-identification, bodhicitta also comes to mean the ultimate substance comprising the five *kulas* (families).

According to Tantric Buddhism, bodhicitta has two forms, namely, the relative (*saṃvṛti*) and absolute (*vivṛti*). In the *saṃvṛti* form it becomes the essence of existence (*saṃsāra*) and in its *vivṛti* aspect it is the great bliss (*mahāsukha :* cp. ibid p. 66)

To attain this *vivṛti* form, the downward flow of the bodhicitta (semen) must be checked. The discharge of bodhicitta will incur great sin and the pleasure caused by discharge merely binds one to saṃsāra. Therefore, its downward flow must be checked wither by *saḍaṅgayoga* practices, namely, withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), meditation (*dhyāna*), breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*), retention (*dhāraṇā*), recollection (*anusmṛti*) and concentration (*samādhi*), or else through *haṭhayoga* practices called *mudrā*, *bandha*, *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma*. Sometimes *aṅganyāsa* and *karanyāsa*, which also mean the control of inward and outward breath, are cited as ways of checking the flow of bodhicitta. Due to the fact that bodhicitta is regarded as semen (*śukra*) breath-control finds an important place. After its, flow is arrested, it should be made to move upwards till it finally reaches the lotus at the summit of the head (*uṣṇīṣakamala*), where it melts and flows through the whole body bringing about the state of great bliss (*mahāsukha*). Its upward move is a gradual process. After its flow is checked in the lowest *cakra* (circle) located in the navel region of the being (i.e., the *nirmāṇa-cakra*), it shoud be made to rise to the *cakra* in the region of the heart (i.e.the *dharma-cakra*). From there to the *sambhoga-cakra* near the neck, and from there to the highest *cakra* or the lotus at the summit of the head (*uṣṇīṣakamala*), known also as *mahāsukha cakra*. To reach the final stage, bodhicitta has to flow through the vein called *avadhūtī* which is flanked by two other veins, *rasanā* and *lalanā*. This upward flow of bodhicitta, was probably formulated by taking as its ideal the Mahāyāna conception of the flow of bodhicitta through the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*).

With the flow of the bodhicitta through the four *cakras* are associated the four mudrās (yogic gestures or symbols,) *kṣaṇa* (moments) and *ānanda* (joys). The following table lists them categorically:

CAKRA	MUDRĀ	KṢAṆA	ĀNANDA
(1) *Nirmāṇacakra*	*Karmamudrā* (rite-symbol)	*vicitra* (variety)	*ānanda* (joy)
(2) *Dharmacakra*	*Dharmamudrā* (truth-symbol)	*vipāka* (develop-ment)	*paramānanda* (perfect joy)
(3) *Sambhogacakra*	*Mahāmudrā* (great symbol)	*vimarda* (consumm-ation)	*viramānanda* (joy of cessa-tion)
(4) *Mahāsukhacakra*	*Samayamudrā* (convention-symbol)	*vilakṣana* (blank)	*sahajānanda* (joy innate)

These four fold schemes leading to Enlightenment have been drawn up in accordance with other similar schemes mentioned in Hīnayāna and Sāṇkhya (cp. four stages towards arahantship in Buddhism and four stages of sleep in the Vedānta).

When the upward move of bodhicitta is complete with its rise to the *uṣṇīṣakamala*, it assumes the form of pure effulgence (*prabhāsvara*) and with that the aspirant attains omniscience and becomes the Buddha.

S. K. N.

BODHICITTA-BHĀVANĀ (1), a Sanskrit text preserved in its Tibetan translation, the *Byaṅ-chub-sems bsgom-pa*, in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika section) of the Tibetan *Tengyur*. Its author was Kamalaśīla and it was translated into Tibetan by Dharmapālabhadra (*TM*. No. 3913). Fa-t'ien (Dharmadeva) 973—981 A.C., of the later Sung dynasty, translated the work into Chinese. The Chinese translation has the title *P'u-t'i-hsin-kuan-shih* (C 14) and is included in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* (*Taishō*, No. 1663 ; *Nanjio*, No. 872).

This work is not found in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

L. R. G.

BODHICITTA-BHĀVANĀ (2), a Sanskrit text by Ḥjam-dpal bśes-gñen (Mañjuśrīmitra). A Tibetan translation of this text has been included in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems bsgom-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 75, No. 3418).

The text describes bodhicitta (q.v.) as a form of *dharmakāya*, which is *anātmaka* and is characterised by an incomparable state of tranquility. It can be attained only through practising the perfections.

R. H.

BODHICITTA - BHĀVANĀ - DVĀDASĀRTHA-NIRDEŚA, the title of a text, dealing with twleve aspects of meditation relating to bodhicitta (q.v.), written by Ḥjam-dpal bśes-gñen (Manjuśrīmitra). The Tibetan version of the text occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems bsgom-pa don bcu-gñis bstan-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 75, No. 3405).

The salutation ; why bodhicitta should be known; what it is that has to be known ; by whom it should be known ; what should be reflected on in acquiring bodhicitta ; the obvious results of knowing it ; deliberation on these results ; reflecting on the mystic results of knowing it ; the inability to attain emancipation in the absence of bodhicitta ; an elucidation of its inexhaustible virtues ; the acquisition of manifold virtues on the mere rejoicing thereat ; expounding it, through compassion, to others who have taken the wrong path—each of these main topics is discussed at length in the text.

R. H.

BODHICITTA - BHĀVANOPADEŚA, the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur*, under the name *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems bsgom-paḥi man-ṅag*. Ḥjam-dpal bśes-gñen (Mañjuśrīmitra) is cited as the author of the work (*TT*. Vol. 75, No. 3389).

The text states that one who wishes to meditate on bodhicitta (q.v.) should first think of one's own wishing-prayer (Tib. *yi-dam*), and then reflect in succession on the mystic syllable '*a*', an object of meditation (*ālambana*) and on the state of absolute inactivity, such as belongs to the Buddha in the state of Dharmakāya.

R. H.

BODHICITTA-BINDŪPADEŚA-NĀMA, the name of a text written by Las (Karma ; acc. to *TM*. Las-kyi shabs, Karmapāda). The Tibetan translation of this work occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-sems thigs-paḥi man-ṅag śes-bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 57, No. 2476).

Instructions for attaining the *bodhicitta-jñāna*, the transcendental knowledge, form the subject-matter of the text. This teaching is said to be the substance of the teaching of all Buddhas.

R. H.

BODHICITTA-MAHĀSUKHĀMNĀYA, the name of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-kyi sems bde-ba-chen-poḥi man-ṅag*. The author of the work is named as Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna. The author himself and Dge-baḥi blo-gros (Śubhamati) are the translators while Pho-braṅ byaṅ-chub ḥod is said to have revised the work (*TT*. Vol. 59, No. 2619).

The text which professes to describe the most blissful state of bodhicitta (the Thought of Enlightenment) states that it is an esoteric doctrine. Bodhicitta which penetrates the entire body is said to radiate an effulgence from the middle of the heart.

R. H.

BODHICITTĀSAṂPRAMOṢA-SAMĀDHI, a samadhi, a concentration of mind, meaning "bodhicitta-not-forgotten." It is described as one that is attained by a bhodisattva who is a beginner in the Mahāyāna. By attaining it he is firmly established in the Mahāyāna (*Śikṣ.* p. 65). The word occurs in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 37) in a list of virtues (*guṇa*).

U. K.

BODHICITTA-VĀYU-CARAṆA-BHĀVANOPĀYA-NĀMA, a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3260). Suzuki in his index gives the author's name as Tali and suggests an emendation to Puttalī. But the name of the author occurs in the body of the text itself as Sutali (cp. also *TM.*No. 2418 and *Cordier,* II, 245). Suzuki seems to have been misled by the reading of the colophon, where the first syllable of the name, *su,* has been dropped, obviously due to a scribal error.

The work contains instructions for meditation in order to acquire the bodhicitta (q.v.). The yogin is advised to think of his body as being hollow and void like the sky. He is then asked to meditate on an object as minute as a white mustard seed, which is in the centre of the circle of air (*vāyu*).

R. H.

BODHICITTAVIVARAṆA (-NĀMA) (1), the title of a prose text by Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna). Rendered into Tibetan by Jayānanda and Mdo-sde ḥbar, it has been included in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur,* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-kyi ḥgrel-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 61, No. 2666)

The author discusses the necessity for the composition of the work in his introduction. He says that the clarification of the nature of bodhicitta is desirable, since it has been said that the Buddha understood all dharmas in his mind.

Proceeding to execute the task he set himself, Nāgārjuna says that bodhicitta (q.v.) is not reality or matter (Tib. *dṅos-po,* Skt. *bhava, vastu*); further it is not an aggregate (*skandha*), an element (*dhātu*) or an organ of sense (*āyatana*). It is an evenness of mind, free of inclination or bias, characterised by *anātmatā* and voidness (*śūnyatā*). Each of these statements about bodhicitta is analysed in detail in the text.

R. H.

BODHICITTAVIVARAṆA (-NĀMA) (2), the title of a metrical text by Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna). The Tibetan translation of this text is attributed to a number of scholars: Rab-shi chos-kyi bśes-gñen, Gu-rug chos-kyi śes-rab, Seṅ-dkar Śākya ḥod, Śes-rab grags, Mar-pa Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug, Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags and Maṅ-nad Grags-ḥbyor śes-rab (*TT.* vol. 103, No. 5470).

A short introduction in prose says that bodhicitta (q.v.) must necessarily be explained, as the acquisition thereof is the aspiration of every bodhisattva. The author, therefore, proceeds to discuss the nature of bodhicitta, which, he says, cannot be categorized under *skandha, dhātu, āyatana* etc. The only characteristic of bodhicitta, he says, is *śūnyatā,* not knowing which, emancipation is impossible.

R. H.

BODHICITTAVIVARAṆA (-NĀMA) (3), a text by Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), a Tibetan version of which is included in the *Rgyud ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur,* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-kyi ḥgrel-pa shes-bya-ba.* The text was translated into Tibetan by Guṇākara and Rab-shi bśes-gñen and revised by Kanakavarman and Ñi-ma grags (*TT.* Vol. 61, No. 2665).

The text appears to be the same as *Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa* (*-nāma*) (2), the minor differences in the translation being due to the handling by different translators.

R. H.

BODHICITTAVIVARAṆA-ṬĪKĀ, name of a commentarial text written by Smṛtijñāna-kīrti, to expound the doctrine of bodhicitta (q.v.). A Tibetan translation done by the author himself occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 62, No. 2694).

In the introduction, the author outlines the distinctive features of the doctrine of bodhicitta. As bodhicitta is not reality or matter (*bhava* or *vastu*), its exposition, he says, silences the views of certain *tīrthikas.* Bodhicitta is futher described as being not one of the aggregates (*skandha*), the elements (*dhātu*), or organs of sense (*āyatana*). The bodhi-mind is free from inclination or bias and clingings. The text discusses these characteristics of bodhicitta at length.

R. H.

BODHICITTOTPĀDASAMĀDANA-VIDHI, the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*. The author of the work is Dgra-las rnam-par rgyal-ba (Jetāri). Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab are named as the translators of the work.

The text deals with the preliminary rites that a devotee should practise before taking upon himself the vow of attaining the bodhicitta (q.v.). Following the example of past bodhisattvas, he should declare his intent, rejoice in the meritorious deeds of past Buddhas and seek their refuge. He should practise virtue and resort to meditation. A formula of blessing to be pronounced by him is cited in the text, viz.. *oṃ prakṛti-pariśuddhasarvadharmāḥ prakṛti-pariśuddho 'haṃ*. He should reflect on Buddhas and bodhisattvas with the formula *Oṃ amale vimale nirmale svabhāvaśuddhe svāhā*, thus reflecting on the purity of their nature. He should make offerings of clothes and ornaments to them with the formulae *oṃ a vajravastra hūṃ* and *oṃ a vajrālaṃkāra hūṃ*. Then he should choose a spot on the ground, blessing it with the phrase *oṃ vajrabhūmi hūṃ*, sprinkle water on it saying *oṃ vajrodake hūṃ* and draw the outer line of the maṇḍala saying *oṃ vajrarekhe hūṃ*. This maṇḍala appears to represent the Universe with Mt. Meru in the centre and the four *mahādvīpas* in the four major directions, judging from the formulae that should be chanted with offerings placed in the centre and the four corners. Thus, one should place the offerings in the centre saying *oṃ haṃ mahāmerave svāhā* and in the directions beginning with the East and continuing clockwise with the formulae mentioning the names of the continents: *pūrvavidehāya*. . . . ; *Jambudvīpāya ; Uttarakurave ;* and *Aparagodāvariye* (*sic.*). Offerings should also be placed in the minor directions. The eight *ratnas : gaja, puruṣa, strī, aśva, khaḍga, maṇi, mahāni* (*sic.*) and *cakra* are mentioned. They too are to be propitiated with formular : e.g., *oṃ gajaratnāya svāhā*.

Having performed these and several other ritual acts described in the text, the devotee should make a solemn vow (*praṇidhi*) for attaining bodhicitta.

R. H.

BODHICITTOTPĀDAVIDHI, the name of a text by Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna). Rendered into Tibetan by Surendrabodhi (Surendrabodhi) and Yes-śes sde, it has been included twice in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT*. Vol. 103, No. 5361 ; ibid. 5405).

The text gives injunctions to be followed by one who aspires to attain bodhicitta (q.v.). Such a person should reflect on past Buddhas and bodhisattvas, confess sins of body, speech and mind, rejoice in the meritorious deeds of all beings, take refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, take upon himself the vow of attaining bodhicitta, the nature of which is *śūnyatā* and practise the six pāramitās with that end in view.

A fragment of *Bodhicittotpādavidhi*, containing the section on taking refuge (*śaraṇa-gamana*) and making the vow (*praṇidhāna*), occurs among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang (L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 86, No. 245).

R. H.

BODHIDHĀRAKULA, also Bodhāhārakula, was the name given to the eight families who brought the branch of the bodhi-tree (q.v.) from Pāṭaliputta to Ceylon (*Mhv*. *xix*,*v*. 67 ; *MhvA*. II, p. 408). The heads of the families were brothers of Vedisa-devī, wife of Asoka, and they were led by Sumitta and Bodhigutta (*Mhbv*. p. 154). The others were Candagutta, Devagutta, Dhammagutta, Suriyagutta, Gotama and Jutindhara (ibid. p.163). They were entrusted with the ceremonies in connection with the bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura, and each was given a special office (ibid. p. 165).

U. K.

BODHIDHARMA.* Bodhidharma is generally considered the founder of the Zen sect in China. Although in early writings his name, appears sometimes as Bodhitāra, Dharmatāra, etc., in later times it became fixed in its present form as Bodhidharma.

Biography: It is a matter of regret that although there are many biographies of him, few can be considered trustworthy. Probably the best organized biography of Bodhidharma may be found in Volume 16 of the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* (*Taishō*, No. 2060; *Nanjio*, No. 1493 ; Japanese, *Zoku-kōsō-den*). However this is not an original biography, but is taken from the different sources : the preface to the

* Because of the importance of the subject itself and the very controversial nature of the information available, two articles were published on Bodhidharma, one fuller than the other. For editorial convenience, the articles are published more or less as received. It would have been difficult to avoid repetition without damaging their integral quality. G.P.M.

Lüeh-pien-ta-chêng-ju-tao-ssû-hsing, (see the 30th volume of *Taishō*. No. 2076 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1524 ; Japanese. *Ryaku-ben Daijō Nyūdō Shigyō*) by Bodhidharma's disciple Dondrin (*T'an-lin*) and the *Lo-yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2092 : written in 547 ; Japanese, *Rakuyō Garanki*, by Yang-Hsüan-chih in five volumes). It may be assumed, however, that the statement made in the Shu-kao-sheng-chuan that Bodhidharma arrived in Southern-Yüeh on the Sung border from India was taken from another source.

The various biographies of Bodhidharma contain conflicting statements as to his origin : the *Lo-Yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* (Vol. I) states that he was from the country called Po-ssû-hu-jen; the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* (Vol. 16) mentions that he was a brāhman from South India ; the *Lêng-ch'ieh-shih-tzŭ-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2837 ; Japanese : *Ryōa-shishiki*) states that he was the third son of a brāhman king of Hsiang-chih (the location of this " country " is unknown) in South India. The *Ching-tê-ch'uan têng-lu* (*Taishō*, No. 2076; *Nanjio*, No. 1524 ; Japanese, *Keitoku Dentōroku*, Vol. 3) states that he was the third son of a kṣatriya king of Hsiang-chih in South India, etc. It is probably wisest to follow the opinion of Bodhidharma's disciple, T'an-lin, which is contained in the *Lêng-ch'ieh-shih-tzŭ-chi*. The country called " Po-ssŭ " referred to in the *Lo-Yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* above was one of the small independent states of Central Asia. The teacher of Bodidharma is said to have been Prajñātāra. According to late works, Dharma (the abbreviated form of Bodhidharma) studied under Prajñātāra for more than forty years, and after the death of his teacher, was very successful in spreading Buddhism. Dharma and Buddhasena, another disciple of Prajñātāra, were widely respected and were nicknamed the " Two Nectar Disciples " of Prajñātāra. Dharma gained fame for his having defeated the Six Schools (of non-Buddhist philosophy) in debate and is said to have converted a heretic king to Buddhism. Although later documents are rich in such laudatory accounts of Dharma's activities in India, we unfortunately cannot ascertain to what extent they are in accord with fact. All that can be said for certain is that Dharma was a Mahāyāna Buddhist who frequently practised meditation and undertook the difficult journey to China because he felt that Buddhism in the land where he had been living was on the decline. In his biography it is said that he arrived in China after a three year journey. It further states that he arrived at Southern-Yüeh during the Liu-Sung Dynasty and later went to northern China where the Wei Dynasty held sway. Southern-Yüeh refers to the coast south of Canton which is opposite the island Hainan. It may be assumed that he landed at some point on this coast before the collapse of the Liu-Sung Dynasty in 478 A. C. The date may be tentatively put at 470 A.C. Other accounts state that he arrived in China in either 520 or 527 A.C. If we accept the date 470, then we cannot help but doubt the famous interview that is reputed to have taken place between Dharma and Wu Ti, emperor of Liang, because the latter assumed the throne in 502 A.C. The early documents, such as the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* etc., contain no mention of this supposed interview. The oldest reference to it is found in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2075; written about 774 A.C), unearthed at Tunhuang. However, even this account is difficult to accept as historical truth. We can discern a development in the different accounts of the supposed interview according to the period in which the account was written. The *Lo-Yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* states that Dharma visited the Yun-niṅg-Ssŭ temple of Lo-Yang and, overwhelmed by its magnificence, is said to have exclaimed, " For one hundred and fifty years I have travelled widely through all the countries, but never have I seen a temple to equal this. Even in India there is nothing to compare with it. Though one may go to the furthest extremity of the world he shall never find another like it." So saying, he joined his hands together reverently and uttered " *nama* " (I do reverence), the account continues. The Yun-niṅg-Ssŭ was built in 516 in Northern Wei, was repaired after some slight damage in 526, and was finally destroyed by fire in 534. The splendour of the temple was probably greatest during the ten years following its construction and therefore it may be assumed that Dharma visited it during this period, and before the damage that occurred in 526. Judging from the biography of Dharma by Sêng-fu (464–524), who is said to have spread Zen as a follower of Dharma, Dharma went to Northern Wei in 475. According to the inscription on the memorial tablet of Dharma's disciple, Hui-K'e, written by Fa-lin (572–640), Hui K'e served his master, Dharma, for nine years. Therefore the legend of Dharma's nine year long " wall-gazing " meditation is not necessarily untrue. It further states that during Dharma's residence in the Shao-Lin-Ssŭ temple on Mt. Sung-shan he neither lectured on the scriptures, nor worshipped the images, but sat throughout the day with legs crossed facing the wall and for this reason was popularly referred to as the "Wall-gazing Brāhmaṇ". The term " wall-gazing " is not be thought of as simply facing the wall with legs folded

but rather as the Mahāyāna practice of mind-tranquillization. During the last nine years of his life it is reported that Dharma went to preach in the vicinity of Lo-Yang, as well as at the Shao-Lin-Ssŭ temple. It seems that in addition to practising meditation, he also practised the *dhutas*. Judging from Hui K'e's biography, Dharma probably died in 534 or perhaps earlier. According to both the *Tsu-t'ang-chi* and the *Ching-tê-ch'uan-têng-lu*, Dharma died in the year 495 during the reign of the eighth sovereign of the Wei Dynasty, emperor Hsiao-ming. (Actually the reigning sovereign in 495 was not Hsiao-ming, but Hsiao-wen who was the seventh ruler of Wei.) Another theory has it that he died in the year 528. The date is put at the fifth of October. For this reason Zen temples today hold a Dharma service on this day. At the time of his death Dharma is said to have been more than one hundred and fifty years of age. The *Lo-yang-ch'ieh-lan-chi* states that he attained the age of one hundred and fifty during the period 516–26. If we assume that he reached this age in the year 520, his age at the time of his death in 532 must have been more than 160. This means that Dharma spent a total of sixty-three years in China (from 470 to 532) propagating Buddhism and before taking up residence in Shao-Lin-Ssŭ temple, he spent some fifty years in Northern Wei. Therefore, we can safely assume that the influence he exerted on the Chinese people was very great. Judging from the statement made by Tao-hsüan that "his end was reached on the banks of the Lo River," it may be concluded that his death took place in the vicinity of that river. Probably he died in the Shao-Lin-Ssŭ temple. The *Ching-tê-ch'uan-têng-lu* states that he was buried on Mt. Hsiung-êrh-shan near Lo-Yang. Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang Dynasty bestowed the posthumous name Yüan-chüeh-Ch'an-shih (literally, the Zen Master of Perfect Enlightenment) in accordance with the petition submitted by Kuo-Tzu-i. A memorial pagoda named K'ung-kuan was erected in his honour on the Wu Slope of Mt. Hsiung-êrh-shan but this was destroyed during the anti-Buddhist persecution of the Hui-ch'ang Era (841–47). It was reconstructed in 850 by Imperial decree. There is a strange story of the monk Sung-yün who, returning to Wei from Central Asia where he had gone to secure Buddhist texts, met Dharma carrying one sandal in his hand at Ts'ung-ling, some three years after the latter's supposed death. On his arrival back in China, Sung-yün opened the grave of Dharma and in place of Dharma's body found an old sandal.

Disciples: Tao-yü and Hui-k'e were two disciples of Dharma who were considered to be particularly brilliant. They already possessed considerable knowledge of philosophy by the time they first met Dharma. They followed Dharma for many years and impressed him with their sincerity to such an extent that it was to them that he revealed his ultimate doctrines. Another of Dharma's disciples was T'an-lin who was a scholar of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda Sūtra* and often lectured on it. He is remembered as Dharma-master Lin together with Hui-k'e, guarded the sacred scriptures of Buddhism during the Northern Chou persecution in 574. He is the author of the *Lüeh-pien-ta-ch'êng-ju-tao-ssu-hsing* and deserves credit for having preserved the thought of Dharma in that work for later generations.

Successor: Hui-k'e, who is considered the Second Patriarch of the Zen School, received Dharma's robes and begging bowl. (The handing down of robe and bowl signifies in the Zen School the conferment of the patriarchate.) His biography is found in the inscription by Fa-lin on his memorial stone (this is included in Vol. 8 of the *Fa-lin-ch'uan* and his in biography in Vol. 16 of the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan*. According to these biographies, when he was young he was a student of Confucianism, but also read widely in the *Chuang-tzu* and the *Book of Changes*. He met Dharma at Sung-lo at the age of forty-one and studied under him some four or five years until he finally realized the True Doctrine taught by Dharma. After this he continued to follow Dharma for another five years. It is said that he was able to experience deeply the true meaning of Buddhism because he studied its doctrines with great enthusiasm. After the death of Dharma, Hui-k'e dwelt in the vicinity of the Yellow River where he preached to the priesthood and laity alike. About the year 534 he moved to Yeh, the new capital of the Eastern Wei Dynasty, in order to introduce the teachings of Zen. To those Buddhists who had hitherto only known Buddhism as something confined to the printed page his doctrines must have sounded strange, indeed; it is even said that some of them schemed to kill him. According to his biography, Hui-k'e cut off his own fore-arm when he visited Dharma for the first time to prove to him his urgent longing to become a disciple. Hui-k'e's thought was based upon the teaching of Dharma called the Two Entrances and Four Deeds. He used particularly the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and taught the idealistic doctrine that all things are rooted in the mind. All dualism,

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according to Hui-k'e was the result of erroneous thinking. In general his approach to Buddhims was more positive than that of his teacher, Dharma

Writings: Although the number of writings attributed to Dharma is by no means small, those which can be proven historically to have been written by him are very few indeed. Such a work as the *Shao-shih-liu-mên* was probably compiled after the death of Dharma and with the exception of the "Two Kinds of Entrances of the Third Gate" it cannot be regarded as Dharma's work. Judging from their contents, we may say the same holds true for such writings as the *Shih-p'u-t'i-ta-mo-chih-wu-hsin-luh* and the *Nan-t'ien-chu-p'u-t'i-ta-mo-ch'an-shih-kuan-mên* (*Taishō*, No. 2832) which were unearthed at Tun-huang.

The Characteristic Thought of Dharma. The Theory of Two Entrances and Four Deeds: The doctrine transmitted by Dharma is called Mahāyāna Mind-tranquillization and consists of four "Suchnesses". The Suchness of Mind-pacification, the Suchness of Deeds, the Suchness of Acceptance, and the Suchness of Means. These "Suchnesses" are in reality only a variant arrangement of the doctrines known as the Two Entrances and Four Deeds. Although their order and names are different, their content is held to be the same as that of the Two Entrances and Four Deeds. Whether this latter doctrine is really the teaching of Dharma or not is a question that has long been debated. Already during the Sung Dynasty, Ch'i-sung (1007–72) wrote in his *Ch'uan-fa-chêng-tsung-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2078. *Nanjio*, No. 1529) that the theory of the Four Deeds of wall-gazing was not Dharma's true teaching. As to the theory of the Two Entrances, we can find a similar concept in the *Ju-shih-chi-p'in*, chapter on the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra*. This Sūtra presents us with many problems. The date of its compilation has long been a matter of dispute and remains today still unsettled. Some scholars maintain that Dharma was influenced in his theory of the Two Entrances and Four Deeds by this sūtra, whereas other scholars go so far as to say that he borrowed his ideas directly from this sūtra. Although no definite solution can be given to this problem, yet, on the basis of the Tun-huang documents, it would appear that the theory of the Two Entrances and Four Deeds originated with Dharma. The first of the Two Entrances, Entrance by Reason means (1) to receive the Law from a Master and believe that all living things have the same True (Buddha) Nature, (2) to meditate on this idea and by having an unshakable faith in it, become one with it so that the distinction between oneself and others as well as between the unenlightened man and the Buddha are eliminated, and (3) not to rely completely on the printed word, but to come naturally to truth and dwell peacefully and contentedly in it. The doctrine of Entrance by Reason teaches the Buddhist doctrine of Buddha-nature (also called Tathāgata-store, Skt. *Tathāgata-garbha*). Dharma does not treat the Tathāgata-store as something that may potentially develop or gradually emerge as the Dogmatic School of Buddhism does. Entrance by Reason consists of four so-called "Deeds". The first is the Deed of the Retribution of Evil which means that when the follower of Buddhism experiences suffering he should realize that this suffering was produced by his past action and accept it without any feeling of hatred or grievance. It should neither weaken his faith nor become a cause to depart from the Path of Buddhism. This "Deed of the Retribution of Evil" may possibly correspond to the phrase "the mind should not warp" in the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra*. The next so-called "Deed" is the "Deed of Dependance upon Causation" (C.15). This means that sentient beings are controlled solely by their karma and have no permanent, unchanging soul. Both pain and pleasure are produced by the laws of causation. Therefore, when the mind is not motivated by such concepts as reward and honour and is perfectly tranquil, it will naturally come to follow the Path of Buddhism. The phrase "the shadow has no movement" and "the wind is as silent as the earth" in the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra* are thought to correspond to this second "Deed".

The third "Deed" is the "Deed of Non-seeking". This means that the wise man, enlightened as to truth, dwells in a state of tranquillity and harmony, seeking to acquire nothing because he realizes that all things are essentially *śūnya* and, therefore, neither practises discriminating thinking nor entertains desire towards anything. In this respect he differs from the ignorant man who is completely in the grip of avarice and has constant desire. This "Deed" seems to correspond to the phrase in the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra* "be at rest in all things and seek nothing". The fourth and last "Deed" is the "Deed of Following the Dharma". This means that all aspects of Dharma possess a pure nature and are *śūnya*. They are free from defilement and lust and have a nature which transcends discrimination. Our practice of the Dharma must be based upon the principle that neither sentient beings nor lifeless matter are endowed with a permanent unchanging soul. We

should strive simultaneously for the Enlightenment of others as well as ourselves and should be free from actions for personal gain alone. The words in the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra*, "cast aside the idea of a soul, work for the emancipation of all living things, be above birth (and death), go beyond external form, do not discriminate by taking this and rejecting that" probably correspond to this fourth Deed. "The Deed of Following the Dharma" and "Entrance by Reason" are basically the same, although the former tends to stress practice and contains the idea of working for the Enlightenment of others which is not found in the doctrine of Entrance by Reason. The essence of the Zen of Bodhidharma is to receive the teachings from a proper master, to believe in the existence of the Buddha-nature in all beings, and to experience this in our own life. This doctrine is also called the "Enlightenment-Practice of the True Nature".

The Theory of Mindfulness: Although the *Wu-hsin-lun* (C 16, Treatise on Mindlessness), unearthed at Tun-huang, claims to be a work of Dharma, its contents lead us to think otherwise. This work centers around the doctrines of "mindlessness is all" and "quiescence is mindlessness", knows the doctrines of "nothing exists outside the mind" and "apart from matter there is no mind" and calls perfect freedom in one's life "Great Enlightenment." Mindlessness means the absence of the false discriminating mind which is constantly selecting and rejecting, the calculating mind, and the mind which views things dualistically. The Chinese instinctively interpreted this concept as meaning "existing naturally without a beginning", "non-functioning" or "non-arising." Hui-nêng (C 17) regarded non-thought, non-supposition, and non-attachment as mindlessness. In this manner mindlessness came to include in its meaning something not seen in Dharma's teaching of Mind-tranquillization and approached the concept of the Southern Sect of Zen. Therefore, one should not consider the doctrine of mindlessness Dharma's teaching. In the *Wu-hsin-lun*, T'ai-shang (the name given Lao-tzŭ by Taoists when they speak of him as the Supreme Deity) is said to be a variant name for the Tathāgata. This can hardly be the teaching of Dharma.

The Special Transmission Outside the Usual Teaching of Buddhism and the Non-use of Writing: These two concepts together with the teachings of "pointing directly to the heart" and "the attainment of Buddhahood by perceiving one's True Nature" are often said to represent the distinct characteristics of the Zen Sect. This idea is present in part in the *Hsüeh-mo-lum* (C. 18), which is the sixth chapter of the *Shao-shih-liu-mên-chi*. However, these terms came into existence only after Zen had consolidated itself into a sect in China. They did not exist at the time of Dharma. The phrase "Non-use of Writing" means the printed page of the scripture should not be thought of as the final statement of Enlightenment, because so deep a religious experience as Enlightenment can never be adequately expressed in words. In the final analysis the role played by scripture may be likened to the finger which points to the moon or the net which catches a fish. For this reason Zen does not consider scripture as an ultimate authority. The same holds true for the doctrins of "Special Transmission Outside the Teaching". The final authority is neither the teachings in the sūtra nor the systematic classifications of Buddhist doctrine (Chiao-p'an, C. 19); it is found in the True Law which is transmitted by another method. This True Law of the Buddhas and Patriarchs can only be handed from one mind to another, from one personality to another. Zen points to the existence of the Buddha-nature or True Nature in the mind and aims chiefly at its realization in practice. This spirit forms the leitmotiv of such Mahāyāna sūtras as the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as well as the Two Entrances and Four Deeds Theory of Dharma. It can be seen in the latter's words: "not to follow the teaching in the books (alone)," "the ordinary man and the enlightened man are one, there being no distinction between oneself and others," and "to accord perfectly with Truth and be free from discrimination". Thus, the basic ideas found in the Zen phrases "Non-use of Waiting" and "Special Transmission Outside the Teaching" can be glimpsed in Dharma's writings, However, we must regard these terms as products of a later period. The *Shao-shih-liu-mên-chi* which contains certain of these phrases cannot be regarded as the work of Dharma; but rather as the product of a somewhat later period.

The Zen Practice of Wall-gazing: The word "Wall-gazing" occurs in the passage explaining the concept of Entrance by Reason in Dharma's theory of Two Entrances and Four Deeds. In Vol. 30 of the *Ching-tê-ch'uan-têng-lu*, Dharma's Entrance by Reason is explained as follows: "By Entrance by Reason" we mean the realization of the spirit of Buddhism by the aid of the scriptural teaching. We then come to have a deep faith in the True Nature which is the same in all sentient beings. The reason why it does not manifest itself is due to the

over wrapping of external objects and false thoughts. When a man, abandoning the false and embracing the true, in singleness of thought, practises Wall-gazing he finds that there is neither self nor others, that the masses and the worthies are of one essence and he firmly holds on to this belief and never moves away therefrom. He will not then be a slave to words, for he is in silent communion with the Reason itself, free from conceptual discrimination; he is serene and non-acting. This is called "Entrance by Reason" (trans. by D. T. Suzuki *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, pp. 73 ff.) This Wall-gazing differs greatly from the Coarse and Fine Meditations spoken of in the *Vajra-samādhi Sūtra*. Coarse Meditation is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *vitarka*, whereas Fine Meditation corresponds to the Sanskrit *vicāra*. Such meditations, properly speaking, belong to the first of the four levels of meditation; by the time the second level is reached they have been eliminated because such dualistic thinking becomes a barrier to reaching the higher levels of meditation. Dharma's Wall-gazing, needless to say, does not refer to merely sitting, legs folded, with one's face to a wall. Its meaning includes the idea of the mind in perfect calmness and imperturbable tranquillity. The word "wall" is employed here metaphorically, the underlying idea being the exclusion of defilement and illusion. Furthermore, it suggests the qualities of firmness and immovability. Fixed Wall gazing does not mean a kind of Zen devoid of all activity. On the contrary, it signifies an abundance of life, because this fixed Wall-gazing is an original doctrine of Dharma. Tao-hsüan writes: "Mahāyāna Wall-gazing contains the highest merit." Dharma was in all probability nicknamed the "Wall-gazing Brahman" because he taught this doctrine. In short, the Zen style of Wall-gazing means not to be a slave to the printed word, but to experience deeply the Great Truth that both the enlightened man and the unenlightened one have the same True Nature, and to attain the state of immovable tranquillity of mind.

Position in the History of Buddhism. The Founder of the Zen Sect : The Zen Sect was probably first recognized generally as an independent sect from the time of its Sixth Patriarch, Hui-nêng. Dharma never called himself or even thought of himself as the founder of the Zen Sect. After the Zen Sect was firmly established at a period somewhat after Dharma's death, the so-called succession of the twenty-eight Patriarchs was invented, and in this succession Dharma was assigned the position of the twenty-eighth patriarch of the Zen Sect in India in addition to being made the founder of First Patriarch of the Zen Sect in China. Historically speaking, there were no Buddhist sects in India in the narrow sense of the word, although different schools of Buddhism were known to exist. It should be remembered, however, that Zen meditation was the practical expression of Buddhism in all its phases. Early Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists considered meditation the only gate to the innermost realm of Buddhist experience because the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, attained Enlightenment through this practice. To the Buddhist the Middle Path signifies the Eightfold Noble Path. The last step of the Eightfold Path which the early Buddhist strove to follow is called Right Meditation, and is interpreted as meaning Correct View, i.e., the ultimate practice which causes us to grasp thoroughly the basic thought of the Buddha. In Hīnayāna all doctrine was thought of as being realized only through Zen meditation, which was held to be the basis for practice undertaken with one's very body. Moreover, almost all Mahāyāna sūtras are preached as the Buddha enters or emerges from a particular kind of meditation. In this manner the inseparable relationship between Zen meditation and Buddhist doctrine is stressed.

After the introduction of Buddhism into China, the enormous Chinese canon was subjected to an exhaustive examination in order to determine in which part the ultimate truth of the Buddha was to be found. This classification of scripture from coarse or incomplete revalation of doctrine to the subtle or full revelation, technically termed Chiao-p'an, naturally differed with various scholars and led to the rise of many sects. Most of these dogmatic sects centered their teachings around one or two particular sūtras, holding that these contained the ultimate teachings of the Buddha, and are therefore referred to as Sects of the Buddha-word. In contradistinction to this the Zen Sect is called the Sect of the Buddha-mind, for it aims at experiencing our innate Buddha-mind through Zazen and daily life. It is little wonder,then,that Zen should gain a rapid acceptance among the Chinese people who place a strong emphasis on daily life. Zen thought was predominant in the Buddhist world from the Zui Dynasty (589–618) to the Ming Dynasty (1358–1644). It may even be said that Zen represented Chinese Buddhism, so great was its power. Zen in Japan is divided into three sects: Rinzai, Sōtō, and Ōbaku. The power and influence of these sects particularly the Sōtō Sect, compare favourably with

the other large Buddhist sects. The ideals of Zen combine with the emotional character of Japanese culture to create a unique art which is characterized by a refined simplicity and profoundity. Thus the position of Bodhidharma, the Twenty-eighth Patriarch of Indian Buddhism and the founder of the Chinese Zen Sect is indeed important in Buddhist history.

The Significance of Dharma Zen: The chief characteristic of Dharma Zen lies in what may be termed the Enlightenment-Practice of Original Enlightenment and the True Nature. Original Enlightenment and True Nature is also named the Buddha-nature, Tathāgata-store (*Tathāgata-garbha*), Mind-nature, Excellent-mind, etc., and refers to the Buddha-mind that all living things innately possess. When this Buddha-mind is revealed as Enlightenment it is termed Wisdom; when it is shown in practice it is called Meditation. To become enlightened does not signify in Zen coming to know or understand the Buddha-mind in an intellectual or objective sense. Rather, it means to accord perfectly with the Buddha-mind, to become one with it and to reveal it in its totality. Likewise, Practice does not signify some sort of religious effort for the purpose of acquiring the Buddha-mind. It is Practice which occurs of its own when we achieve perfect harmony with our Buddha-nature. This is termed the Excellent Function of Actual Enlightenment and is clearly shown in the theory of Two Entrances and Four Deeds. The Entrance by Reason states, "....have a deep faith in the True Nature which is the same in all sentient beings," while in the Entrance by Deeds, especially the Deed of Following the Dharma we read "....the Reason which we call the Dharma in its essence is pure," and the Practice which follows such Dharma is named the Deed of Following the Dharma. Moreover, because this Deed contains the spirit of working for the benefit of others, its Zazen is not merely a religious exercise for acquiring self-merit. The Enlightenment-Practice of Original Enlightenment and the True Nature is unmistakably the hallmark of Dharma Zen. Thorough Englightenment [illegible]'s own Original Nature is termed Sudden Enlightenment. Other phrases applied to this idea of Sudden Enlightenment are "the mind is [illegible]" or "the mind corresponds to Buddha." Inasmuch as this is the case there is neither 'Illusion' to cast out from the mind nor 'Enlightenment' to bring into it for like a treasure house, all things and qualities are found therein. When the True Nature is fully revealed, there is neither taking nor rejecting, neither gain nor loss. All is in its natural state free from artificiality. In summary, we may say that Dharma Zen is both practical and important in our age because of its respect for true human nature, the thorough tranquility of mind which it stresses, and its emphasis on both self cultivation and working for the welfare of society.

Problems Concerning the Biographies of Bodhidharma. 1. The Question of the Historicity of Bodhidharma: The historicity of Dharma has been questioned chiefly for the following reasons: (*a*) The many names by which he is known, (*b*) there is no reliable record of his activities in India, (*c*) the dates assigned to his arrival in China are conflicting and obscure, and, (*d*) the existence of a legend that he came to Japan as a second-coming of the Zen priest Nan-yüeh Hui-ssŭ (C. 20). However, contemporary scholars generally agree that Dharma was an historical personage. In Vol. 1 of the *Lo-Yang-ch' ieh-lan-chi* by Yang Hsüan-chih we read that Dharma, overwhelmed by the splendour of the Yun-ning-ssû temple, stood for several days with hands joined in reverence exclaiming "*namo*". The *Lo-Yang-ch' ieh-lan-chi* written in 547 is considered to be a trustworthy record, and therefore its mention of Dharma is sufficient proof for at least establishing the historical existence of Dharma. Equally reliable is the account in the *Lüeh-pien-ta-ch-êng-ju-taŏ ssŭ-hsing* written by Dharma's disciple T'an-lin. The difficulty in handling biograpical material concerning Dharma lies in the fact that his biography in later periods was embellished to the extent that it is now no easy task to distinguish between the original account and later additions. However, it is our opinion that the following points in the Dharma biography may be accepted as fact: (*a*) his visit to the Yun-ning-ssŭ temple at Lo Yang during the years 516–26, (*b*) Hui-k'e and T'an-lin were his personal disciples. (*c*) his view of Buddhism is contained in the Theory of Two Entrances and Four Deeds, and although he was revered by those who discarded thoughts of self, others who were in the grip of illusion slandered him. All of this, we believe, confirms his historical existence.

Doubtful Points in Historical Records. The Interview with Emperor Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty (502–57): Traditional accounts of the life of Dharma usually speak of the famous exchange of questions and answers between Dharma and Emperor Wu-ti. According to these accounts Dharma is supposed to have quit Liang for the northern kingdom of Wei after realizing the insufficiency of the Emperor's innate capacity to

comprehend his teachings. However, the biography of Dharma found in the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* makes no mention of any such incident. There is a period of twenty-three years between the collapse of the Liu-Sung Dynasty and the enthronement of Emperor Wu-ti in 502. It is quite unthinkable that Dharma dwelt for so long a span of time in Southern China where the Liang Dynasty held sway. Accordingly we must say that the possibility that such an interview was held is doubtful. Next, concerning the actual exchange of questions and answers, in the accounts written in a rather early period we find the statement " building temples and making Buddhist images bring no merit ", and in later writings we see the statement that the First Principle of Buddhism is " Great Emptiness with nothing holy therein." Thus, it is obvious that the Dharma legend, developed with the passage of time and for this reason we cannot accept all of it uncritically. The oldest account of this interview is found in the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* (written about 774) discovered at Tun-huang. This work confuses Bodhidharma with Dharmatāra, regards the *Dharmatāra-ch'an-ching*, (*Taishō*, No. 618 *Nanjio*, No. 1382) and the *Ch'an-mên-ching* as identical, and treats Emperor Wu-ti and Hui-yüan as contemporaries although their periods of activity are separated by some eighty-five years. For these reasons the *Li-tai-fa-pao-chi* can only be used as an historical source with the greatest caution. The account of the interview seems to have developed in Ssŭ-ch'uan Province between the death of Tao-hsüan in 667 and the death of Wu-chu in 774. The exchange of questions and answers concerning the construction of temples, etc., appears in two works: the *Fa-lin-ch'uan* and Shên-hui's preface to the *Nan-tsung-ting-shih-fan-lun*. The *Tsu-t'ang-chi* and the *Ching-tê-ch'uan-têng-lu* contain, in addition to the dialogue on the merit of temple building, Dharma's explanation of the First Principle of Buddhism to Emperor Wu-ti. Although Dharma's pronouncements on the latter are widely quoted by Buddhists in China and Japan we can hardly regard them as having been uttered in the famous " interview ". The *Fa-lin-ch'uan* states that following the death of Dharma, Emperor Wu-ti had a memorial stone erected, and Prince Chao-ming wrote the inscription for it. According to this inscription Dharma's death occurred on the fifth day of the twelfth month in the year 536 A.C. This rules out the possibility that Prince Chao-ming wrote the inscription as the latter died in the fourth month of the year 531—five years before the death of Dharma.

The Nine Years of Wall-facing: We know for certain from Pei-ts'ui's Memorial Inscription at the Shao-lin-ssŭ temple in the Sung-shan mountains that Dharma spent the last years of his life at this temple. According to the memorial inscription written by Fa-lin when Hui-k'e was forty-one he met Dharma and studied the doctrine of one Vehicle under him for some six years. T'an-lin writes that Tao-yü and Hui-k'e first attained to an understanding of the Way under the guidance of the General of the Law (Dharma). They stayed with him for several years and impressed Dharma so favourably that he taught them the True Path, the account continues. " Several years " probably indicates a period of four or five years. After receiving the True Law, Hui-k'e was in attendance upon Dharma for another six years, making a total of about nine years that he was with Dharma. Therefore we may say that Dharma resided in the Shao-lin-ssŭ temple for more than six years. On Hui-k'e's memorial tablet it is recorded that he was with Dharma for nine years. For these reasons there is no need to doubt the tradition of nine years of Wall-facing. This so-called Wall-facing is nothing other than the practice of Wall-gazing spoken of above.

The Incident of Hui-k'e's self-amputation of his Arm: The inscription on Hui-k'e's memorial stone written by Fa-lin states as follows: " The Zen Master Hui-k'e stood several nights in the snow waiting to be received by Dharma. Finally he resolutely cut off his arm and threw it to the ground. By so maiming himself did he show his earnestness to receive the teaching of Dharma." However, Tao-hsüan's *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* knows nothing o this account; instead it simply states that brigands cut off Hui-k'e's arm, but so great was his understanding of the Law that he felt no pain. However, in the Preface to the *Nan-tsung-ting-shih-fou-lun*, found in Tun-huang we find the story of Hui-k'e's self-amputation to receive the Law. Similarly, the *Lêng-ch'ieh-shih-tzŭ-chi* states: " After the determination to realize Enlightenment arose within me I cut off my arm. Although I stood in the snow from early evening until past midnight, I was not aware that the snow had already reached my knees. Thus did I seek the Supreme Way." The *Ch'uan-fa-pao-chi* (*Taishō*, No. 2838) has " Hui-k'e cut off his arm, thereby demonstrating his sincerity," and a comment inserted in this passage adds, " The assertion that Hui-k'e's arm was cut off by brigands found in some historical records is erroneous." This, of course, is intended to refute the statement to this

effect in Tao-hsüan's *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan.* Tao-hsüan's account, however, was adopted with no alteration by Shên-ch'ing in his *Pei-shan-lu* (*Taishō*, No. 2113 ; *Nanjio*, No. 1502). This was pointed out by Chüeh-fan Hui-hung of the Sung Dynasty who wrote in his *Lin-chien-lu :* " Tao-hsüan slandered the Sage Hui-k'o, and Shên-ch'ing writes without discriminating between truth and falsehood. His writing deserves to be laughed at." Ch'i-sung also supports that view basing his position on Fa-lin's inscription mentioned above. In our opinion Fa-lin's inscription is far more trustworthy than the account given in Tao-hsüan's *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan.* There is the theory, which we do not accept, that the account of Hui-k'e's standing in the snow was ultimately derived from the incident of Hui- k'e's sitting in the snow.

Theories Concerning the Dates of Dharma: The dates connected with Dharma's arrival in China, his interview with Emperor Wu-ti and his death cannot be determined with any degree of exactness. Our main clue in fixing the date of his arrival in China is the statement in the *Shu-kao-sheng-chuan* that Dharma "arrived at the Southern Yüeh coast during the (Liu-) Sung Dynasty, and then proceeded north to Wei ". Lui-Sung collapsed in 478 A. C. , and therefore Dharma's arrival in China must have been before that year. We cannot think that Dharma remained in southern China for a long span of time when we take into consideration his visit to the Yun-ning-ssu temple and the period of Sêng-fu's attendance upon him. In all probability he arrived in Northern Wei about 475, which would put his landing on the Southern Yüeh coast about the year 470. Between this date and the generally accepted date there is a difference of seventy-seven years. Likewise there are many theories concerning the date of his death. If we follow the account given in Hui-k'e's biography, after Dharma's death Hui-k'e moved to Hsin-yeb where he enthusiastically propagated Buddhism. This would then place Dharma's death before the T'ien-p'ing Period (534–37), probably about 532. This differs from the usually accepted Law by some thirty-seven years. It is highly unlikely that Dharma met Emperor Wu-ti, for between Dharma's arrival on the Southern Yüeh coast about 470 and Wu-ti's enthronement in south China in 502 there is a gap of about thirty-two years.

Problems Concerning the Writings of Dharma: The Theory of Two Entrances and Four Deeds recorded by T'an-lin was probably received directly from his Master's lips. It is difficult to accept the works ascribed to Dharma as actually being his writings. In the case of the *Shao-shih-liu-mên,* which is attributed to Dharma, the only part which can actually be said to represent Dharma's thought is the portion of the third chapter that explains the Two Kinds of Entrances. Proof of this can be found in the terminology employed in this work. The same holds true for such works as the *Wu-hsin-lun* and *Kuan-mên* which, judging from their choice of vocabulary, must be works of a period later than Dharma's.

Dharma in Folklore: It would be difficult indeed to find a more widely diffused legend among the peoples of the Far East than the one dealing with Dharma. He is frequently portrayed in drawings and in paintings, and his head with its characteristic piercing stare is often represented in ceramics. (See Plate XVIII) Because he is so commonly met with in paintings he has become a symbol for the makers of wall-paper, and can be seen on the signs in front of the wall-paperer's shop. In the past, his picture was also used by tobacconists. Representations of Dharma are prized as tumbler toys in Japan, China and Korea. In Japan these tumbler toys are very popular with children, and are nicknamed " Little, Jumping-up Priests " (Okiagari-koboshi). Dharma was regarded by the beggars as their first ancestor, and his image was enshrined by veterinarians. Because these Dharma tumblers are usually painted red, have bulging eyes, and immediately jump back to position after being pushed over, they are sometimes thought of as being the protective deity for sufferers from small-pox. In addition, they are believed to have the power to protect silk-worm cultivation, insure safe delivery and prevent the catching of colds. In time the scope of their supposed efficacy broadened, and they came to be regarded popularly as a charm against all sorts of evil. They are carried by travellers for safety on a journey, or even used by gamblers to bring luck. Because the tumbler jumps up immediately no matter how many times it may be knocked down, it came to signify success, especially in business, in the minds of the people, and for this reason at both the beginning and the end of the year the " Dharma Fair " (Dharma-ichi) is held at which great numbers of these tumblers are sold. There is even a kind of Dharma tumbler called Me-nashi Dharma, which has no eyes ; these are supposed to be painted in when some wish is fulfilled.

R. M.

BODHIDHARMA. In the Far East, there is no Buddhist influence so profound and penetrating as that of the Ch'an (dhyāna) school, popularly known as Zen Buddhism. It has effected a change in the cultural life of the people as well as in their general outlook regarding the method of attaining Enlightenment. Not merely that; from the beginning of the 10th century A.C., this school has gained supremacy over all other schools in China, so much so that the monks in the monasteries throughout the country claimed in one way or the other to belong to the patriarchal lineage of celebrated dhyāna masters. This phenomenon may be ascribed to the fact that the Dhyāna school has been the life and soul of Buddhism for over a thousand years in China. As a result of its important position, voluminous works have been produced by various writers. Some of them are compositions containing the sayings of dhyāna masters, mystical and paradoxical in nature, and others are historical records concerning the patriarchal genealogy, especially that of the various branches of the disciples of Hui-nêng, the sixth Patriarch. However, all of them unanimously claim that Bodhidharma, the sage from India, was the 28th Patriarch of the Indian tradition and the first Patriarch of the Chinese Dhyāna School.

In the early Chinese Buddhist records there is a great paucity of information concerning the life of Bodhidharma. He was popularly known as Ta-mo (C. 21) in China and Daruma in Japan. Tao-Hsüan, author of the *Second Series of Buddhist Biographies*, states very briefly that Bodhidharma belonged to a brāhman family in South India, while Yang Hsüan-chih, author of *Lo-yang-chia-lan-chi* (*Record of the Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*; *Taishō*, No. 2092) says that he belonged to Persia and came of an insignificant family. (This record was completed in 547 A.C.) However, the later Buddhist records of the 11th century A.C., like

(1) Ch'i-sung: *Ch'uan-fa-chêng-tsung-lun* (*A treatise on the Right School of transmitting the Law*, *Nanjio*, No. 1528; *Taishō*, No. 2080);

(2) Ch'i-sung: *Ch'uan-fa-chêng-tsung-chi* (*Records of the Right School of transmitting the Law*, *Nanjio*, No. 1529; *Taishō*, No. 2078);

(3) Tao-yüan: *Ching-teh-ch'uan-têng-lu* (*Records of the transmission of the lamp up to the Ching-teh period*—1004–7 A.C., *Nanjio*, No. 1524; *Taishō*, No. 2076),

unanimously claimed that he belonged to a kṣatriya family and was the third son of the King of Conjeevaram (Hsiang-chih) in south India. The teacher of Bodhidharma, according to these records, was Prajñātāra of eastern India, who commanded him to proceed to China for the propagation of Buddhism there. It took him three years to reach Canton. He had an interview with Emperor Wu Liang of the Liang Dynasty, in 527 or 520 A.C. Later, he met Hui-k'e and accepted him as his chief disciple because the latter had cut off his left hand and placed it before Bodhidharma in order to show his sincere determination to learn the sacred dharma. The official insignia of the Robe was handed over to Hui-k'e by him. It is said that he was poisoned to death, and that his ghost was seen by Sung-yün in the Pamirs. Besides, there is a lengthy description about his life in India, which narrates how he converted the leaders of the six Schools founded by the pupils of his classmate Buddhaśānta (Fu-ta-hêng-to The Schools are:

(1) Yu-hsiang-tsung (C. 22)
The School of Form;

(2) Wu-hsiang-tsung (C. 23)
The School of No-form;

(3) Ting-hui-tsung (C. 24)
The School of Samādhi and Prajñā;

(4) Chiai-hsing-tsung (C. 25)
The School of Vinaya Practice;

(5) Wu-teh-tsung (C. 26)
The School of No-gain;

and (6) Chi-ching-tsung (C. 27)

The School of Silence (*Taishō*, No. 2076; *Nanjio*, No. 1524).

Further, he is said to have converted his own nephew who showed hostility towards Buddhism, but later on became repentant of what he had done.

However, the foregoing information with regard to the life of Bodhidharma should be regarded as pure tradition, which was popularised in the eleventh century A.C. by the followers of the Zen School. These traditions may not stand the test of critical inquiry.

Historically speaking, we should have a simpler picture of Bodhidharma, which may be framed in the outline given below:

Bodhidharma was a Buddhist monk whose original home was in south India. He belonged to a sect which observed early Buddhistic ascetic

practices. He advocated very strongly the practice of meditation and self-mortification as is well illustrated by some of his immediate disciples. He appeared to have gone to China by sea. On his way to Lo-yang (modern Honan province), the capital of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–532 A.C.), he sojourned briefly in the territory of the Sung Dynasty (420–79 A.C.) whose capital was Nanking. He taught Hui-k'e, his chief disciple, the theory and practice of meditation and recommended to him the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as a reference book. He spent most of his time in two places, one the Shao-lin-ssŭ monastery in the Sung-shan mountain (Honan) and the other Lo-yang, probably in the magnificent Yung-sning-ssŭ monastery, because he had showered on it his profound admiration and declared that it was unsurpassed by any other in all the realms of the Buddhas. This monastery was built in 516 A.C., and destroyed by fire in 535 A.C. (Yang Hsüan-chih, op. cit,). This would indicate that round about 520 A.C. Bodhidharma was still alive and at that time his age would be about 65 or 70, if we accept the date of his arrival in China to be 480 A.C. He passed away in Lo-yang some time before 534 A.C. (T'ien-ping (534–38 A.C.)' because that was the time when his disciple Hui-k'e began to preach the new doctrine at Nanking.

This short sketch of Bodhidharma is naturally devoid of the colourful, fabulous tales linked with his life. We give below two of the tales as illustration :—

1. When Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502–49 A.C.) could not understand and appreciate the unusual answers given by him, Bodhidharma went across the Yangtse River riding on a reed. He then entered the Shao-lin monastery in Honan province and practised deep meditation, facing the wall for nine long years. As a sequel, it is said, he imprinted his image on the wall.

2. He is said to have attained the hoary age of [illegible] years, and passed away after that. However, a Chinese envoy, while returning from India, saw Bodhidharma, with one shoe dangling from his monk's staff, on the Pamirs (Ts'ung-ling). When he reported this to the Emperor, his tomb was unearthed and to their surprise, they could not find anything else in the coffin except a broken shoe.

The stories mentioned above appear to indicate that he was credited with possessing supernatural powers, or, in the derogatory sense, that he was a sort of magician. This, indeed, is unfortunate. We shall endeavour, in the sequel, to bring out the truth about this great sage. Special attention will be paid to the conditions of the Dhyāna School prior to his arrival in China and after his demise.

Was he the Founder of Chinese Zen Buddhism? The answer to this question may be divided into two different categories. In one case, we may say 'No', and in the other, 'Yes', but partially.

It is a well-known fact that when Buddhism was introduced into China, it embraced all the three aspects of that religion, viz., disciplinary observance, meditation and philosophy (*śīla, samādhi* and *prajñā*). As such, we find in the Chinese Tripiṭaka a large number of works on dhyāna or meditation. The earliest are probably those translated by An Shih-kao in 148–70 A.C. Take for instance :

(1) *The Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on keeping thought in the manner of great Ānāpāna.* (*Nanjio*, No. 682).

(2) *The Sūtra on perception in the law of practice of meditation.* (*Nanjio*, No. 683).

and the works on the same topic, translated by Chih Yao in 185 A.C. (*Nanjio*, Nos. 724, 1338), by Buddhabhadra in 398–421 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 1341), and many other important texts. translated by Kumārajīva in 402–12 A.C. This would show clearly that the theory and practice of dhyāna had been known to the Chinese Buddhists quite early. Further, we find 21 dhyāna masters in *Kao-sêng-chuan* or *Biographies of eminent Buddhist Teachers* (*Nanjio*, No. 1490; *Taishō*, No. 2059) completed in 519 A.C. by Hui-chiao in which the name of Bodhidharma is not included while in *Hsü-kao- sêng-chuan*) or the *Second Series of the Biographies of eminent Buddhist Teachers* (*Nanjio*, No. 1493 ; *Taishō* No. 2060, completed in 645 A.C., by Tao-hsüan), the names of 135 dhyāna experts are found including a few of the immediate disciples of Bodhidharma. These facts clearly show how popular and well-known dhyāna Buddhism was among the Buddhists at that time. They also show that to speak of Bodhidharma, who came to China round about 480 A.C., as the founder of the dhyāna practices would not accord with facts.

This, however, concerns only the early phase of the Dhyāna School in China which had already a firm footing before the arrival of Bodhidharma and of which, therefore, he is not entitled to the honour of being the founder, as is usually supposed. We must make it clear, nevertheless, that the later developed Zen School has much to do with him, though the honour seems to have been forced on him. When we say the later developed Zen School

we mean the particular form of Zen Buddhism which flourished during the T'ang and the Sung Dynasties (618–905 and 962–1278 A.C. respectively), and was greatly popularized by Hui-nêng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Bodhidharma lineage. It was during the early part of this period that Japanese Buddhists came to China for higher studies and later took back with them the various Buddhist Schools, including the Zen (Zen is the Japanese term for 'Ch'an' which, in turn, is dervied from the Sanskrit word 'Dhyāna'). It is this form of Zen Buddhism that has become widely known in the West. It may be said of Bodhidharma that he was in some way associated with this School, though indirectly.

The Truth about his being the 28th Patriarch : Several Chinese records of the biographies of the patriarchs of the Zen School claim that Bodhidharma was the 28th patriarch of the Indian tradition, starting from Mahākāśyapa. Ch'i-sung, author of two of these records, asserted that he was really the 28th patriarch in India and refuted the authority of *Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yüan-ching* or *Chuan* or *Sūtra on the Nidāna of transmitting the Dharmapiṭaka*, (*Nanjio*, No. 1340, *Taishō*, No. 2058), a Sanskrit text translated into Chinese in 472 A.C. by Chi-Chia-yeh. This work gives us a list of the *paramparā* (lineage) tradition of 23 Indian patriarchs, beginning with Mahākāśyapa and ending with Siṃha Bhiksu. In between, we have Aśvaghoṣa as the 11th, Nāgarjuna the 13th, Vasubandhu the 20th and so forth. In the biographical sketch of the last Patriarch, Siṃha Bhiksu, we are told that he was killed by Mirakutsu (Mihirakula ?), a king belonging to the heretic faith, known for the destruction he caused to Buddhist establishments and the massacre of the Buddhist monks in Kaśmir. As a result, the line of *paramparā* was discontinued after his death, because he could not, while he was alive, find a suitable person to succeed him. On the evidence of this document, it is difficult for us to accept the claim that Bodhidharma was the 28th patriarch of the Indian tradition. Moreover, as this claim was first made only in the 11th century A.C. by a staunch supporter of the Zen School in China, viz., Ch'i-sung, it can hardly convince us. We know that the motive behind this claim was to enhance the prestige of the said School.

The Date of Bodhidharma's arrival in China : The popular tradition (*Nanjio*, Nos. 1528, 1529, 1524), recorded in the literature of the Zen School, tells us that Bodhidharma reached Canton in 527 A.C. (or 520 A.C. in another version) in the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502–49 A.C.). It is stated in the same source that he met the Emperor. As this Emperor chiefly devoted his attention towards the building of monasteries, giving alms to the monks and so forth, he could not understand the mystical teachings of Bodhidharma and, therefore, the latter left him without being appreciated. However, other earlier and more reliable sources present us with quite a different picture. The following may be cited :

(1) Tao-hsüan (595–667 A.C.), author of the *Second Series of Buddhist Biographies*, gives us a life-sketch of Bodhidharma where he says: 'He first reached the territory of the Sung Dynasty (420–79 A.C.) and then proceeded towards the North . . .' This Sung Dynasty came to an end in 479 A.C. Moreover, he does not mention anything about Bodhidharma's interview with the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty. If we accept this version, we may safely place the date of his arrival somewhere between 420 and 479 A.C.

(2) One of the chief disciples of Bodhidharma was Sêng-fu (*Nanjio*, No. 1493) who met the Master when he was about seventeen years of age. Sêng-fu passed away in 524 A.C. at the age of sixty-one years. This would put their meeting at about 480 A.C.

(3) Hui-shêng (*Nanjio*, No. 1493) another pupil of Bodhidharma, learnt all the meditation methods from him and observed ascetic practices strictly. He died sometime between 502–19 A.C. (T'ien-chien-nien-chung) at the mature age of seventy years.

All the foregoing evidence leads us to the same conclusion, that is, that Bodhidharma reached China some time round 480 A.C. If that is so, then the popular tradition about his arrival in 527 A.C. and about his meeting the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty in the same year, falls to the ground.

His Teaching and its Relation with the later Zen Buddhism : According to general belief, it is said that the way of teaching adopted by Bodhidharma differed substantially from that of all the Buddhist missionaries who found their way into China. He seems to have been a bad linguist because he never translated any Sanskrit text into Chinese, nor did he compose any literary work. What was worse, judging by conventional standards, was that he preached an ultra-modern doctrine which seemed

to harbour a profound hatred towards the traditional Buddhism as contained in the books. We give below an outline of the fundamental principles of Zen Buddhism :

A special tradition outside the Scriptures ;
Not to depend upon books or letters ;
To point direct to the heart of man ;
To see (one's own) nature and become Buddha.

These lines tell us of the Dhyāna School of the developed form. The principles contained therein seem to have been strictly observed by most of the Zen followers in the Far East. However, to have a glimpse of the simple teachings and practices of early Zen, we have to go back to the sayings and the mode of life of Bodhidharma and his immediate disciples.

In his short life-sketch (given by Tao-huün) we find that he used to instruct Hui-k'e, later known as the Second Patriarch, in the following twofold doctrine : one is 'reasoning' or the basic principle, and the other 'practice' (*Erh-ju-ssŭ-hsing.*). As regards 'reasoning' he says :

"I firmly believe that all living beings possess the same Real Nature (*svabhāva*). But in most cases it has been covered by the external dust of obstruction. I now ask them to give up falsehood and return to reality by gazing at the wall and meditating. They should not try to make any distinction between the self and others, between the saintly and the profane, but to stand firmly on these foundations and not to follow any other teachings. This, indeed, will be in concordance with the 'Tao' which is silent and devoid of activities ".

Among the 'practices,' there are four in number :

1. The attitude towards one's enemy :

"During the course of religious training, calamity may fall on the practitioner. Under such circumstances, he should think that in the previous *kalpas* he had been led astray and had many ties of attachment and hatred. In the present life he might have been freed from them, but the suffering should be regarded as the effect of deeds performed in one's former births. Therefore, one should willingly face all the sorrows and should not harbonr any enmity towards the wrong-doer.. When this occurs in one's mind, it is in accordance with the 'Tao', because trying to understand what is the nature of enmity is to enter the path of 'Tao'."

2. To be content with one's lot :

"There is no *ātman* (soul) in living beings. Happiness and misery should be received calmly as they come. Even if one is treated with honour, it is due to his previous deeds : when their effect is over, it would not come again. Therefore, there is no occasion for rejoicing. In the case of gain or loss, there should not be any difference in the tranquillity of the mind. If the mind is calm and gentle with regard to success or failure, then, it is said to be in fitting accordance with the *Dharma*".

3. The avoidance of hankering :

"The ordinary folk have for a long time lost themselves in greed—that means hankering. A seeker after the Truth should be different from them. He ought to rest his mind on inactivities and let him face squarely whatever is his lot. Indeed, all the Three Worlds are full of suffering and nobody is secure. The sūtra says :

'Whatever you hanker after,
The sequel is suffering.
There will be happiness.
When one is devoid of greed'."

4. To be in accordance with the *Dharma :*

By this is meant that the *svabhāva* or Real Nature is inherently pure.

As Bodhidharma never wrote anything himself this sums up the total output of his teachings. In addition to this, we are told that he recommended to his disciples the study of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra.* This is the only Mahāyāna text which had some connection with the Dhyāna School in its early stages.

It may be mentioned here that in the beginning of the twentieth century, a large number of Chinese manuscripts was discovered from the Thousand Buddha Caves in Tun-huang in China. For a detailed account regarding this matter, one may refer to W. Pachow's work entitled, *Tung-huang yün-wên chi* (C. 28) or *An Anthology of Poetical Compositions from Tun-huang* (Taiwan, 1965). Later, these valuable manuscripts were taken to Europe and kept in the British Museum, London, and La Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris. In these collections there are several compositions which have been ascribed to Bodhidharma. However, after careful investigation, it was found that they were forged and written by later Zen masters. The contents of these texts are very contradictory to one another so that one cannot believe they were written by the same author. We may cite the following case as an illustration. It is stated in one of the texts that "mind is the basic existence of all the phenomena", But at the same time another work by the same author denies such a stand, and says "There exists no mind." Shindai J. Sekiguchi of Japan has listed in his *Daruma-daishi-no-kenkyū* (C. 29) or *A Study of Bodhidharma* (Tokyo, 1957) pp. 9-11 ; 49-391 the following texts from Tun-huang and made a study on them :

1. *Ta-mo-ch'an-shih-lun* (C. 30) *The Discourses of Bodhidharma, the Dhyāna Master.*

2. *Ta-mo-ho-shang-chüeh-kuan-lun* (C. 31) *The Venerable Bodhidharma's Discourse on Discarding Visualization* ;

3. *P'u-t'i-ta-mo-wu-hsin-lun* (C. 32) *The Discourses of Bodhidharma on No-mind.* (*Taishō*, No. 2831);
4. *Ta-mo-ta-shih-kuan-hsin-lun* (C. 33) *The Discourses of Bodhidharma, the Great Master, on Visualizing the Mind.* (*Taishō*, No. 2833);
5. *Chêng-hsin-lun* (C. 34) *A Discourse on the Realization of Mind*;
6. *Ta-mo-ch'an-shih-kuan-mên* (C. 35) *The Ways of Visualization of Bodhidharma, the Dhyāna Master* (*Taishō*, No. 2832);
7. *Ta-mo-ta-shih-ssŭ-hsing-lun* (C. 36) *A Discourse on the Four Practices by Bodhidharma, the Great Master.*

In addition, he also included three minor texts from other sources among which one was taken from tho *Taoist Canon* (*Tao-tsang* C. 37) It is interesting to note the conclusion that was arrived at by Sekiguchi. He is of the opinion that except *Ta-mo-ch'an-shih-lun* the rest, as mentioned in the list, are 'not genuine'' or that they were forged by others. We would, however, like to point out that Bodhidharma cannot be the author of *Ta-mo-ch'an-shih-lun.* The reason for this is based on the observation that this text has quoted more than seven Mahāyāna and two Hīnayāna texts from the Chinese translations, and one work from the Confucian classics. Given below are the original titles:

(1) *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* (*Taishō*, Nos. 474, 475)
(2) *Śrīmālā(devī)simhanāda Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 353)
(3) *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 235)
(4) *Mahāvaipulyatathāgatagarbha Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 666)
(5) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 262)
(6) *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Upadeśa* (*Taishō*, No. 1509)
(7) *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Taishō*, Nos. 374, 375)
(8) *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*Taishō*, Nos. 670, 671, 672)
(9) *Dharmapada* (*Taishō*, Nos. 210, 211)
(10) *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* or *Vinaya* (*Taishō*, No. 1426)
(11) *Lun-yü* (C. 38 *Confucian Analects*)

According to the biographical sketch written by Tao-hsüan, we understand that the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was the only text recommended by Bodhidharma, and that he did not show any interest in other books. This was possibly due to the fact that his ability to read Chinese was very poor. That being the case, is it possible that he, all of a sudden, became a great writer and expert, not only on the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but also on Confucian classics? Further, the same manuscript says "*Chi-tzŭ-shên-hsin, ming-wei-ching-t'u* (C. 39). This very body and mind are called the Pure Land". The idea of "Pure Land is within oneself", was, for the first time, introduced by Hui-nêng the Sixth Patriarch in the well-known work called "*Liu-tsu-ta-shih-fa-pao-t'an-ching* (C. 40) *Sūtra spoken by the Sixth Patriarch on the High Seat of Dharma-ratna*" (*Taishō*, No. 2008, ch. 3.). It is likely that the text in question was influenced by the teaching of Hui-nêng. As Hui-nêng passed away in 713 A.C., the date for the composition of *Ta-mo-ch'an-shih-lun* cannot be placed earlier than the eighth century A.C. In other words, the authorship of this manuscript cannot be ascribed to Bodhidharma.

Judging by the rather curt outlines of his teaching and the ascetic way of life of his immediate disciples, it would appear that, theoretically, Bodhidharma had more or less based his philosophy on the interpretation of Buddha-nature in sentient beings as found in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra.* Therefore, he regarded the saintly and the profane as being on the same level, because intrinsically there would not be any difference between them. However, there is not the slightest hint of the theory of 'Sudden Enlightenment' here, though it is very prominent in the teachings of the later patriarchs and their disciples. Moreover, the apparently eccentric ways of teaching, such as giving a blow, a kick or tweak of the nose, drawing a circle in the air, saying paradoxical things, answering questions with incoherence and all kinds of apparent absurdities adopted by the patriarchs after Hui-nêng the Sixth Patriarch (639–713 A.C.), cannot be said to have originated with Bodhidharma, because he had nothing to do with them. On the contrary, the emphasis laid on austerity, self-contentment, self-mortification, the curb of desire, the belief in the effect of karma, the insistence on concentration of mind by gazing at the blank wall and other ascetic trends appear more akin to the early 'Arhat' ideal than the Mahāyāna dhyāna

practices seen after the seventh century A.C. To substantiate our statement, we cite a few examples in order to show what kind of austere life Bodhidharma's disciples used to lead :

(i) Hui-k'o (C. 41), his chief disciple and in later generations known as the Second Patriarch, used to practise the teaching of Bodhidharma very strictly. During the period of persecution of Buddhism started by Emperor Wu-Ti of the Northern Chou Dynasty (Pei-chou-wu-ti 561–178 A.C.) one of his arms was cut off by an assassin. As he took it calmly, by adhering to his master's instructions, he did not feel any pain. To stop bleeding, he cauterized the wound with fire and bandaged it with a piece of cloth. He went on begging his alms as if nothing had happened.

(ii) Na Ch'an-shih (C. 42) or Na, the dhyāna master, was a disciple of Hui-k'o. Before his renunciation he was a renowned Confucian scholar. From the time of his becoming a monk, he gave up reading non-Buddhist literature and never touched a pen. Regarding his personal possessions, he had only a robe, and a begging bowl. He ate only one meal a day and observed the practice of *dhutaṅga* (q.v.) very strictly.

(iii) Hui-man (C. 43), a disciple of Na Ch'an-shih and a great-grand-disciple of Bodhidharma, devoted himself to the practice of non-attachment. He had only a robe and ate once a day. There was no other property belonging to him except two needles. He needed them for mending his rug in the winter, but would discard them during the summer. Once he was meditating on an open ground which was covered by snow five feet deep. Someone saw him and offered him free board and temporary lodging. He refused that kind offer and said : " I would accept your invitation only when no one else in the whole world is alive !"

Besides these, the lives led by his other immediate disciples, like Sêng-fu (who died in 524 A.C.) and Hui-shêng (who died during 502–19 A.C.), are more or less like the ones described above. If we compare their spirit of self-mortification and quiet contemplation with the boisterous daring of burning a wooden image of the Buddha (by Tan-hsia, C. 44) and the killing of a cat (by Nan-ch'üan, C. 45) and other strange acts performed by later dhyāna masters, supposedly to contain the mystery of dhyāna ideals, we should come to the conclusion that there is hardly any common ground between them. Thus, it would appear to be an irony of fate that Bodhidharma was placed as the First Patriarch of the Zen School.

From the foregoing evidence, we are led to believe firstly, that, historically speaking, Bodhidharma was very sober, simple-living and comparatively less known than most of his contemporaries. (The story of his meeting with the Emperor of the Liang Dynasty and other fabulous tales associated with his life cannot stand critical enquiry.) Secondly, Bodhidharma's theories and practices concerning dhyāna differed greatly from those of the later patriarchs and their numerous disciples. If that is so, why was he regarded as the First Patriacrh of the Zen School ? Thirdly, the list of the six Patriarchs :

(1) Bodhidharma (C. 46)

(2) Hui-k'e (C. 47)

(3) Sêng-ts'an (C. 48)

(4) Tao-hsin (C. 48a)

(5) Hung-jèen (C. 49)

(6) Hui-nêng (or Shên-hsui)[1] (C. 50)

popularly known from the beginning of the eighth century A.C. and later on recorded in the dhyāna literature written by Ch'i-sung in the eleventh century A.C. was not found in early Buddhist historical records. Sêng-ts'an, the Third Patriarch in our list, was not known to any author of the *Buddhist Biographies*. (The second series was completed in 645 A.C. and the third series in 988 A.C.) Tao-hsüan mentions very briefly in his '*Biographies*' the names of Tao-hsin and Hung-jên as teacher and pupil, but he does not say anything about their being the Fourth and the Fifth Patriarchs in the Bodhidharma line. Naturally, he could not, because he had already recorded the life-sketch of Hui-man, the great-grand-disciple of Bodhidharma.

W. P.

BODHIDĪPA, a Chinese translator of the Sui dynasty (589–618 A.C.; *Nanjio*, p. 110 ; M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vol. I, p. 352). See CHAN-TSA-SHÊN-O-YEH-PAO-CHING.

BODHI-DRUMA. See BODHI-TREE.

1. Shên-hsiu died in 706 A.C. The inscription on hi tomb contains the above mentioned list. It is claimed that he was the Sixth Patriarch.

BODHIGARBHĀLAṄKĀRALAKṢA-DHĀRAṆĪ (var. *Bodhimaṇḍalalakṣālaṅkāra-nāmadhāraṇī*, *Bodhi-garbhedrisṇa-lakṣa-dhāraṇī*), the title of three Sanskrit texts occurring in the *Rgyud ḥbum* (100,000 *tantra*) and *Bzuṅs ḥdas* (*dhāraṇī*) sections of the Tibetan *Kangyur*, according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. Nos. 508, 509, 920), and two texts occurring in the *Rgyud* (*tantra*) section of the *Kangyur* according to the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 6, No. 139; Vol. 11, No. 545). The Tibetan version of this text is *Byaṅ-chub-sñiṅ-poḥi rgyan-ḥbum shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs*. The author of this text is unknown, but the translator is named as Mgon-po skyabs.

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. This work describes the method of enshrining inside a stūpa, a magic spell (written) after chanting it for 100,000 times. It is said that this spell helps one to be devoid of all sins and to establish himself in the Path of Enlightenment. It further describes the method of decorating the stūpa and how it should be honoured. The magic spell runs as follows: *vipula vadana . . . . prabhūsa ketumūrd-varaye Tathāgatāya arahate samyak sambuddhāya namo Bhagavate Śākya munīye Tathāgatāya arahate samayak sambuddhāya Tatyathā bodhi bodhi bodhinī bhodinī sarva Tathāgata. . . . . dhara dhara hara hara prahara prahara mahā bodhi tsati dhare tsulu tsulu śata raśmi saṃtsodite sarva Tathāgatā bhiṣikte guṇe guṇavate sarva Buddha guṇāvabhāse mili mili gaganatale pratiṣṭhite śama śama praśama praśame- hulu hulu mahābodhimārga saṃpratiṣṭhite.*

According to the author, one should build the stūpa and after enshrining the magic spell in it, he should offer it with flowers ([illegible]), incense ([illegible]), garlands (*phreṅ-ba*), medicinal ointment (*byug-pa*) and powder (*phye-ma*), and decorate it with a covering (Skt. [illegible]; Tib. *na-bzaḥ*), a parasol (Skt. *chattra*; Tib. *gdugs*) and the banner of victory of Buddhism (Tib. *rgyal-mtshan*). At the end of the text the author mentions that one should honour not only the stūpa, but also the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

I. K.

BODHI-GHARA, house of the bodhi tree, referred to in Pali texts, e.g., *Mhv.* xxxvii, *v.* 31. The principal object of veneration in the house, which stood as a shrine, was the tree. That, however, did not exclude Buddha images also for purposes of worship.

This class of shrine most probably originated with the Mahābodhi in India. It was certainly known in ancient times, as proved from sculptures in places such as Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī. The reliefs show a type of "house" enclosing the tree and branches of the latter above the walls.

In the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura (Ceylon) a Bodhi-ghara was erected for the well-known Sacred Bodhi-tree. This was a very special object of attention by several kings at different times who had repairs made to it or embellishments, additions, etc. Elsewhere in the island, too, there were similar houses, at the Abhayagiri and Gokaṇṇaka vihāras and at several places in Rohaṇa, the southern district (ibid. xxxvii, *v.* 15; xlviii, *v.* 5; xlix, *v.* 15; lxxix, *v.* 72).

The best-known of the Bodhi-gharas, naturally, were those of the (Indian) Mahābodhi (ibid, xxxv, *v.* 89) and the existing Sacred Bodhi-Tree of Ceylon. On account of the disappearance of Buddhism from India, the former went into decay, and because of the uninterrupted devotion of Ceylon Buddhists the latter was restored from time to time during the course of some two thousand years. In such circumstances neither of them provides the archaeologist with an opportunity to draw a fair picture, from any surviving features, of the type of building.

One Bodhi-ghara, however, in the Buddhist world, has lain untouched by restorers for a thousand years. Although in ruin, it alone enables the scholar to form a true idea of this class of ancient shrine. Discovered in Nillakgama (close to the abandoned village of Nitalawa, see Plate XIX) in the North- Western Province of Ceylon, it was briefly noticed in the year 1895 and described in some detail in1954 (*ASC AR*. for 1954). The Indian bas-reliefs add to the architectural evidence from clear stood its remains to suggest that the bodhi-tree had upon an inner upper platform or terrace. A lower platform outside was enclosed by a parapet wall. In the intervening space of the two platforms were found stone pillars which had supported a wooden roof. Fragments in terracotta of the roofing tiles were found in the debris. At each of the four sides of the inner or upper platform was a flower-altar. The date of 8–9 cent. A.C. has been deduced from palaeographical evidence.

Bodhi-gharas are not known outside India and Ceylon. They continued to be erected in Ceylon up to about the 13th cent., as far as historical times are considered. Nevertheless some sort of building is nowadays to be seen enclosing the bodhi-tree of a Ceylon vihāra. It is sometimes elaborate and frequented; such a structure is very popular in the town of Kalutara, serving also as a votive centre. The original idea associated with a Bodhi-ghara was that the tree itself was the sole shrine (*cetiya*). And this seems to have been obscured since the later periods of Buddhism in the island when the thūpa and the image-house came to greater popularity with the worshippers. (See A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (India); Wilhelm Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*,

ed. W. Bechert, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 188; S. Paranavitana in the volume of specimen articles of the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, p. 8 ff.) See also BODHI-TREE.

D. T. D.

BODHIGHARIYA, an arahant. During the time of Siddhattha Buddha he caused a pavilion to be erected at the bodhi-tree of that Buddha. Later, he was born in the heaven of the thirty-three gods (Tusita) and had a mansion made of precious stones for his dwelling. Sixty-five kappas ago he was a world ruler. His chief city was Kāsika, a creation of Vissakamma, the divine architect. This city was ten leagues long and eight wide. Here he lived in a magnificent mansion made of gold, silver and other valuable articles. All these he enjoyed as a fruit of his bestowing a pavilion, ninety-four kappas ago, to Siddhattha Buddha (*Ap.* II, p. 401).

W. G. W.

BODHI-GOTHI, a donor of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I. His gift is recorded in a third century B. C. inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 236, 271).

BODHIGUTTA, one of the eight brothers of Vedisadevī, who were sent by Asoka to escort the branch of the bodhi-tree (q.v.) to Anurādhapura. With Sumitta he was the leader of the retinue. Bodhigutta was a Sākiyan by birth and was also the maternal uncle of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā (*Mhbv.* p. 154). When the tree planting ceremony was over, Devānampiyatissa led him to Morapāsāda and invested him with the rank of 'Laṅkājayamahālekhaka' in great pomp and cremony (ibid. p. 164). Devānampiyatissa also gave him a residence near the bodhi-tree. Later he married Sunandā, the younger sister of the therī Bodhiguttā, and had two children, Mahinda and Vidhurinda (ibid. p. 169).

I. K.

BODHIGUTTĀ (var. Bodhimittā), a therī who lived in the Hatthāḷhakārāma in Anurādhapura. She was a colleague of Saṅghamittā. She belonged to the Moriya clan and was the elder sister of Sunandā, wife of Bodhigutta (*Mhbv.* p. 169).

BODHIKETU, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3).

BODHIKUMĀRA, the Buddha in one of his former lives as bodhisatta. He was born in a brāhman family and became an ascetic (*J.* IV, pp. 22–27; *Cp.* p. 86; *CpA.* p. 134). See CULLABODHI JĀTAKA and CULLABODHI CARIYĀ.

BODHILA, a native of Kaśmir and a follower of the Mahāsaṅghika school. He was the author of the Chi-chên-lun (*DCBT.* p. 226 b.)

BODHIMAṆḌA, the ground under the bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā (q.v.) where the Buddha attained Enlightenment. As it is used in literary works, the term does not necessarily refer to the very spot on which the Buddha sat at the moment of his Enlightenment. It refers rather to the area around the bodhi-tree, that is sanctified by the Buddha, not by one Buddha, but by all the Buddhas of the past, and also of the future. Thus, it is referred to as the place of victory of all the Buddhas (*sabbabuddhānaṃ jayapallaṅka* or *jayamaṅgala*) and consequently conceived as the navel of the earth (*puthuvinābhi* : *J.* IV, p. 232, *Mhbv.* p. 79). When there is no bodhi-tree growing there, for an area of one *rājakarīsa* (a square measure of land) all around the bodhi-tree nothing grows, not even a blade of grass and then this entire *bodhimaṇḍa* is spread with silver sand and is quite smooth. But all around the sanctified area, grass, creepers and mighty trees do grow, bending towards the *bodhimaṇḍa* as if paying reverence to the sacred spot. As it is the spot where all Buddhas destroy their desires (*sabbabuddhānaṃ kilesaviddhaṃsanaṭṭhāna*), it is so sanctified that no one can travel in the air immediately above it, not even Sakka (*J.* IV, pp, 232 ff.). The king of Kāliṅga, to whom this was practically proved when he failed to go in the air just above this place, came down from the air and made *bodhipūjā* (q.v.) for seven days (ibid. p. 235). No place other than this can bear the weight of a Buddha at the time he attains full Enlightenment (ibid. p. 229; see Plates XX, XXI and XXII)

It is said that at the time of the destruction of the world at the end of a kappa, this sacred spot (Pali, *bodhipallaṅka*, Skt. *bodhiparyaṅka* (q.v.) is the last to disappear and at the re-emergence of the world it is the first to re-appear. If a Buddha were to appear in the world during a particular kappa, a lotus will appear there as an indication (*pubbanimitta*) of the great event. The number of flowers that will appear there will be in accordance with the number of the Buddhas to be born during that kappa (*DA.* II, p. 412).

During the first week following the Enlightenment, the Buddha sat there, enjoying the bliss of emancipation (*Vin.* I, p. 1), and during the second week, too, he showed his gratitude to the bodhi-tree by gazing at it with unblinking eyes. According to the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (IV, p. 71 f.) the Buddha spent seven weeks after Enlightenment at this site.

According to the *Lalitavistara* (p. 199) the area covered by the *bodhimaṇḍa* is said to have sixteen sides (*ṣoḍaśākārapṛthivipradeśa*). The various miracles that are said to have occurred when the bodhisattva set out towards the *bodhimaṇḍa* for the achievement of Enlightenment are described in great detail. At that moment, according to the text, all the trees and mountains in all the world systems bent their heads towards the *bodhimaṇḍa* in reverence. It is also said (ibid. p. 202) that sixteen gods were guarding the spot (for their names, see s.v. AVABHĀSAKARA) and that they were decorating it at that time in order to honour the bodhisattva and to celebrate the great hour of his Enlightenment. Those decorations, which extended for eighty yojanas, are also described in detail. As the bodhisattva sat on the carpet of grass in the *bodhimaṇḍa*, various gods are said to have mounted guard in all the directions (ibid. pp. 211 ff.).

Originally the term *bodhimaṇḍa* (which appears only in later canonical and post-canonical works; for references see the *PED.*) seems to have been used to denote the exact spot where the Buddha sat at the time he achieved Enlightenment. Later, it seems to have been extended to cover the area round the bodhi-tree. Sometimes the term is [illegible] to mean the Buddha's Enlightenment itself, as the starting point of his career as the Buddha (e.g. [illegible] p. 2).

In later tradition, the term *vajrāsana* (q.v.) was used to denote the *bodhimaṇḍa*. See also BODHIGHARA and BODHI-TREE.

A. G. S. K.

BODHIMAṆḌACŪḌA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3).

BODHIMAṆḌALAṄKĀRASURUCIRĀ, a world system (*lokadhātu*), supposed to be in the south-easterly direction. It is the last lokadhātu situated in that direction and hence it is beyond all the world-systems in that direction, which are as innumerable as the grains of sand of the river Ganges. In this lokadhātu there lives a perfectly enlightened Buddha by the name Padmottaraśrī, teaching the *prajñāpāramitā* doctrine to the great bodhisattvas (*ŚsP.* p. 42).

A. G. S. K.

BODHIMAṆḌALAṄKĀRAVYŪHA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi mentioned in the Dharmamegha-bhūmi, the last of the 10 bodhisattva-bhumis of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (p. 82,), and also in its classical Chinese versions (*Taishō*, No. 278, Vol. 9, p. 571c; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 205b. No. 287, Vol. 10, p. 567b).

BODHIMAṆḌAMAKUṬA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3).

BODHIMAṆḌAVIBUDDHAŚRĪCANDRA, a Tathāgata propitiated by the night-goddess Sarvanagararakṣāsambhavatejaḥśrī (*Gvyū.* p. 310).

BODHIMĀRGAPRADĪPAPAÑJIKĀ-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is *Byaṅ-chub-lam-gyi sgron-maḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel shes-bya-ba*, occurring in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 103, No. 5344; TM. No. 3948; *Corder*, III, p. 327). The authorship of this work is ascribed to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and it was translated into Tibetan by Tshul-krims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) and Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes shabs (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñānapāda).

The work deals with a detailed description of the method of attaining the bliss of emancipation. The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to Tārā (*sgrol-ma*). Next he salutes Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta, Śambara (*bde-mchog*), the most important Tantric deity of the Buddhists, Āryāsaṅga (*thogs-med*), the founder of the Yogācāra school of Buddhism of Suvarṇadvipa (probably the ancient Pegu where Buddhism flourished in the ninth and the tenth centuries A.C.), and Mañjughoṣa (*ḥjam-dbyaṅs*).

I. K.

BODHIMĀTU MAHĀTISSA. An arahant thera. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇī expressed his desire to give to the Saṅgha a share of the meal which he got with much difficulty while hiding in the forest, after his defeat at Cūlaṅganiyapiṭṭhi this thera read the king's thoughts and went through the air to where the king was. The king placed the share set apart for the Saṅgha as well as his own share in the monk's alms bowl. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's attendant and the king's horse saw this, they, too,

desired to follow their master, and all four shares of the meal were offered to the monk. The monk accepted the bowl and, going back through the air, distributed that meal among the multitude of monks in his monastery. The king was very hungry and wished for something to eat. The thera, becoming aware of the king's desire, sent to him whatever remained in the bowl, through the air. The king shared that meal with his attendant and the horse, and not wishing to return the empty bowl, filled it with water, and covering it with his shawl, set it afloat in the air to reach the thera (*AA.* II, pp. 213–14). The *Mahāvaṃsa* records the story with all its details, but gives the name of the thera as Kuṭumbikaputta of Piyaṅgudīpa (*Mhv.* xxiv, *v.* 25).

W. G. W.

BODHIMŪLA SŪTRA, name of a Sanskrit work mentioned in the *Karmavastu* (*BHS.* p. 402b).

BODHIPADDHATI-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section according to the Sde-dge edition and the *Cordier* (*TM.* No. 3766; *Cordier,* III, p. 94 No. 59), and in the *Rgyud-hgrel* (tantra commentary) section according to the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 81, No. 4585) of the Tibetan *Tengyur.* The Tibetan title is *Byaṅ-chub-kyi gshuṅ lam shes-bya-ba* (var.....*shes bgyi-ba*). The author is unknown, but the translators are named as Dgra-bcom and Śākyaśrībhadra.

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the great sage Amitābha (Tib. Od-dpag-tu-med) the manifestation of the fourth Dhyāni-buddha, and says that he discusses only the main points of this text.

The description of the road which leads to the bliss of emancipation and how it could be attained form the contents of the text. According to the author, emancipation has to be attained only by having faith in the Buddha and by following his doctrine. Those who are keen to attain this should practise meditation and get rid of all their evils (Tib. *sdig-pa*). The author himself admits that it is a difficult path; but he says that one should try to attain it. One who follows this path is asked to salute such Tathāgatas as Vairocana-prabharāja, Puṣpaketurāja and Rantaketurāja etc. and build stūpas in their honour. All of them are addressed with magic formulas. All the Buddhas are also to be saluted by him. The merit accumulated by such veneration would help one to attain the bliss of emancipation.

The following verse also occurs in this text:—

Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā
Hetun teṣām Tathāgato hyavadat
Teṣāntsayo nirodhaye
Evaṃ vādi mahāśramaṇa

BODHIPAKKHIYĀ-DHAMMĀ, qualities or items contributing to bodhi (q.v.), i.e., Supreme Wisdom or Enlightenment. As bodhi, for the Buddhists, represents the culmination of the course of mental culture, the factors that contribute to its realization occupy a pre-eminent place in the field of Buddhist ethics. Together they form an aggregate of thirty-seven factors generally known as the "Thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment" (*satta tiṃsa bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*). Both in Theravāda and Mahāyāna scriptures they are always grouped under seven main heads[1] as follows:—

1. the Four Applications of Attentiveness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā;* Buddhist Sanskrit: *smṛty'upasathāna*): I, contemplation of the body (*kāyānupassanā*); II, contemplation of the sensations (*vedanānupassanā*); III, contemplation of the mind (*cittānupassanā*) and IV, contemplation of the mind-objects (*dhammānupassanā*).
2. the Four Right Endeavours (*cattāro sammappadhānā;* Buddhist Sanskrit: *samyakpradhāna*): I, the endeavour to avoid the arising of evil (*pāpaka*) and unwholesome (*akusala*) states of mind that have not arisen (*saṃvarapadhāna*); II, the endeavour to overcome evil and unwholesome states of mind that have arisen (*pahānapadhāna*); III, the endeavour to develop wholesome states of mind that have not arisen (*bhāvanāpadhāna*); IV, the endeavour to maintain and increase the wholesome states of mind that have arisen (*anurakkhaṇa-padhāna*).
3. the Four Bases of Psychic Power (*cattāro iddhi-pādā;* Buddhist Sanskrit: *ṛddhipāda*): I, the basis of psychic power that is possessed of concentration of intention with activities of striving (*chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṅkhāra-samannāgato iddhipādo*); II, the basis of psychic power that is possessed of concentration of energy with activities of striving (*viriya-samādhi-padhāna*°); III, the basis of psychic power that is possessed of concentration of consciousness with activities of striving (*citta-samādhi-padhāna*°) and IV, the basis of psychic power that is possessed of concentration of investigation with activities of striving (*vīmaṃsa-samādhi-padhāna*°).

[1] Here the seven groups with their sub-divisions are merely enumerated. The individual items will be dealt with separately.

4. the Five Controlling Faculties[2] (*pañcindriyāni*): I, faith (*saddhā*); II, energy (*viriya*); III, mindfulness (*sati*); IV, concentration (*samādhi*) and V, wisdom (*paññā*).
5. the Five Powers (*pañca balāni*): I, faith (*saddhā*); II, energy (*viriya*); III, mindfulness (*sati*); IV, concentration (*samādhi*) and V, wisdom (*paññā*).
6. the Seven Constituents of Enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅgā* [3]; Buddhist Sanskrit: *bodhyaṅgā*): I, mindfulness (*sati-sambojjhaṅga*); II, investigation of the Law (*dhammavicaya°*); III, energy (*viriya°*); IV, rapture (*pīti°*); V, tranquility (*passaddhi°*); VI, concentration (*samādhi°*) and VII, equanimity (*upekkhā°*).
7. the Noble Eight-fold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo;* Buddhist Sanskrit: *āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*) consisting of I, right view (*sammā diṭṭhi*); II, right thought (*sammā saṅkappa*); III, right speech (*sammā vācā*); IV, right action (*sammā kammanta*); V, right way of living (*sammā ājīva*); VI, right endeavour (*sammā vāyāma*); VII, right mindfulness (*sammā sati*) and VIII, right concentration (*sammā samādhi*).

According to Buddhaghosa, these items, thirty seven in all, are called "Factors of Enlightenment" (*bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*), because they are to be found in the sphere of the Noble Path which is called 'Enlightenment', in the sense of enlightening (*ime satta tiṃsa dhammā bujjhanaṭṭhena bodho'ti* [illegible]*massa ariyamaggassa pakkhe bhavattā bodhipakkhiyā nāma*).[4] In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*[5] they are explained as conducing to the realization of Enlight- [illegible] The Noble [illegible] [illegible]. They are said to share in common, the characteristic of "leading out of saṃsāra" or "leading to salvation" (*sabbehi bodhaṅgamā dhammā bodhipakkhiyā niyyānika-lakkhaṇena ekalakkhaṇā*).[8] Again they are defined as "*bodhaṅgamā*" because they lead towards Supreme Wisdom, the knowledge of the Noble-Path (*tattha bodhaṅgamāti bodhaṃ ariyamaggañāṇaṃ-gacchantīti*)[9]. Dhammapāla, in his commentary to *Netti-pakaraṇa*, describes them as lying within the realm of bodhi (*bodhassa pakkhe bhavantīti bodhapakkhiyā*)[10]. Al these definitions cited from the canonical and non-canonical literature, clarify the characteristic nature (*lakkhaṇa*) and the function (*rasa*) of the thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment.

Although in Buddhist literature this aggregate of technical terms is to be found scattered throughout, without distinction of language and age,'' in the Pali Piṭakas themselves, they occur rarely under the common designation of *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*, and are never numbered as thirty-seven, as an aggregate.' In the Pali canonical literature[12] and in books of as late a date as the *Milindapañha*[13] they are enumerated, but we find neither the sum total as a unit, nor a collective name for it. In the Pali canon[14] itself, therefore, the term *bodhipakkhiya* is never used to designate the thirty-seven factors in their entirety, but whenever it is used, the term refers only to this or that section of them. In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, for instance, it is explicitly applied only to the category of five Controlling-Faculties (*pañcindriyāni*) viz., faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*) mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*). Of these, wisdom (*paññā*) is the Controlling-Faculty *par excellence*. The Buddha is reported to have said: "Monks, whatsoever principles there be that are on the side of Enlightenment, of them the Controlling-Faculty of wisdom, is reckoned chief, namely for attaining Enlightenment (.....*bhikkhave, ye ke ci bodhipakkhiyā dhammā paññindriyaṃ tesaṃ aggam akkhāyati yadidaṃ bodhāya*)[15]. And it is further said that these *bodhipakkhiyādhammā* when cultivated and made much of, plunge into the Deathless, have their end and goal in the Deathless (....*bhāvitāni bahulīkatāni amatogadhāni honti amataparāyāṇāni amatapariyosānāni*)[16].

[2] The two classes of Controlling-Faculties (*indriyāni*) and Powers (*balāni*) are absolutely identical except in name.
[3] Frequently also called *sambojjhaṅgā*.
[4] *Vism.* (*HOS.* Vol. 41) p. 582.
[5] *S.* V. p. 227.
[6] *Net.* p. 197.
[7] Ibid. p. 197.
[8] Ibid. p. 31.
[9] *Nett A.* (*SHB.* Vol. IX) p. 82.
[10] Ibid. p. 82.
[11] *Nett.* pp. 31, 197, 240, 261; *J.* I. pp. 275, 290; *Dhp. A* I. p. 230; *Lal.* p. 8 etc.
[12] In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* they are mentioned under the generic term '*dhammā*'.
[13] *Miln.* pp. 37, 330, 335, 358.
[14] *S.* V, p. 227 ff.; *Vbh.* p. 249.
[15] *S.* V, p. 227.
[16] Ibid. p. 232.

In the *Vibhaṅga*[17], on the other hand, the term *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā* refers only to the group of seven Constituents of Enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅgā*). In commenting on this term, Buddhaghosa[18] assumes that all the thirty-seven were virtually included by the Buddha when imparting this portion of the Dhamma, but that *bojjhaṅgas* were set forth explicitly because of their special suitability for the practice of mundane (*lokiya*) as well as of supra-mundane (*lokuttara*) jhāna. The factors in this group, too, are described in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* as conducing to bodhi (*bodhāya saṃvattanti*) [19], but they are not explicitly classed as *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*. Thus, there is no indication either in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Vibhaṅga* or elsewhere in the Pali Piṭakas of the inclusion of both groups—*indriyas* and *bojjhaṅgas*—under the aggregate of thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment which we find in the commentaries and Buddhist Sanskrit works.

But, in the *Vibhaṅga*[20], the thirty-seven factors are found aggregated under a different class-name, namely *saddhamma*. To the question, "what is *saddhamma* ?" (*tattha katamo saddhammo ?*) the *Vibhaṅga* answers by enumerating all the items that came under *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*. And it is interesting to see that according to the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*[21], both *saddhamma*' and *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā* are equivalent class-names for the thirty-seven factors. It is, however, more probable that at the time when the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and, perhaps not very long after, the *Vibhaṅga* were compiled the extension of *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā* as a technical term was by no means fixed, but that more time was required for the accretion under this common name of those other aggregates. If this be so, as Mrs. Rhys Davids remarks "we should understand the question in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and in the *Vibhaṅga*—'*Katame bodhipakkhiyā dhammā* ?'—as meaning not 'Which are *the*....' but 'Which are *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā* ?' [22].

In the field of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, they appear for the first time under the designation of *bodhipakṣadharma* in the *Lalitavistara*[23]. They are mentioned also as forming part of the 108 Means of Ingress into the Light of the Doctrine (*dharmālokamukhaṃ*)[24]. But it is instructive to note in this connection that, even in the *Lalitavistara*, no sum-total is given. In another passage[25] where these factors are detailed, *āryasatya* (the Noble Truth) is inserted between *smṛtyupasthāna* etc. and the collective term (*sarva bodhipākṣikā dharmā*. To account for this insertion, one has either to assume an interpolation or to suppose that the number of *bodhi pakṣikā-dharmā* was not circumscribed at the time when the *Lalitavistara* was compiled. However, for want of an express statement respecting the number, it would not be quite correct to assume an interpolation.

The *Netti-pakaraṇa*, however, makes reference to forty-three (*tecattāḷīsa*) *bodhipakkhiyā-dhammā*[26]. Dhammapāla in his commentary to the *Netti*[27], opines that this reference is made to the usual thirty-seven plus the six thoughts viz. of impermanence (*anicca-saññā*), of uffering (*dukkha-saññā*), of non-existence of a self (*anatta-saññā*), of abandonment (*pahāna-saññā*), of indifference (*virāga-saññā*) and of complete cessation (*nirodha-saññā*). But in another passage of the *Netti*[28] only the thirty-seven categories are mentioned and summed up as "*bodhaṅgamā dhammā bodhipakkhikā* ". It may be that the author of the *Netti* believed himself free to add a further category to the usual number of thirty-seven. This supposition seems to be in harmony with what was observed earlier, with regard to the account given in the *Lalitavistara*. This points to the conclusion that even at the time the *Netti* was compiled, the number of categories was still unsettled.

As stated earlier, it is only in the Pali Commentaries and such Buddhist Sanskrit works as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, that an express statement respecting the number is found. In the earlier works there seems to be no unanimity as to the question of number and so the factors could be increased or decreased to one's liking. However, it is probable that during the period of the post-canonical commentarial literature, as soon as terms were settled, diversity in using them ceased.

17 *Vbh.* p. 249.
18 *VbhA.* p. 347.
19 *S.* V, p. 72.
20 *Vbh.* p. 372.
21 *J.* V, p. 483.
22 Preface to *Vbh.* p. xv.
23 *Lal.* pp. 8, 218
24 Ibid. p. 38.
25 Ibid. p. 218.
26 *Nett.* p. 112.
27 The Section called "Extracts from the Commentary" in *Nett.* p. 237.
28 *Nett.* p. 31.

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*[29] all the thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment are mentioned under the generic term *dhammā*. Before he bade farewell to Vesāli, the Buddha is reported to have charged his disciples to " practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitude, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men ".[30] The fact that the Buddha, in his last address to his disciples laid such emphatic stress on them, clearly illustrates their importance in the field of Buddhist ethics. See also BOJJHAṄGA.

Y. KR.

BODHIPAKṢANIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit text in its Tibetan translation, entitled *Ḥphags-pa byaṅ-chub-kyi phyogs bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The author is unknown. But the names of the translators are recorded as Jinamitra, Jñānasiddhi and Ye-śes sde. According to the Sde-dge edition, this work occurs in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section and, according to the Peking edition, in the *Sna-tshogs* (miscellaneous works) section of the Tibetan *Kangyur* (*TM*. No. 178 ; *TT*. Vol. 34, No. 845).

The text, the opening salutation of which is addressed to the Buddha and all the bodhisattvas, includes a sūtra which describes the Perfection of Enlightenment.

Once, when the Buddha was residing in the Vultures' Park at Rājagaha, with a community of five-hundred bhikkhus, he addressed this discourse to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta and declared that one who does not understand the Four Noble Truths (Skt. *catvāri-ārya-satyāni* ; Tib. *ḥphags-paḥi bden-pa bshi*), namely misery (Skt. *duḥkha* ; Tib. *sdug-bsṅal-ba*), the cause of misery (Skt. *duḥkha samudaya* : Tib. *sdug-bsṅal kuṅ ḥbyuṅ-ba*), the cessation of misery (Skt. *duḥkhanirodha* ; Tib. *sdug-bsṅal-ḥgog-pa*) and the path which leads to the cessation of misery (Skt. *duḥkha samudaya nirodha-mārga* ; Tib. *sdug-bsṅal ḥgog-par ḥgro-baḥi lam*), will not be able to overcome transmigratory existence (Tib. *ḥkhor-ba*). Thereupon, Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta requested the Buddha to explain it in detail. The Buddha declared that all human beings should always be conscious of getting rid of all their miseries and should think of the welfare of themselves and of others. They also should be purified in their thought, word and deed. The Buddha declared further, that if sins are not got rid of by a person, he would be endowed with vanity (Tib. *sgro-btags*), passion (Tib. *ḥdod-chags*), anger (Tib. *she-sdaṅ*), mental darkness (Tib. *gti-mug*) and cognition (*rnam-par rtog-pa*). The Buddha is said to have mentioned that if a person bears in mind the teachings of the Tathāgata and acts accordingly, such a person would be endowed with morality (*tshul-khrims*) and would be able to lead a chaste life and thereby overcome transmigratory existence. In this text the Buddha has emphasised the fact that if a person wishes to obtain emancipation, he should gladly follow the teachings of the Buddha and practise meditation, etc.

I. K.

BODHIPARYAṄKA (*Bodhipallaṅka* in Pāli), the honorific name given to the seat on which the Buddha was seated when he attained *sambodhi* (Enlightenment) at Buddhagayā (q.v.), under the Sacred Bodhi-tree. See also BODHIMAṆḌA.

In early texts, the sacred seat is referred to by terms like *āsana*, *vajrāsana* and *pallaṅka* and not by the compound term *bodhiparyaṅka* (or *bodhi-pallaṅka*). The compound term is found only in late texts (e.g. *Dhpr*. p. 1. line 6 ; *Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya*, edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, 1943, p. 4, line 21).

Although the term *paryaṅka* connotes both a seat and a posture as well, the compound *bodhi-paryaṅka* is specifically meant to identify the sacred seat as defined above. Hence the importance of the term is its emphasis on the very seat of Enlightenment, commonly known as the *vajrāsana* (the Adamantine or Unbreakable Seat). See also ĀSANA.

A.D.T.E.P.

BODHIPATHA-PRADĪPA (Tib. *Byaṅ-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma*), a basic classic of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and a lamp for Buddhist practisers in general as well. This *śāstra* did much to elucidate the chaotic conditions in the Buddhist community of Tibet during its later period of propagation. It provides, within a limited volume of sixty-nine and a half ślokas, an authoritative summary of the whole range of Buddhist teaching with its numerous schools. It may, therefore, be considered one of the most valuable *śāstras* of Tibetan Buddhism.

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[29] *D*. II, pp. 119, 120.

[30] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 127.

The Organisation of this Sāstra: This *śāstra* was written by Atiśa on the request of Byaṅ-chub ḥod when he first reached the Mṅaḥ-ris region of Tibet in 1042 A. C. (the 2nd year of the Ch'ing-li period of the Sung dynasty). Tradition says that Byaṅ-chub ḥod, by putting seven questions (two concerning the common vehicle, two concerning the pāramitā vehicle, and three concerning the Tantric mantras), prevailed upon Atiśa to write a brief *śāstra* which would comprehend all Mahāyāna tenets in a limited space. He hoped the master would reveal his own experiences so as to facilitate the advance of Buddhism as a whole. In a commentary witten by Atiśa himself on this *śāstra*, we find a passage to the same effect : "My disciple, Byaṅ-chub ḥod, has repeatedly put forth his request to me, saying that a great number of people in Tibet, owing to the lack of good masters, have conceived evil differences, quarreling among themselves with regard to the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Each attempts to measure the immense breadth and the profound depth of the Great Law with his own superficial inaccurate understanding, contradicting one another unscrupulously. He expresses his hope that I should do something to remove their misunderstandings. For this reason, I feel obliged to light the lamp of bodhi in accordance with the Holy Scriptures." (*Tengyur*, Sde-dge edition, Khi, p. 242).

The Memoir of Atiśa, however, has not explicitly recorded the definite contents of these seven questions. Later, when the master went to Central Tibet to propagate Buddhism, six Dge-bśes, including Khu Brtson-ḥgrus gyuṅ-druṅ and Rṅog Legs-paḥi Śes-rab, put to him the following five questions :—

1. Is it possible to attain Buddhahood by cultivating exclusively either the *upāya* or the *prajñā* ?

2. Is it necessary for the acceptance of the Bodhisattva precepts to rely upon the *Prātimokṣa* ?

3. Is it permissible to preach esoteric doctrines to those who have not yet received the "Vajrācārya Abhiṣeka" ?

4. Is it permissible for those who observe the discipline of celibacy to receive the two superior kinds of abhiṣeka ?

5. Is it permissible for those who have not received abhiṣeka to practise the esoteric mantras ?

Atiśa's answer was : "Your mental capacity is not broad enough. Lha-btson-pa (an appellation of honour given to Byaṅ-hcub ḥod) has put forth more questions than you, and I've explained all of them in the *Byaṅ-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma.*" The five questions mentioned here appear to correspond to a part of Byaḥ-chub ḥod's questions, two concerning the pāramitā vehicle and three concerning the Tantric mantras. But the other two questions, concerning the common vehicle still remain unknown.

Another commentary on this *śāstra*, which is generally attributed to Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba, enumerates the seven questions as follows :—

1. What type of *pudgala* (sentient being) is qualified to be the recipient of Mahāyāna doctrines?

2. Is it possible for a *pṛthagjana* (ordinary person) to start out for bodhi ?

3. Is it necessary to base the bodhisattva precepts on the *Prātimokṣa* ?

4. When one who has already received the *Prātimokṣa* proceeds to receive the bodhisattva precepts, is it a transformation of the former into the latter, or is it simply the co-existence of both ?

5. In collecting the two kinds of moral provisions (*sambhāra*), is it necessary to apply to both the *upāya* and the *prajñā* ?

6. Of the two views of the Mādhyamika and the Vijñapti-mātratā, which is the ultimate truth ?

7. How should a practiser be initiated into the Tantric mantras of Mahāyāna ?

Nag-tsho explains the whole *śāstra* just by these seven questions.

In short, it seems that, before Atiśa came to Tibet, the Tibetan Buddhist scholars there could not give any decisive replies to these problems. It was only through the dissemination of *Byaṅ-chub lam-gyi sgron-ma* that they were able to clear their doubts and obtain the right method of cultivation.

The Content of this Śāstra: This *śāstra* is written in the form of ślokas. Besides the first śloka, in which the master piously dedicates his work to the *Triratna*, and the final śloka in which he recounts the circumstances of its production, the remaining sixty-seven and a half ślokas comprise the main body of the *śāstra*.

The main part of the *śāstra* may be divided into two portions : the first dealing with the characters suitable for the Mahāyāna doctrine, and the second with the right expedients (*upāya*) for their cultivation.

Four ślokas (ślokas 2–5) are devoted to the first topic, classifying people capable of cultivating Buddhism into three grades, i.e., the three *puruṣas* : (1) the inferior *puruṣas* who, only for their own benefit and in fear of falling into evil states, oblige themselves to practise good and abstain from doing evil ; (2) the medium *puruṣas* who, too, for their own benefit and abhoring the sufferings in the three realms which, as they understand, are nothing but burning houses, devote themselves to the cultivation of the "three studies" (i.e., discipline, meditation and wisdom) to achieve salvation and realize the joy of Nirvāṇa ; and (3) the superior *puruṣas* who, sympathising with others' sufferings on the ground of their own painful experiences, and to benefit others, resolve to undertake the cultivation of the religion to relieve all living beings of their sufferings.

The stages in the process of cultivation by these three types of *puruṣas* are called the Stages of the Way of bodhi. Of these *puruṣas*, only those of the superior type are fit characters for the Mahāyāna doctrine, whereas those of the medium and inferior types are not, as long as they have not yet practised *mahā-karuṇā*, "Great Pity". This affords an answer to the first of the seven questions mentioned above (What type of *pudgala* is qualified to be the recipient of the Mahāyāna doctrine ?).

The second portion begins in the sixth śloka, with a brief introduction to the right expedients and then goes on to describe them separately under the following topics :—(1) the surrender to *Triratna*, (2) the initiation of the two kinds of mind for bodhi, (3) the supreme expedients that will give rise to the supernatural powers and wisdom for benefiting others, (4) the expedient for collecting the two kinds of moral provisions by applying to both the *upāya* and the *prajñā*, and (5) the distinctive esoteric expedient for collecting the two kinds of *saṁbhāra*.

(1) The part dealing with the surrender to the Triple Gem consists of three ślokas (7–9), describing the appropriate manner of facing the holy images of the Triple Gem, the offering of incense, flowers and other offerings, the paying of pious reverence to the Triple Gem, the submission by prostrating oneself with folded hands, the homage of thrice reciting the formulae of the three surrenders, etc.

(2) The initiation of the two kinds of mind for bodhi is treated in twenty-five ślokas (10–34), which may be again divided into two parts: (i) the resolution to aspire towards the mind for bodhi, and (ii) the resolution to perform it.

To the former topic, nine and a half ślokas are given, describing the preliminary process in the initiation of the mind for bodhi, which begins from binding one first to pledge one's compassion on all sentient beings and to work for their salvation, then requires one to resolve unbendingly to attain Buddhahood with supreme will, and finally points out the excellent virtues of the resolution towards bodhi and the obligatory, cautious disciplines in the process of cultivation. This answers the second of the seven questions mentioned above (Is it possible for a *pṛthagjana* to start out for bodhi ?).

To the latter topic, on the resolution to perform the mind for bodhi, are given fifteen and a half ślokas. The master explains why the great vow for bodhi (the resolution to aspire towards bodhi) can be broadened only after receiving the precepts for a bodhisattva. And one who applies for the precepts for a bodhisattva must first attain perfection in one of the seven groups of the *Prātimokṣa*, of which the precepts for bhikṣus are the most essential (those who are incapable of observing the *Prātimokṣa* should at least be able to abide by the ten commandments as observed by the laity, which demand the non-committal of the ten evils and which are also in common with the *Prātimokṣa*) ; otherwise one cannot be a recipient of the precepts for bodhisattvas. The rituals of conferring the precepts should be performed according to those prescribed in the chapter on śīla in the portion devoted to the Stages of a bodhisattva's Progress in the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra*, provided a preceptor be available. In case no preceptor can be found, it may be performed according to the procedures prescribed in the *Mañjuśrī-buddhakṣetra-guṇa-vyūhālaṅkāra Sūtra*.

After receiving the precepts, one should suppress all passions and evil deeds, observe the three cumulations of pure śīla, and endeavour to collect provisions for bodhi. In this way, the master gives an answer to the third (whether it is necessary for a recipient of the bodhisattva precepts to rely upon the *Prātimokṣa*?) of the above-mentioned seven questions. At the same time, the fourth question is answered as well (whether or not the body of the precepts for a bodhisattva is identical with that of the *Prātimokṣa* ?) The question is answered thus : they may be said to be identical in respect of the first cumulation of the precepts concerning the rules and ceremonies, but they are different in respect of the other two cumulations, i.e., the precepts concerning the collaboration of good dharmas and so forth. This also answers the 2nd question put forth by Khu and Rṅog (identical with the 3rd question above).

(3) The part dealing with the expedients that will give rise to ubiquitous supernatural powers for benefiting others consists of seven and a half ślokas (from the 35th śloka to the first half of the 42nd śloka), in which it is asserted that, in order to be able to collect both the provision of blessedness and the provision of knowledge, especially to be able to benefit others actually, supernatural powers are indispensable. Just as a bird would not be able to fly without wings, so a bodhisattva without supernatural powers would not be able to benefit sentient beings by meeting their various needs with various methods, as different cases require. But, in collecting the provisions for the bodhi that would give rise to supernatural powers, the cultivation of *śamatha* is the most essential; and in order to cultivate *śamatha*, one should first procure the requisites for *śamatha*. Only when one has obtained these provisions can one concentrate one's thoughts on a single point and thus be led to the achievement of supernatural powers, by which one is enabled to render extensive services for the benefits of others.

(4) The part dealing with the collection of the two kinds of moral provisions, by way of simultaneous application to both *upāya* and *prajñā*, consists of nineteen ślokas (from the second half of the 42nd śloka to the first half of the 61st śloka), showing that the two hindrances can be removed only by the combined forces of the two, and at the same time defining the characteristic natures of each. It is only through such *prajñā* as is combined with the *upāya* (i.e., the five pāramitās belonging to the category of the provision of blessedness, such as alms-giving, etc.) that one can proceed towards the realization of bodhi; and it is by no means true that Buddhahood can be attained through the exclusive cultivation of the theory of *śūnyatā* and self-lessness.

The chief characteristic nature of *prajñā* consists in the knowledge and discernment of *śūnyatā*, concerning the five cumulations (*skandha*), the twelve sense-data (*āyatana*) and the eighteen realms of sense (*dhātu*). To demonstrate the *śūnyatā* of all phenomena, four theories are briefly introduced, namely, "the four-line verse on non-origination", "the non-origination of the four causes" (i.e. the self-caused, caused by others, by both and by neither), "the non-origination of the one and the many" and "the non-origination understood through conditional orgination," thus pointing out the directions in orientating one's contemplation on the unreal nature of all phenomena. The knowledge of the unreality of all things and the unreality of *prajñā* itself, the knowledge of the void nature of both the subjective and the objective, will enable one to cut off all sophistical differentiations, the elimination of which is the state of *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. On the ground of this understanding of the non-origination and unreality of all things, one proceeds to cultivate non-differentiation, and through the process of four good roots (i.e. warmth, and so forth) will be initiated into the "ten stages" of bodhisattva development (i.e., the supreme joy, and so forth) and before long will fulfil the bodhi of Buddha. This offers an answer to the fifth question (whether or not it is necessary to apply to both *upāya* and the *prajñā*) and the sixth question (which of the Mādhyamika and the Vijñaptimātratā doctrines is the ultimate truth ?) of the seven questions mentioned above, and at the same time answers the first question put forth by Khu and Rṅog (identical with the 5th question).

(5) Finally, eight ślokas are devoted to the distinctive expedients of the Esoteric School in collecting the two kinds of moral provisions (from the second half of the 61st śloka to the first half of the 69th śloka). It is advisable for a bodhisattva to learn esoteric doctrines in order to speed up the procuring of these provisions. By virtue of the esoteric power of mantras, he will obtain significant capabilities (e.g. quelling calamities, making improvements, winning love, subjugating evil beings) and the eight great accomplishments (i.e. the talismanic vase, etc.) which will enable him to collect provisions with greater facility. But, in learning esoteric doctrines, one must first receive abhiṣeka under the guidance of an instructor, and fruition can be obtained only by strict observation of the Vows of Samaya. One who observes the precepts of pure living, i.e. the discipline of celibacy, shall not receive esoteric Dharma, nor shall he receive the true "Esoteric Abhiṣeka" and "Jñāna Abhiṣeka". But he may receive the "Vajrācārya Abhiṣeka" and he may also hear lectures on esoteric tantras and practise secret Dharmas, e.g., *homa* (oblation by fire), etc. But, a Yogācārya who has mastered the truth of various Dharmas may have complete freedom in acting in any way. This answers the seventh question above (i.e., how should a practiser be initiated into the Tantric Mahāyāna school ?) and the last three questions of Khu and Rṅog. (Is it permissible to preach esoteric doctrines to those who have not yet receive the "Vajrācārya Abhiṣeka ?" Is it permissible for those who observe the way of pure living to receive the two superior Abhiṣeka ? Is it possible for those who have not received abhiṣeka to practise the esoteric mantras ?) At the same time, it affords a reconciliation for the controversy between the observers of disciplinary rules and the practisers of esoteric doctrines.

These five right expedients practised by the superior *puruṣas* in fact correspond to the three kinds of increasing studies that are required of a bodhisattva. "The surrender to the Triple Gem" and "the resolution on the two kinds of mind for bodhi" cover the increasing study of discipline; "the practice of *śamatha* with a view of giving rise to supernatural powers and wisdom" covers the increasing study of meditation; and "the practice of esoteric Dharmas to speed up the collection of the two kinds of moral provisions" covers the increasing study of wisdom. Hence, all the practices of a bodhisattva may be summed up under the categories of the three kinds of increasing studies, i.e., dicipline, meditation and wisdom.

In addition to various Mahāyāna sūtras, this *śāstra* finds its main scriptural bases in the works of many other authorities as well, e.g. Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Bodhibhadra. For instance, the part dealing with the precepts for a bodhisattva is in accordance with the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*śāstra* on the stages in a bodhisattva's progress); the part dealing with the cultivation of meditation is in accordance with the *Samādhisambhāra-parivarta* (*śāstra* on the provision for obtaining samādhi); and the part dealing with *prajñā* is in accordance with the *Śūnyatāsaptati-kārikā* (*śāstra* on Voidness in 70 ślokas). Hence, this *śāstra* may be regarded as a comprehensive synthesis of all preceding masters.

The Characterics of this śāstra. By systematizing the vital principles of all Buddhist Scriptures into a whole by combining the ways of cultivation of the two main schools, the one known for its profundity (the School of the Noumenal) and the other for its extensiveness (the School of the Phenomenal), and by synthesizing the teachings of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Śāntideva, this *śāstra* provides a unique broad path for obtaining good births and emancipation; and it is the key to the essentials of all sūtras and *śāstras*. It has been the common passage for all eminent masters in both India and Tibet, embracing all methods of practice for the three classes of *puruṣas*. In three respects this *śāstra* stands foremost among Atiśa's numerous works: in the first place, it synthesizes all the essentials of both exoteric and esoteric schools with satisfactory expositions. In the second place, by laying emphasis on the stages of disciplining the mind, it is practicable for all devotees. In the third place, it excels all other sects in its successful amplification by incorporating the tenets of the two main schools (the Schools of the Noumenal and the Phenomenal) as represented by the two masters, Dharmakīrti and Bodhibhadra, respectively.

Furthermore, the teaching of this *śāstra* is matchless in its convenience of leading to four great achievements: (i) the understanding of the truth that there is no real contradiction among the scriptural teachings (even the method recorded in the Hīnayāna text is also an expedient to attain Buddhahood); (ii) the understanding of the reality that all words of the Buddha are instructions (all Buddha's words are instructions to be followed, because they are particular remedies delivered for particular kinds of distress); (iii) the readier approach to the secret meanings of the Buddhas (if one understands that all words of Buddha are particular instructions to remedy particular kinds of distress; if one knows which Dharma is suitable for a certain stage, and if one knows how to concentrate the fit Dharmas from the numerous sūtras and *śāstras* for one's own practice, then one will realize that all words of the Buddha are necessary means leading all practisers to the attainment of Buddhahood); and (iv) the natural extirpation of the heinous sin of blasphemy (having realized that all sūtras of the Buddha are instructions to be followed, naturally one will ref.ain from uttering blasphemous remarks, e.g. that the practice of a certain school, belonging to the Hīnayāna, is unpracticable and should be cast off outright, etc.).

A panegyric says:

Ere the arrival of the Honoured One,
Tibetans lived in darkness, blindfolded;
The moment cometh he, discerning sage,
The sun of wisdom riseth o'er the land.

Lag-sor-ba says, "This *śāstra* should be called a changeable key. For, just as one who possesses a changeable key (a master key) will be able to open all locks, so one who has truly grasped the meanings of this *śāstra* will readily understand all truths contained in the Tripiṭaka." Stabs-kaba says. "By reading a few pages of this *śāstra*, I come to understand that all scriptures are the Buddha's instructions".

In praise of this *śāstra*, Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes:

"Most perfect stages of the bodhi-path,
Noble tradition of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga,
Whose names e'er shine like flags and banners rich,
Topmost adornments of the sages all.

It grants the wishes of all living beings,
The very king of wonders-working pearls,
An ocean of noble eloquence
That holds the countless streams of Truth Supreme.

Know ye the Scriptures contradict in naught,
And all the words of Buddha are divine ;
Grasp the Tathāgata's profound ideas,
And you'll from all the monstrous sins be free.

Therefore, all sages in India and Tibet
By this surpassing teaching do abide ;
And at these stages for *puruṣas* three,
There could be none who'll not rejoicing be."

F.

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BODHIPŪJA, veneration of the bodhi-tree, practised by Buddhists, particularly in India and Ceylon, from very early times. It still continues to be one of the main religious practices among the Ceylon Buddhists, and originated as a mark of respect to the pipal tree (Pali *pipphala* or *assattha*) or *ficus religiosa*, under which Gotama Buddha attained Enlightenment (*sambodhi*). Veneration of this tree began, according to Buddhist tradition, with the Buddha himself, who remained immediately after his Enlightenment for seven days, gazing at the tree with unmoving eyes, as a mark of gratitude to it (*Mhbv.* p.162; E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953, p. 140).

Subsequent to this event when the Buddha was requested by Ānanda to give the people something to venerate when the Buddha was absent from the Jetavana monastery in Sāvatthi, it is said that he directed Ānanda to obtain a branch from the bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā and plant it in the court of the Jetavana monastery, adding that anyone who venerated it would receive the same reward as if he venerated the Buddha himself (*J.* IV, pp. 228 ff. No. 479; *Mbhv*, pp. 58 ff.; Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 212 ff.). This tree which came to be known as the Ānanda Bodhi, (q.v.) still exists. The *Paduma Jātaka* (*J.* II, p. 321 ff. No. 261) records an instance of some monks paying it reverence with blue lotuses. The *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* (*J.* IV, p. 228 ff. No. 479) states that before the time of the Buddha, Indians venerated the pipal tree ; this statement is proved by the research of scholars. The tree was held in high esteem as early as the Vedic poems (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 231), and perhaps even before, when the Indus Valley civilisation existed (S. Paranavitana. *A Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1961, p. 33),

More information on *bodhipūjā*, in connection with the Mahābodhi at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, planted in the time of king Devānampiya Tissa (250–210 B.C.), is available in various ancient and mediaeval literary works of Ceylon, e.g., the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xviii, *vv.* 23 ff.), the *Vinaya* commentary (*Vin A.* I, pp.93 ff.), the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* (*Mhbv.* p. 153 ff.) and the *Siṃhaḷabodhivaṃsa* (p. 199 ff..) All these works give quite similar accounts of how the emperor Asoka of India and Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon paid reverence to the branch of the bodhi-tree from the time it separated itself from the main tree until it was planted in the Mahāmeghavana at Anurādhapura. Emperor Asoka bestowed the whole of Jambudīpa upon the bodhi-tree as a mark of honour and held a festival for a week. He offered flowers and perfumes to the bodhi-tree, going round it three times and saluting it at eight spots with clasped hands, and then held a festival of offerings in diverse forms. His queen, Asandhimittā, too, offered jewels and flowers of various kinds along with 16,000 maidens. The festival was vivid with gay and beatuiful flags. King Devānampiya Tissa likewise bestowed the whole country upon the bodhi-tree and held a grand festival. The whole country was decorated like unto one platform. Even while the bodhi-tree was being brought by ship, vast ceremonies were held by gods, nāgas and men. Lotuses of the five hues blossomed in the sea and there was the sound of divine music. When the bodhi-tree arrived in Ceylon, people assembled and offered sweet-smelling flowers. Divine flowers fell on all sides, deivine music was heard in the sky and gods uttered shouts of joy.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* gives further information about ceremonies and festivals held in honour of the bodhi-tree by king Devānampiya Tissa's successors. It is said that since the planting of the bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura the rulers of Laṅkā (Ceylon) instituted in every twelfth year of their reign a festival for the bodhi-tree (*Mhv.* xxxviii, *v.*57f). King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161–173 BC.) spent a hundred thousand pieces of money on a great and splendid ceremony of gifts for the great bodhi-tree (*Mhv.* xxviii, *v.* 1) and king Bhātika Abhaya (22 B.C.—7 A.C.) held a ceremony of a special kind (*bodhisinānapūjā*) for watering the bodhi-tree (*Mhv.* xxxiv, *v.* 58). King Dhātusena

(455-473 A.C.) held a similar bathing festival (*Mhv.* xxxviii, *vv.* 55f.) and this practice of bathing the trunk of the bodhi-tree continues even to this day. King Vasabha lit lamps in the temple of the bodhi-tree (*Mhv.* xxxv, *v.* 80). Several other kings, like Sirimeghavaṇṇa, Silākāla, Moggallāna III and Mahinda II also held similar ceremonies and festivals (*Mhv.* xxxvii, *v.* 99 ; xli, *v.* 29 ; xliv, *vv.* 46, 65 ; lviii, *v.* 124).

Veneration of the bodhi-tree by monks also has been recorded in ancient literary works. The *Sīhala-vatthu* (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, 1959, pp. 39, 42, 44), the *Petavatthu* and the *Rasavāhinī* refer to monks who went to India from Ceylon to venerate the Mahābodhi at Buddhagayā. King Siri-meghavaṇṇa (301-328 A.C.) is said to have sent two monks to India to king Samudragupta, reques-ting him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks who went on pilgrimage to the sacred bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā (Geiger, *Mhv.* trsl. II, p. 1, n. 1). References to theras, who went to Anurādhapura from distant parts of the island to venerate the Sacred Bodhi-tree occur frequently in the commentaries (Adikaram, op. cit. p. 141).

The above literary evidence is also supported by archaeological evidence. Many Buddhist sculp-tures, ranging from the second century B.C. to the second century A.C., in which is represented the veneration of the bodhi-tree, have been dis-covered in India. The Sāñcī and Amarāvatī sculptures contain representations of the sacred tree decorated with garlands and sorrounded by votaries (J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, London, 1897, p. 14-15). Some of the bas-reliefs at the Bhārhut stūpa show men and animals worshipping trees, and short inscriptions above them state that they are the bodhi-trees of the Buddhas. Thus, sculptures of bodhi-trees of Gotama Buddha and five other previous Buddhas have been dis-covered here (A. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879, pp. 45 f. 106 ff. 113 ff. See, *Ency. B'sm* Vol III, Plates XXIX – XXXIII). In Asokan edicts the aśvattha or pipal tree alone is mentioned and its veneration is strongly inculcated, promising both benefit and pleasure to the people who make offerings to it (Cunningham, op. cit. p. 106).

Thus, the practice of venerating the bodhi-tree continued through the ages and still continues on a very large scale in Ceylon and on a smaller scale in India and other Buddhist countries. Eight saplings of the Mahābodhi at Anuradhapura are said to have been planted in eight chief monasteries in the time of king Devānampiya Tissa himself and yet another thrity-two saplings which sprang from four fruits were planted at thirty-two places (*Mhv.* xix, *vv.* 60 ff.). Not much later, probably every monastery in Ceylon had its own bodhi tree. This fact is confirmed by the evidence in the commentaries (*VbhA.* p. 473 ; *DA.* I, p. 186) that tending the tree by watering it and cleaning its courtyard was regarded as the duty of every bhikkhu. The *Vibhaṅga* commentary (p. 349) further mentions that the bhikkhu who enters the courtyard of a bodhi-tree should venerate the tree, behaving with all humility as if he were in the presence of the Buddha. Ananda Coomaraswamy is of opinion that in India, too, every Buddhist temple and monastery once had its bodhi-tree and flower-altar (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Vol. XXIV, No. 144, p. 54). In Thailand, too, usually every temple has a pipal tree as its bodhi-tree (K. E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism*, Thailand, 1960, pp. 22, 32). Countries like China, where the veneration of the tree has recently become popular, welcome saplings from the Mahābodhi in Ceylon as gifts involved in cultural exchange.

Several reasons could be adduced for this wide-spread and popular practice of veneration of the bodhi-tree. Spence Hardy (op. cit. 212 ff.) observes that when Ānanda requested the Buddha to grant to the people of Sāvatthi some object of veneration, the Buddha declared to Ānanda that objects suitable for veneration are of three kinds, *sārīrika*, *uddesika*, and *pāribhogika*. The first category consists of bodily relics of the Buddha such as bones remaining after the cremation, teeth and hair. The second includes things erected on his account such as images and stūpas. The third includes his personal possessions, such as robes and almsbowl, and things used by him. The bodhi-tree comes under this last group. The Buddha is also said to have declared that the veneration of the bodhi-tree would yield merit equal to that of venerating the Buddha himself. Soon after Enlightenment, as mentioned before, the Buddha himself paid reverence to the bodhi-tree. Further, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II. p. 140) states that the Buddha, some time before his passing away, mentioned four places that deserve to be visited with feelings of reverence by the pious Buddhist, one of them being the place where the Buddha attained Enlightenment. In conside-ration of the above facts, Cunningham (op. cit. p. 107) observes that it is not suprising that the veneration of the bodhi-tree became generally popular. He further observes (loc. cit.) that the preference of the bodhi-tree over other *pāribhogika* objects of reference would appear to have been chiefly due to its ease of being multiplied, thus

making it possible for many to become possessors of off-shoots of the sacred tree. In Ceylon this widespread popularity was also probably due to the fact that the country possesses a branch of the original bodhi-tree at Buddhagayā and that it has survived a long period of over 2,200 years, even when the city was devastated by foreign enemies (Tennent, *Ceylon*, II, p. 613 ff.). Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, 171) says that it is one of the ironies of fate that the Buddha and his followers should be responsible for the growth of image worship because, though the Buddha laughed at sacrifices and left for his disciples only two forms of religious exercise, namely preaching and meditation, yet he allowed the laity to practise some outward form of religion. This view of Eliot on image worship holds good also regarding the veneration of the bodhi-tree.

But, as Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, 230; *ERE*. XII. p. 748) has pointed out, the reverence paid to the tree at the beginning was not for its own sake, and not to any soul or spirit supposed to reside in it. Buddhists venerated the tree because the outward form of it was a constant reminder of what they held to have been the most important event in the history of the world. It was also regarded as a symbol of the Buddha. But gradually as time went on, observes Philpot (op. cit. p. 43), the tree appears to have lost its organic connection with the venerated personage and to have preserved only a ceremonial and symbolic significance, for the bodhi-tree is regarded by the Buddhist masses today sacred in much the same way as the cross is regarded by the Christians. W. Geiger (*Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 188) says, "For orthodox Buddhists the *Ficus religiosa* was not an object of worship, but a venerated memory of the Master and the *Sambodhi*. But in the lower circles of the people its veneration approaches actual tree-worship."

The observations of these two scholars appear true when one considers the attitude of the Buddhsit masses in Ceylon today in connection with the bodhi-tree. Instead of veneration as in the former times, there is now actual tree-worship. Buddhsit laymen offer sacrifices on a small scale, like bathing its trunk with milk, lighting a specific number of coconut-oil lamps, hanging flags on its branches and offering votive figures and coins. These offerings are meant for some benefit they expect or have received, like the recovery of a sick person or of a lost article. J. G. Frazer in his *Golden Bough* (Vol. I, p. 189) has stated that the practice of watering the sacred tree was resorted to as an act of sympathetic magic to bring about rain, by people of different countries at different times. There is hardly any doubt, as S. Paranavitana (*BS*. p. 537) points out that this practice was prevalent among the people of Ceylon before they adopted Buddhism. Geiger (loc. cit.) observes that, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, king Udaya I in the 8th century had all the great trees on the Cetiya Mountain (Mihintale) near Anurādhapura decorated with brightly coloured flags and streamers. Hence, the marked difference of attitude of the people in connection with the bodhi-tree, namely, worship in the present time instead of veneration as in the past, could be explained as a revival of pre-Buddhistic practice which also, perhaps, has been accentuated by Hindu influence. See also BODHI-TREE.

H. R. P.

BODHIRĀJAKUMĀRA (Bodhi), lived at Suṃsumāragiri in the Bhagga country and built a palace called Kokanada (q.v.). When the palace was completed, the Buddha was staying at Bhesakalāvana near by, and Bodhirājakumāra sent a message by Sañjikāputta, inviting the Buddha to the palace, that he might bless it by being its first occupant. The Buddha agreed to come and, the next day, arrived with the monks for a meal. Bodhirājakumāra came, with his retinue, to meet them at the foot of the steps, and asked the Buddha to step on to the carpeting which was spread there. Three times the request was made, three times the Buddha kept silence. Thereupon Ānanda asked for the carpeting to be removed, saying that the Buddha's refusal to step thereon was as an example to future generations. After the meal, Bodhirājakumāra had a discussion with the Buddha (*Vin*. II, p.127 f.; *M*. II, p.91 ff.), recorded in the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* (q.v.)

The Commentary adds that one of the reasons for the Buddha's refusal to step on the carpet was that he knew the thoughts of Bodhirājakumāra. Bodhirājakumāra was saying to himself: "If I am to have a son, the Buddha will step on this carpet. if not, he will not." The Buddha knew also that Bodhirājakumāra was not destined to have a son because in a repvious life he and his wife had eaten young birds (*MA*. III, pp. 324-5).

Bodhirājakumāra was the son of Udena, king of Kosambī, and his mother was the daughter of Caṇḍappajjota. Bodhirājakumāra was skilled in the art of managing elephants, (see also *M*. II, p. 94) which art he learned from his father, a master in this direction. It is said (ibid. p. 97) that while Bodhirājakumāra was yet in his mother's womb, she visited the Buddha at the Ghositārāma in Kosambī

and declared that whatever child was born to her it would accept the Buddha, his teaching and the Order, as its abiding refuge. Later, after Bodhirājakumāra's birth his nurse took him to the Buddha at Bhesakalāvana and made a similar declaration. When therefore, Bodhirājakumāra acknowledged the Buddha as his teacher, at the conclusion of the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta*, he was seeking the Buddha's refuge for the third time.

Some accounts (*DhpA.* III, p. 134 ff.*J.*; III, p. 157) of the building of Bodhirājakumāra's palace add that, as it was being completed, Bodhirājakumāra conceived the idea of killing the architect or of blinding him so that he could never design a similar house for anyone else. He confided this idea to Sañjikāputta, who warned the architect. The latter, therefore, obtained special timber from Bodhirājakumāra, saying it was for the palace, and made out of it a wooden bird large enough to hold himself and his family. When it was ready, he made it fly out of the window, and he and his family escaped to the Himālaya country, where he founded a kingdom and came to be known as King Kaṭṭhavāhana.

G. P. M.

BODHIRĀJAKUMĀRA SUTTA occurs in the *Majjhimapaṇṇāsa* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, pp. 91–97). Bodhirājakumāra tells the Buddha that he is of opinion that happiness could be attained through suffering and not by enjoyment of pleasure. The Buddha starts his refutation of the idea by saying that he, too, before the attainment of Enlightenment, was of the same opinion and goes on to describe how he renounced all the pleasures he had enjoyed as a royal prince and practised severe austerities till he was reduced to a mere skeleton, covered with a coarse skin, but without succeeding in attaining the ideal for which he strove. Then three parables flashed to his mind, namely (1) a man, desiring to have a fire, having a dried, strong stick in hand, trying to kindle a fire by rubbing that stick against a raw stick thrown in water, (2) a man with a similar stick, trying to kindle a fire by rubbing it against a raw stick, but not thrown in water and (3) a man trying to kindle a fire by rubbing a strong dry stick against another such stick. Only the last man can succeed. "Even so," says the Buddha, "however much one practises austerities without subduing one's desire and craving for the pleasures of the senses, one cannot attain supreme happiness. On the other hand, whether or not one practises servere austerities, if one is tranquil within, and has subdued all one's cravings and attachments for pleasures of the senses, one can attain supreme happiness. Hence what is important is not the degree to which one torments one's body, but the cultivation of one's mind."

Bodhirājakumāra then asks the Buddha how long it will take a monk, with the Tathāgata as his teacher, to attain the goal of the spiritual life. It depends on the character of the pupil, says the Buddha; and he should have five qualities: (1) faith in the Enlightenment of the teacher, (2) physical fitness, (3) honesty and sincerity, (4) energetic endeavour to put an end to sinful states (*akusalā dhammā*) and to cultivate wholesome states (*kusalā dhammā*), and (5) true knowledge leading to the utter cessation of suffering.

This discussion took place in Bodhirājakumāra's mansion by name Kokanada, in the country of the Bhaggas. The Buddha with a large retinue of monks was invited for the house-warming ceremony.

W. G. W.

BODHIRĀJAKUMĀRĪ, daughter of king Somadatta of Pāṭaliputta, whose story is similar to that of Buddheni (q.v.). She also had a horse, named Suvīraka, that could fly through the air. When she became aware of her father's regular pilgrimages to the bodhi-tree (q.v.), she, too, joined him. Even after her father's death, she continued to make those offerings to the bodhi-tree. In her previous existence she was born in a village named Hakureḷi (*Rsv.* p. 100) or Hatthadoli (*Ssvu.* p. 129). In this life, she became a royal princess, because she had a bridge constructed, to make it easy for those who wished to pluck flowers from a marutta tree to offer them to the Buddha (*Rsv.* pp. 100–102; *Ssvu.* pp. 129–130.)

I. K.

BODHI-RAKṢITA, a resident of Panchanekāyāka, whose gift of a railing to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscription on that railing (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut,* London, 1879, p. 142).

BODHIRUCI (1) (C. 51) a native of North India who was a scholar of the Yogācāra School (q.v.). His intellectual heritage could be directly traced to Vasubandhu (according to the *Treatise of Vajrarṣi* he was the fourth generation disciple of Vasubandhu). He was not only well versed in exoteric teachings, but also well acquainted with the doctrines of esoteric *dhāraṇi* then prevalent. In the first year of Yung-p'ing's reign of North Wei dynasty (508 A.C.), he carried

with him a large number of Sanskrit texts, traversed the "western regions" and came to Lo-yang in China. He received the most courteous reception from Emperor Hsüan-Wu of North Wei and his abode was fixed in the magnificent Yung-ning Monastery. At that time the monks coming from India and the "western regions" were all well provided for by the royal house and they amounted to seven hundred, among whom the most famous scholars were Ratnamati, Buddhaśānta and others. But, so far as the translation of the Buddhist canonical literature was concerned Bodhiruci was regarded as the leading figure. (Cf. Tao-hsüan's *A Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks*, C. 52 fasc. 1).

Not along after his arrival at Lo-yang, Bodhiruci began his translation. At first he co-operated with Ratnamati and Buddhaśānta (Buddhaśūnta read the text while Bodhiruci and Ratnamati did the translation) and translated some of the most important works of the Yogācāra School. These are: *Mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra-vyākhyā*, 4 fasciculi (written by Asaṅga with a commentary by Sāramati, *Taishō*, No. 1611) *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkopadeśa*, 2 fasciculi (written by Vasubandhu *Taishō*, No. 1519) *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*, 12 fasciculi (written by Vasubandhu, *Taishō*, No. 1522), and *Ratnakūṭa-kāśyapa-parivarta-ṭīkā*, 4 fasciculi (written by Sthiramati, *Taishō*, No. 1523). In the beginning their skill in translation was rather crude and some of the terms were far from being adequate. Again, owing to the fact that the assistant personnel spoke both southern and northern dialects with their different accents, there inevitably arose various errors in writing down their utterances and doing the composition (e.g. in the *Ratnakūṭa-kāśyapa-parivarta-ṭīkā* there are many erroneous sentences and mis-written words due to similarity in sounds). But, three years later when they had finished translating the *Daśabhūmi vyākhyāna*, their skill became quite matured.

In this work there are places where some words of the original texts were differently read and interpreted. Therefore it was said afterwards that Bodhiruci and Ratnamati were competing for fame and did not collaborate to the end and that the translated version now extant was a re-united one, after the completion of two separate renderings. But this was not the fact. (Cf. Chih-shêng's C. 53 *A Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of the K'ai-yüan Period* C. 54 , fasc. 6.).

For a long time, Bodhiruci did his work of translation in Lo-yang alone ; at last with the removal of the capital of East Wei dynasty to Yeh, he also went there and continued his work till the second year of T'ien-P'ing reign (535 A.C.). His labour of rendering Sanskrit Buddhist canonical texts into Chinese lasted for nearly thirty years. When he died cannot now be definitely ascertained. (Cf. Tao hsüan, op. cit. fasc.1.)

As regards the books he translated in the course of his whole life, according to the detailed records of *A Catalogue of Sūtras* written by a contemporary Li K'uo (C. 55) and the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of K'ai-yüan Period* fasc. 6, they amounted to 30 works totalling 101 fasciculi.

The most important sūtras and *śāstras* translated are *Vajracchedikā*, 1 fascicule, (*Taishō*, No. 236), *Maitreya-paripṛcchā*, 1 fascicle, (*Taishō*, Nos. 310–14), *Viśeṣacintābrahma-paripṛcchā*, 6 fasciculi, (*Taishō*, No. 587), *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*, 5 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 675), *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 10 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 671), *Bodhisattva-gocaropāyaviṣaya-Vikurvaṇa nirdeśa*, 10 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 272), *Maitreya-paripṛcchopadeśa*, 5 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 1525), *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitopadeśa* 3 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 1511), *Gayāśīrṣa-sūtra-ṭīkā*, 2 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 1531), *Viśeṣacintā-brahma paripṛccha-sūtra-ṭīkā*, 4 fasciculi (*Taishō*, No. 1532), *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*. 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 1524), *Akṣaraśalaka* [*vṛtti*.] 1 fascicle. (*Taishō*. No. 1572) etc. Besides. these there is [*Viṃśatikā*.] *vijñapti-mātratā* [*siddhi*]. 1 fascicle which. according to the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of K'ai-yüan Period*, was translated by Gautama Prajñāruci, but in K'ucichi's (C. 56) works, it was acknowledged to be Bodhiruci's translation. (Cf. *A Commentary on the Viṃśatikā-vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* C. 57 fasc. 1.).

The works translated by Bodhiruci were largely intended to introduce the doctrines of the Yogācāra School and are comparatively systematic. Of these, there were several works which later exercised a great influence on the development of Buddhism in China. First of all was the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. Of this sūtra, Guṇabhadra had given a brief translated version consisting of four fasciculi during the Earlier Sung dynasty (420–479 A.C.) and it served as a reference book of cultivation to those masters of the Ch'an School who propagated the contemplation methods of Bodhidharma (the founder of the Ch'an School in China). But as Guṇabhadra's translation was rather obscure and difficult to understand, Bodhiruci particularly re-translated the sūtra in an enlarged version, "adding words and transposing the texts" in order to make it fluent and lucid. He also lectured on it and therefore left behind him some notes (now lost). This rectification, if it can be so called, brought with

it some deviation in import and significance. For example, he mistook the defiled and pure aspects of the last of the eight *vijñānas*, i.e. *ālayavijñāna*, to be two ends. As a result of this, there was obvious divergence between Bodhiruci's and Guṇabhadra's renderings and the former's version gave rise to the different interpretations of some of the northern masters.

Second in importance was the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*. In the *Daśabhūmi* there was originally the doctrine that " The three *Dhātus* are but the manifestations of the mind ." Vasubandhu's commentary developed it by basing his arguments on *Vijñaptimātra* and pointing out the root of the dependent origination of both the defiled and the pure aspects of mind. These just met the demands of inquiry of Buddhist scholars at that time and were for a time quite in vogue. Hence there were a special number of people making a special study of this treatise who were known as " masters of *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*." Among them one who had the highest achievements under the guidance of Bodhiruci was Tao-ch'ung (C. 58). He listened to Bodhiruci's lectures for three winters in succession, taking down notes and propagating them and so there were more than one thousand people who learned the doctrine through his efforts. They all advocated that *ālayavijñāna* is the root of the dependent origination of all things ; this is quite different from the opinion of the disciples of Ratnamati such as Hui-kuang (C. 59) and many others who maintain that *dharmatā* is the root of all things. As a result of this divergence there came into being the Branch of the Northern Path quite opposed to the Branch of the Southern Path led by Hui-kuang. (Cf. Tao-hsüan, op. cit. fasciculi 7, 21).

Third in importance was the *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitopadeśa*. This work was translated by Bodhiruci alone in 509 A.C., the second year of his arrival at Lo-yang. In this translation he introduced to China the commentaries of Maitreya and Vasubandhu on this sūtra, making a careful and detailed analysis of its implied difficulties and answers to questions in such a way as to give a very great clue to those who wished to study its texts. He also gave his pupils detailed explanations of the interpretations which he had learned from Vajrarṣi, a disciple of Vasubandhu. His notes were compiled into the *Treatise of Vajrarṣi*, (10 fascicul*i*, *Taishō*, No. 1512) and are now still extant.

Moreover, T'an-luan (C. 60), the patriarch of the Pure Land School of China, in seeking for the art of longevity, happened to come across Bodhiruci. The Indian monk taught him the *Amitāyur-bhāvanā Sūtra*, saying that longevity is not so final as the entire emancipation from life and thus led him to believe in the Pure Land. In the meantime Bodhiruci translated the *Sukhāvatī-vyūhopadeśa* (generally called the *Treatise on Going to be born in the Pure Land*) and recommended Vasubandhu's five ways of meditating on the Buddha. T'an Luan wrote a commentary on the treatise and thereby greatly developed the teachings of this School. (Cf. Tao-hsüan, op. cit. fasc. 4).

In the period of the South-and-North Dynasties theories of the critical classification of the Buddha's teaching were quite prevalent. It was said that Bodhiruci had his own particular and penetrative view on this matter. Basing his arguments on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* he pronounced that the whole Buddhist canon could be divided into the half complete and the fully complete doctrines. What the Buddha said within the twelve years immediately after his attaining Buddhahood belonged to the half complete doctrine while his teachings after the twelve years belonged to the complete one. (Cf. Chih-i's C. 61, *The Deep Meaning of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*

C. 62, fasc. 19). It was again said by some masters of meditation in the North that Bodhiruci pronounced all teachings of the Buddha to be of the one-sound teaching, i.e. the totality of the Buddha's doctrine. This is quite in accordance with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* which says that the teachings of the Buddha are uttered only with one sound and the same flavour ; but owing to the different dispositions of sentient beings, their apprehensions appear different. (Cf. Fa-tsang's C. 63 *A treatise on the Distinction of the Doctrine of One-Vehicle of the Avataṃsaka Sūtra* C. 64, fasc. 1). With regard to these traditional sayings attributed to him, we do not now have any document from Bodhiruci's own hand to bear witness.

L. C.

BODHIRUCI (2) (C. 65), originally called Dharmaruci, was a native of South India. He belonged to a brahman family and his clan was Kāśyapa. When twelve years old, he left home under a heretical teacher, acquainted himslef with the doctrine of Sāṅkhya and was well versed in Śabdavidyā, magical arts, etc. Not until sixty did he meet Yaśoghoṣa a master of Sthaviravāda and the Mahāyāna school. As a result of his defeat in argument, he changed his persuasion and believed in Buddhism. He paid special attention to actual practice and within five years comprehended

the canonical literature of the Tripiṭaka and thus enjoyed a wide reputation. In 683 A.C. (the second year of Yung-chun reign) Emperor Kao-tsung of the T'ang dynasty sent a messenger to India to invite him. Ten years later, in 693 A.C. (the second year of Ch'ang-shou reign of the Wu-chow dynasty) he arrived at Lo-yong, the eastern capital of China. In this very year, Bodhiruci, living in Fo-shou-chi monastery translated the *Ratnamegha Sūtra*, (*Taishō*, No. 660) and at the end of the 1st chapter he added that the East Moonlight God had been predestined to become a woman to rule over China. This pleased Empress Wu and therefore she changed his name into Bodhiruci (lit. Intelligence-loving). At this time, he also translated more than ten kinds of minor texts such as the *Adhyardha śatika-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 240), etc. Not long afterwards, Śikṣānanda came to China and began to translate the larger version of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 279). Bodhiruci then stopped his own work and, together with I-ching, assisted him. Later on, when Emperor Chung-tsung resumed his throne, Bodhiruci went to the capital Chang-an and lived in Ch'ung-fu monastery. From 706 A.C. onwards he once more devoted his time to translating the *Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-viśva-supratiṣṭhita-guhya parama-rashasya-kalparāja-dhāraṇī* (*Taishō*, No. 1006) and began to edit and translate the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 310), which he finished in 713 A.C. a labour lasting seven years. In the meantime, interspersed with these translations, some Tantric scriptures such as the *Amogha-pāśa-kalparāja* (*Taishō*, No. 1095) etc. were also rendered into Chinese. After finishing the translation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*, he no longer did any work of the same kind and was especially diligent in practising meditation and contemplation. More than ten years later, i.e. in 727 A.C. (the fifteenth year of Kai-Yuan reign) he died, it was said, at the age of 156, (Cf. the *Biographies of Eminent monks compiled during the Sung Synasty*, C. 66, fasc. 3.)

According to the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books of the K'ai-yüan Period* (C. 67) fasc. 9, his translations, besides the 12 shorter sūtras, 12 fasciculi, which have long been lost, amount to 43 works, 101 fasciculi, which are now still extant. Of these the most important are, of course, the 26 sūtras which form the main part of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* They are :—1. 1st sūtra, *Trisaṃvara-nirdeśa* (re translated), 3 fasciculi. 2. 2nd sūtra, *Ananta-mukha-viśodhana-nirdeśa*, 3 fasciculi. 3. 5th sūtra *Amitābha-vyūha*. (re-trsl.) 2 fasciculi. 4. 6th sūtra *Akṣobhya-tathāgatasya-vyūha*. (re-trsl.), 2 fasciculi 5. 7th sūtra, *Varma-vyūha-nirdeśa*, 5 fasciculi 6. 10th sūtra, *Samanta-mukha-parivarta*. (re-trsl.) 1 fascicle. 7. 11th sūtra, *Raśmi-samanta-mukta-nirdeśa*, 5 fasciculi. 8. 13th sūtra, *Garbha-sthiti* (re-trsl.), 1 fascicle 9. 20th sūtra, *Vidyutprāpta-paripṛcchā*, 2 fasciculi. 10. 21st sūtra, *Bhadra-māyā-kara-paripṛcchā* (re-trsl.), 1 fascicle. 11. 22nd sūtra, *Mahāprātihārya-nirdeśa* 2 fasciculi. 12. 24th sūtra, *Upāli-paripṛcchā* (re-trsl.), 1 fascicule. 13. 25th sūtra, *Adhyāśaya-sañcodana* (re-trsl.), 2 fascielui. 14. 27th sūtra, *Sūrata-paripṛcchā*, 1 fascicle. 15. 28th sūtra, *Vīradatta-paripṛcchā*, 1 fascicle. 16. 29th sūtra, *Udayana-vatsarāja-paripṛcchā* (re-trsl.), 1 fascicle. 17. 30th sūtra, *Sumati-dārikā-paripṛcchā* (re-trsl.) together with the next forms 1 fascicle. 18. 31st sūtra, *Gaṅgottarā-paripṛcchā*, 19. 34th sūtra, *Gunaratna-saṃkusumita paripṛcchā* together with the next forms 1 fascicle. 20. 35th sūtra, *Acintya-buddha-viṣaya-nirdeśa*. (re-trsl.) 21. 37th sūtra, *Siṃha-paripṛcchā*. (re-trsl.) together with the following three sūtras forms 1 fascicle 22. 40th sūtra, *Dārikā-vimalaśraddhā-paripṛcchā*. 23. 42nd sūtra, *Maitreya-paripṛcchā-dharmāṣṭa*. (ret-rsl.) 24. 45th sūtra, *Śrīmālā-siṃhanāda* (r.-trsl.), 1 fascicle. 26. 49th sūtra, *Vyāsa-paripṛcchā*. (re-trasl.), 1 fascicle.

The most praiseworthy achievement of Bodhiruci's work was the compilation and translation of the whole set of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* in 120 fasciculi. Hsüan-tsang in the year before his death (663 A.C.), had attempted a few lines of the translation of this sūtra, but, feeling that his vitality was exhausted, he gave it up. Thus the work had been put aside for several decades and no one had dared to take it up. As Bodhiruci had brought to China the new Sanskrit text of this sūtra, it once more attracted the attention of those who cared for Buddhist teachings. After the Emperor Chung-tsung regained his throne, the organization of the translating institute was strengthened (many Indians were invited to help in translation and in checking interpretations with the Sanskrit texts), and thus Bodhiruci was enabled to accomplish what Hsüan-tsang had left undone. He took advantage of the special structure of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*, which is a combination of 49 sūtras, and made suitable adjustments in compiling and translating it. He checked and utilized the versions of scattered sūtras which had already been in existence, and, whenever he came across sūtras of which the old versions were imcomplete or when there was no translation at all, he then translated them anew. Of the forty-nine sūtras of the whole, nearly one half retained the old versions; only twenty-six sūtras were given a new translation. Even among them, there were several sūtras which were merely improved and corrected versions of the old ones and there were only eleven sūtras entirely

new (their titles have been given above). Owing to the fact that the translation institute was well organized and the accumulated experience of translation was very rich, Bodhiruci's translations were of a high quality. Especially in the translation of stanzas, the old texts generally contained six or eight Chinese characters in one line. This usage was not quite suitable to the style of the Chinese poem or song; he retranslated them all with five or seven characters and completely exhibited their original, intricate and subtle meanings. Thus Hsü Ê said in his comment on the version of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*: "In the translations of the sentences of those sūtras which contain the techings of Mahāyāna, all meanings are preserved and no subtleties in the diminutive sūtras are left out. The work is perfectly done. What fault can the Buddha himself find in it?"

Moreover, a part of Bodhiruci's translated works dealt with esoteric teachings. Most of them were enlarged texts (e.g., the *Amogha-pāśa-kalparāja* was more in detail and wider in scope than the old version), and were characterized by their special emphasis on the method of contemplation which was the distinctive feature of the Tāntrism of South India. (Cf. S. Omura, *The Development of Esoteric Buddhism*, C. 68, vol.. II).

L. C.

BODHISAMMAJJAKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth he had picked up fallen leaves and [illegible] the courtyard of a bodhi-tree (q.v.) and as a result his reward was twentyfold. He enjoyed birth [illegible] was born [illegible] Wherever he was born he was endowed with twenty blessings. Some of these were that he had a golden complexion, he was free from all physical and mental afflictions, he had no enemies and he was protected by celestial beings (*Ap.* II, p. 457 ff.). He is probably to be identified with Tissa thera of the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*. According to this account the courtyard that he swept was that of the bodhi-tree of Buddha Tissa (*ThagA*. I, p. 111).

L.R.G.

BODHISATTVA (Pali: Bodhisatta), a being who aspires for Bodhi (q.v.) or Enlightenment. The concept of bodhisattva (meaning Buddha-to-be) is one of the most important concepts in Buddhism, specially in the Mahāyāna. Etymologically the term can be separated into two parts, *bodhi* and *sattva*: *bodhi*, from the root *budh*, to be awake, means 'awakening' or 'enlightenment' and *sattva*, derived from *sant*, the present participle of the root *as*, 'to be', means 'a being' or, literally, 'one who is', a sentient being. Hence, the term is taken to mean 'one whose essence is Enlightenment' or 'enlightened knowledge'. By implication it means a seeker after Enlightenment, a Buddha-to-be. There is also a suggestion that the Pali term may be derived from *bodhi* and *satta*, (Skt. Sakta from *sañj*) 'one who is attached to or desires to gain Enlightenment'[1].

In original Pali Buddhism, the term bodhisatta is used more or less exclusively to designate Gotama Buddha prior to his Enlightenment.

The concept of bodhisattva, along with that of Buddha and of cakravartin (world-ruler) was in vogue in India even before the appearance of Gautama Buddha. When Siddhārtha, who later became Gautama Buddha, took conception in Māyā's womb, a seer predicted that Śuddhodana's future son would be either a world-ruler (*cakravartin*) or a Buddha[2]. Once, answering a question by a brāhman, the Buddha himself admits that he is neither a god nor a yakkha, but a Buddha, meaning thereby one of a succession of Buddhas (*A*. II, p.38). The well-known Pali stanza *Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ-kusalassa upasampadā, sacittapariyodapanaṃ-etaṃ buddhānasāsanaṃ* (*Dhp. v.* 183; *Nett.* p. 43) states that the teaching it contains is not of a single Buddha but of all the Buddhas. The *Āmagandha Sutta* is similarly recorded as a discourse not of Gotama Buddha, but of a past Buddha, named Kassapa (*Sn.* vv. 239 ff.). *Sammāsambodhi* or Perfect Enlightenment, is, as the later Mahāyānists argued, an impersonal universal phenomenon occurring in a particular context both in time and in space. In other words, a Buddha is a person who *re-discovers* the Dhamma, which had become lost to the world, and proclaims it anew (*Pug.* p. 29). When Gotama Buddha appeared, however, he himself as well as others used the term bodhisatta to indicate his career from the time of his renunciation upto the time of his Enlightenment. Later, its use was extended to denote the period from Gotama's conception to the Enlightenment and, thereafter, to all the Buddhas from their conception to Buddhahood. By applying the doctrine of karma and of rebirth, which had general acceptance in pre-Buddhist India, the use of the term

1 For a lengthy etymological discussion of the term bodhissattva see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, London*, 1932, pp. 4-9.

2 *J.* I, 51. The same prophecy was made later when the bodhisattva was only five days old, ibid. 56.

was further extended to refer to the past lives not only of Gotama, but also of those rare beings who aspire for Perfect Enlightenment.

The oldest Theravāda tradition, as contained, for example, in the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, p 1.) gives details of six Buddhas, prior to Gotama. This discourse is attributed to the Buddha himself, who gives the time, caste, family, length of life etc. of these predecessors of his. In the *Buddhavaṃsa*,[3] a later work belonging to the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, the number increases to twenty-five and this number remains fixed in Theravāda literature.

However, these enumerations by no means imply that they are exhaustive. In the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, the Buddha starts the story of the six Buddhas merely by saying that ninety one kappas ago there was such and such a Buddha, implying thereby that such beings were not limited in number. It was this concept that was fully developed in later Mahāyāna. From this, it follows that, if the Buddhas are innumerable, the bodhisattvas, too, must be innumerable.

When prince Siddhārtha attained Enlightenment he did so as a human being and lived and passed away as such. As mentioned earlier, he himself admitted that he was a Buddha and not a deva or any such supernatural being. He was only the discoverer of a lost teaching. His greatness was that he found out what his contemporaries could not discover at all or discovered only incompletely. He was a genius by birth who achieved the highest state possible for a man. Both intellectually and morally he was a great man, a superman (*mahāpurisa*), In all the stages of his life, from conception onwards, something extraordinary was seen in him.

In order to understand who a bodhisattva is, it would be useful to explain who a Buddha is. The Buddha-concept in Theravāda Buddhism is not a personality cult; neither is the Buddha an object of glorified devotion. He is neither a theoretical metaphysician nor a materialist. He is not a religious teacher who demands unquestioned loyalty like a Messiah. He is a man who has perfected himself by realising his 'self' to the highest degree possible for man. Only a man can become a Buddha. There may be other supernatural beings inhabiting perhaps other planets in a given solar system. But they are not capable of becoming fully Enlightened. Even if such beings are leading happier lives in their non-human spheres, still they are subject to the laws of change and evolution (*anicca* or *vaya-dhamma*), and as such not free from birth and death and their attendant conflicts: hence they are not released from *dukkha*. A Buddha is a human being who has realised that there is a happier state than this world of conditioned phenomena. After a persevering mental struggle, he realises this unconditioned state (*asaṅkhata*) which is free from duality. This freedom from duality implies the absence of any conflict (*dukkha*). Therefore, this psychological state is described as free from both sorrow and happiness in the ordinary sense. It is the highest happiness (*parama-sukha*) in the transcendental sense. As such it is not subject to change and is, therefore, imperishable (*akālika* and *amata*). It is a state of changelessness (*avyaya*) and, therefore, permanent (*dhuva*). It is this that is described as *Nirvāṇa*. The Buddha is the person who realised this for the first time, by his own effort and, hence, he is the Teacher (*satthā*). Arhats are his disciples who follow his teaching. Bodhisattvas are those who aspire to be fully Enlightened ones, Buddhas, in preference to merely becoming arhats.

The life of the Buddha strictly commenced only from the time of his Enlightenment and his life before this event was that of the bodhisatta. The Buddha himself used the term in this sense and it is more than probable that Gotama Buddha occasionally referred to his previous existences in his discourses to the people in order to elucidate a a particular doctrinal point. The Jātakas found in the *Sutta Piṭaka* such as the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* (*D.* II, p. 220 ff.), the *Mahāsudassana Sutta* *D.* II, p. 169ff.) and the *Makhādeva Sutta* (*M.* II, (74ff) etc. bear out this view[4]. Besides these, there seems to have been neither a Jātaka collection as such, nor the developed concept of the bodhisatta practising pāramitā, until a much later period.[5] Hence it would appear that the concept of the bodhisatta could be divided into two parts, the original concept and the concept developed by later Buddhists.

The division of Schools which began at the Second Council with the separation of the Mahāsāṅghikas also made its contribution to the development of the bodhisattva cult in later literature.

The earliest use of the term bodhisatta in literature seems to be when the Buddha refers to the days prior to his Enlightenment, in such contexts as

3 This text gives the biographies of each of the twenty-five Buddhas.

4 For some more instances see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 87f.

5 See N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna and its Relation to Hīnayāna* pp 3-4

4—J 9924—2,500 (3/72)

"in the days before my Enlightenment when as yet I was only a bodhisatta" (*M.* I, pp. 114, 163; *M.* III, p. 119). Then, we have the Pali suttas referred to above, in which the Buddha recounts a previous existence of his after the fashion of the later jātaka stories. In the *Buddhavaṃsa* and in the later commentaries we see how the concept has been extended not only in relation to Gotama's own previous lives, but also as a general concept. In the *Buddhavaṃsa* which belongs to the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the Pali canon, are found the life-stories of twenty-five Buddhas of whom Gotama was the last. The names by which Gotama was known, during his "apprenticeship" as bodhisatta under each of the twenty-four Buddhas, are also given. The chronicle describes the ten pāramitā (q.v.), the eight conditions necessary for the fulfilment of Buddhahood and the bodhisatta's decision to postpone his entry into Nibbāna. The other early work that describes the bodhisattva's career is the *Mahāvastu* (circa 1st or 2nd century B.C.), a Sanskrit work of the, Mahāsāṅghikas.

While the *Buddhavaṃsa*, together with the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, gives the earliest enumeration of the ten *pāramitā*, the *Mahāvastu* enumerates what are known as the ten bhūmi (q.v). While the Pali commentaries further expanded the doctrine of the bodhisatta, by analysing his character into further details, there appeared a large number of Mahāyāna works, such as the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* and the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, which generously improved on the earlier concepts, so that in course of time new doctrines began to evolve e.g., the doctrine of pāramitā and bhūmi, of prajñā and *upāya*, the tāntric siddhas etc. However, the essential differrence between the two developments was that while in early Buddhism the bodhisatta vow was meant only for those rare beings who are specially gifted, the later theory was that everyone could and should aim at Supreme Enlightenment. If this latter statement had been made to the Buddha himself he would not have objected and would not have denied the possibility for everyone to become a Buddha. He would perhaps have qualified his statement by saying that there are various classes of men whose intellectual capacity varies in accordance with their kamma and as such he would have accepted the prevalence of several *yānas* or "vehicles" for the purpose of release in keeping with each one's ability.

Since the Buddha's teaching is not fatalistic but a course of mental training implying constant change until the realisation of the unconditioned state of Nirvāṇa, everyone has the ability not merely to attain release but also to be authoritative teachers (i.e. perfect Buddhas) as well. People with less ability may rest content with mere arhatship or by becoming Silent Buddhas (as Pratyeka Buddhas): but even they by further training, could and should try to become Buddhas[6] for the good of all beings.

But, just as the Theravādins in course of time began to lay greater stress on intellectual development than on religious practice, those who advocated the bodhisattva ideal, as a protest against the theoretical teaching of others, went to the other extreme of making it too practical. The bodhisattva came to be regarded by them somewhat like a saviour as exemplified by Avalokiteśvara. Everyone tries to be a Buddha to save others while passively believing in the saving grace of the bodhisattvas.[7] The pendulum swung from one extreme to the other; Gotama's teaching of practical psychology and that of the avoidance of extremes was forgotten.

In this evolution of thought the altruistic motives which had become more or less mere intellectual concepts among the Theravādins began to be greatly emphasised. As a result, individual responsibility, on which the Buddha has laid great stress,[8] began to be overlooked. This tendency was developed to its extreme, specially in the Far East, the results of which are to be seen in the concept of Buddha Amitābha[9] and of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as an embodiment of compassion, an all-merciful divine father, whose sole aim is to deliver

6 In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, for instance, the Buddha says to Śāriputra, who becomes disappointed for having satisfied himself with arahantship, that he would be a future Buddha named Padmaprabha. Śāriputra feels happy after the declaration (*Sdmp.* pp. 66ff.)

7 E. J. Thomas observes "They (i.e. bodhisattvas) are individualised as half-mythical beings who undertake to save the world and then the advantages of worshipping and winning the favour of these great beings is extolled rather than the gigantic labour of becoming such a saviour." *History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1933, p. 178.

8 The value of self-confidence is constantly emphasised by the Buddha: "Be a lamp and refuge unto yourselves: seek no refuge elsewhere" *D.* II, p. 100; "oneself is one's own leader, who else could be the leader?" *Dhp.v.* 160. In referring to the Buddha's Enlightenment it is said "not done by the father, not by the mother, not by a brother, not by a sister........" etc. *Ps.* 1, p. 174.

9 In these concepts one can see the development of the cult of devotion (*bhakti* q.v.) as exemplified by the Kṛṣṇa-concept of the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

all living beings from suffering.[10] This development was the natural result of the intrinsic human nature which seeks for external protection and consolation either in a male or a female divinity. It is an extension of the father and mother concept and can be found in any developed religious system. But Gotama firmly believed that Buddhas are only path-finders and teachers who, out of compassion for all living beings, preach the doctrine of deliverance which has to be individually realised by the wise. As such, the idea of salvation, except through the teaching which every person has to follow himself, is foreign to him.[11] This is why the Buddha's teaching is regarded as difficult of practice.

It was shown earlier how by the application of the doctrines of kamma and rebirth the life of the bodhisatta was extended backwards to an innumerable number of existences. The doctrine of kamma implies that intellectual and moral greatness cannot be produced without great effort. The necessary training and discipline cannot be practised to perfection in a single life-time. However, this did not mean that Enlightenment could not be attained in a given time. On the contrary, it was often asserted that such attainment is possible in this very life (*ditthevа dhamme*) and that every individual should attempt such achievement.

This double implication of the doctrine of kamma was clear enough to the Buddha and his immediate disciples. His arahant-disciples were released from repeated birth and death just as the Buddha was. The Buddha was the discoverer of the Path by his own intelligence and as such he was the Teacher (*satthā*). Consequently, he had greater experience and was, therefore, able to pronounce judgment over human matters better than his disciples, even though they were arahants. The Buddha had accumulated his merits (*puṇyasambhāra*) or, to put it more scientifically, had been building up his character during a number of lives and it was the reference to these in some of his discourses that paved the way for the compilation of the jātaka tales. Even the chief disciples had to build up their characters by way of moral and intellectual development, in order to attain their eminent positions. This doctrine meant that the Buddha himself, his chief disciples and other arahants as well, all had to qualify themselves by right effort (*sammā-vāyāma*), not only in their last, but also in previous existences. In the case of the Buddha himself, as portrayed in some of the jātakas, it is clearly seen how the bodhisattva perfects various moral and intellectual virtues. However, it is an important fact that the jātaka stories should not be always interpreted in a literal sense. Their general theme is to illustrate the selfless nature of the bodhisatta. Jātaka stories may represent the bodhisatta either as the hero practising one of the pāramitā, or a minor character or even as a mere spectator. Whatever his role is in a particular story, the noteworthy fact is that he is more or less a ready-made character, the chief feature of which is virtue or wisdom in some form or other. As most of these are folk-tales made into jātakas by identifying a particular character with that of the bodhisatta, they appear sometimes to have been invented to make the bodhisatta behave in a pre-determined and unrealistic way. The stories could be interpreted allegorically, but often the bodhisatta ceases to be a human being. On the other hand, there are many jātakas, like the *Mahā-ummagga-jātaka* which are quite realistic and which contain much practical psychology and ethics, depicting the bodhisatta as a man of rare practical wisdom.

It is of interest to see how the concept of the bodhisattva has developed down the ages. The historical facts about the Buddha are not difficult to determine. He began life as Siddhārtha, son of a local rajah in north India in the 6th century B.C. At first he enjoyed sensual pleasures to the full, but his attitude to such self-indulgence was quite different from that of the ordinary man. Even while enjoying pleasure, he intuitively felt that true and lasting happiness could never be found by giveng in to each and every sensual attraction. That would lead to moral and intellectual ruin, resulting in becoming subject to more and more suffering. He was sure of this. He married and begot a son and still he felt that that was not the ultimate fulfilment of human life. His inner urge could not stop at anything short of full and complete self-realisation, not only for his own private release, but also for the good of humanity as a whole. This made him think. First he took to a self-mortifying life, and when that failed, he, after a tremendous mental struggle, achieved perfection by becoming a Buddha and then a teacher. During the rest of his career, for forty-five years, he gave his findings to the rest of humanity by oral preaching (*dhamma-desanā*), which was the best method of disseminating knowlegde in those days when writing and reading of

10 According to the Mahāyānist view these bodhisattvas refuse to enter Nirvāṇa out of compassion for all living beings; instead they aspire for perfect Enlightenment. This concept is to be traced to the story of Dīpaṅkara and Sumedha as recorded in Thervāda literature.

11 Ideas of Saving and of *bhakti* or devotion in late Mahāyāna are influenced by Brahmanical theology as well.

books was not common. There was nothing mystic about the Buddha. He was a practical man, a psychiatrist who, after realising the cause of man's troubles, was eager to convey these benefits of his realisation to the rest of humanity, which he did quite successfully.

There is no reason to doubt these simple facts of history. But, in course of time, these facts became mixed up with much legend and the Buddha's teaching became a mystical religion or a devotional cult. Its rationalistic and practical nature was forgotten. The higher life (*brahmacariya*, q.v.) was thought of as something impracticable and gradually Buddhism lost its pragmatic character. Coupled with these tendencies there was the inborn human need for a father-figure or a mother-figure to fall back upon. All these led to the creation of a Buddhology. For the artist, literary as well as plastic, the Buddha became an object of study and devotion. He was analysed from every possible angle and various theories regarding his career were evolved, as, for instance, when the original triple classification (of the path of release) *sīla* (morality), *samādhi* (mind-culture) and *paññā* (wisdom) was resolved into ten pāramitā. The bodhisattva became a special kind of god-like character, the like of whom could hardly be an actuality. It was as a part of this development that the main events of the bodhisatta's life were portrayed as being accompanied by miracles.

A bodhisatta's career should start with his making a resolution before a Buddha (*abhinīhāra-karaṇa* or *mūlapaṇidhāna*) to become a Buddha for the welfare and liberation of all creatures. In later literature this *abhinīhāra* is preceded by a period during which the bodhisattva practises *manopaṇidhi* when he resolves in his mind to desire to become a Buddha without declaring his intention to others (*DPPN*. II, 322). According to the Mahāyānist theory this would be the production of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*. q.v.).

Even for the *abhinīhāra* (q.v.) or the first resolve to become a Buddha to be effective eight conditions have to be fulfilled (*Buv*. p. 59). These are that the aspirant should be a human being, a male, sufficiently developed spiritually to become an arahant in that very life, a recluse at the time of the declaration, that he should make the resolution, personally, before a Buddha, that he should possess the jhānas and be prepared to sacrifice even his life. The resolution has to be absolutely firm. There are eighteen inauspicious states into which a bodhisatta is not born. He is never born blind, deaf, insane, crippled, among savages, as a slave or as a heretic. He never changes his sex, is never guilty of the five heinous crimes which become immediately effective (*ānantarika-kamma* : q.v.) and he never becomes a leper. Should he be born as an animal he is never born bigger than an elephant or smaller than a quail. He is not born as a peta or in Avīci nor in the hells known as *lokantarika*, the chief feature of which is their complete darkness. He is not born as a Māra nor as a Suddhāvāsa deva, nor in the Formless (*arūpa*) worlds, nor in another *cakkavāḷa* (*SnA*. I, p. 50 ff.). According to *J*. VI, p. 552 all bodhisattas must make the five great sacrifices (*mahā-pariccāga*) of giving up wife, children, kingdom, life and limb.

The Buddha, before whom the *abhinīhāra* is made, looks into the future and, if satisfied, declares the fulfilment of the wish, giving all the particulars of such fulfilment. This declaration is called *veyyākaraṇa* (Skt. *vyākaraṇa*) and is made also by all subsequent Buddhas whom the bodhisatta meets during his career. From here onwards, till he attains Enlightenment, all his activities are directed towards the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*). As mentioned earlier, these perfections were later enumerated, and there are slight differences beween the Pali and the Sanskrit lists. However, their theme is the same, which is ethical perfection. Originally, there seem to have been only six pāramitā which were later made into a group of ten. The earlier six, as given in Buddhist Sanskrit works, are as follows : *dāna* (liberality), *śīla* (morality), *kṣānti* (patience), *vīrya* (energy), *dhyāna* (concentration) and *prajñā* (wisdom). The four supplementary *pāramitā* are *upāya* or *upāya-kauśalya* (skill in means), *praṇidhāna* (resolution), *bala* (strength) and *jñāna* (knowledge : Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1932 p. 168). In the Pali list there is *nekkhamma* (renunciation) instead of *dhyāna* while *upāya*, *bala* and *jñāna* are replaced by *sacca* (truthfulness), *mettā* (loving-kindness) and *upekkhā* (equanimity).

The length of a bodhisatta's career varies : some practise the *pāramī* for at least four *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand kappas, others for at least eight *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand kappas and yet others for sixteen *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand kappas. The first of these periods is the very least that is required and is intended for those who excel in wisdom (*paññā*), The middle period is for those who excel in faith (*saddhā*) ; the last and the longest for those whose chief feature is perseverance (*viriya* : *DPPN*. II. 324).

In Mahāyāna there is also the important factor of bhūmi or stages in the spiritual progress of the bodhisattva. This concept of bhūmi, which are ten in number and are found enumerated in such Mahāyāna works as the *Mahāvastu*, *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* etc., seems to be an elaboration of the four stages of spiritual progress (i.e. *sotāpatti* etc.) of early Buddhism. Generally speaking, the idea of pāramitā is brought into relationship with that of bhūmi by making the bodhisattva cultivate one of the pāramitā in each bhūmi (stage). As the bodhisattva passes from one stage to another his glory and power gradually increase until in the tenth stage he becomes almost equal to the Buddha, possessin various supernatural powers. Having become the cloud of the dharma (*dharma-meghā*) he sends upon needy creatures the good rain which "lays the dust of the passions and causes the growth of the harvest of merits." The standard list of bhūmi is as followse: i. *Pramuditā*(joyful). ii. *Vimalā* (immaculate). iii. *Prabhākarī* (luminous). iv. *Arciṣmatī* (radiant). v. *Sudurjayā* (invincible). vi. *Abhimukhī* (being in front). vii. *Duraṅgamā* (far-going). viii. *Acalā* (immovable). ix. *Sādhumatī* (holy wisdom). x. *Dharmameghā* (cloud of dharma).

This concept of bhūmi provides us with an idea of the gradation in the spiritual progress of a bodhisattva. While the pāramitā are related to the practical side of spiritual life, the bhūmis indicate the stages of gradual progress. It also gives us information on the ideal life to be pursued in the Mahāyāna. As the bodhisattva gradually progresses in respect of certain virtues, his transition from one stage (*bhūmi*) to another takes place accordingly. For details see under BHŪMI.

An important event in the bodhisatta's life occurs when he spends his penultimate life in the Tusita heaven and he has to decide to leave Tusita to be reborn as a man. As this moment arrives, there is much excitement (*halāhala*), because of various signs appearing in the ten thousand world systems. All the devas come together and request the bodhisatta to seek birth as a human being, whereupon the bodhisatta makes the five great investigations (*pañca mahā vilokanā*) regarding the time, the continent, the place of birth, his mother and the life span left to her. The time (*kāla*) has to be investigated, because Buddhas do not appear in the world when men live more than one hundred thousand years or less than one hundred. Buddhas are born only in Jambudvīpa (north India) and only in the brāhmaṇa or the khattiya clan. Once these investigations are made the bodhisatta proceeds to the Nandanavana where he formally disappears from among devas.

The conception of the bodhisatta is attended by various miracles, Both in Pali and Sanskrit sources an attempt is made to show that at the actual moment of conception there is no physical union of father and mother.[13] With regard to the general life of a bodhisatta as given in the books the following account from the *DPPN*, (II, pp. 324—7) may be quoted [14]. "On the day of his conception, the Bodhisatta's mother takes the vows of fasting and celibacy at the conclusion of a great festival, and when she has retired to rest she dreams that the Four Regent Gods take her with her bed, bathe her in the Anotatta lake, clad her in divine garments, and place her in a golden palace surrounded by all kinds of luxury. As she lies there the Bodhisatta in the form of a white elephant enters her womb through her right side. The earth trembles and all the ten thou-and world-systems are filled with radiance. Immediately the four Regent Gods assume guard over mother and child. Throughout the period of pregnancy, which lasts for ten months exactly, the mother remains free from ailment and sees the child in her womb sitting cross-legged. At the end of the ten months she gives birth to the child, standing in a grove, never indoors. Suddhāvāsa brahmās, free from all passion, first receive the child in a golden net, and from them the Four Regent Gods take him on an antelope-skin and present him to his mother. Though the bodhisatta is born free of the mucous otherwise present at birth, two showers of water one hot, the other cold, fall from the sky and bathe mother and child. The child then takes seven strides to the north, standing firmly on his feet, looks on all sides, and seeing no one anywhere to equal him, announces his supremacy over the whole world and the fact that this is his last birth. Seven days after birth his mother dies. She dies because she must bear no other being.

"The Bodhisatta's last birth is attended by miracles. Soothsayers, being summoned, see on the child's body, the thirty-two marks of a Great

12 The *Vyāghrī Jātaka* in which the bodhisattva jumps into the mouth of a hungry tigress is the first story in the *Jātakamālā*.

13 This seems to be what is meant by a "virgin birth". See the *Acchariya-abbhuta-dhamma-sutta* (Sutta No. 123 in the *Majjhimā-nikāya* and *Mhvu.* II, p. 6 and *Lal.* pp. 29, 30)

14 Sometimes these details become wearisome. Most of hem are collected in the *DPPN*. articles on Bodhisatta, Buddha and Gotama. Their Sanskrit versions could be found in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*. Some of these accounts are not without a touch of humour, too. See, for instance, *Lal.* p. 87 where it is recorded that when the bodhisattva first went to school with his retinue the teacher fell in a swoon on seeing his splendour !

Man (*mahāpurisa*) and declare that the child will become either a Cakkavatti or a Buddha. His father, desiring that his child shall be a Cakkavatti rather than a Buddha, brings him up in great luxury, hiding from him all sin and ugliness of the world. But the destiny of a Bodhisatta asserts itself, and he becomes aware of the presence in the world of old age, disease, death and the freedom of mind to be found in the life of a Recluse. Urged by the desire to discover the cause of suffering in the world and the way out of it, the Bodhisatta leaves the world on the day of his son's birth......

"Having left the world, the Bodhisatta practises the austerities, the period of such practices varying .... On the day the Bodhisatta attains to Buddhahood, he receives a meal of milk-rice (*pāyāsa*) from a woman and a gift of kusa-grass, generally from an Ājīvaka, which he spreads under the Bodhi tree for his seat. The size of this seat varies...... Before the Enlightenment the Bodhisatta has five great dreams (1) that the world is his couch with the Himālayā as his pillow, his left hand resting on the eastern sea, his right on the western and his feet on the southern ; (2) that a blade of *tiriyā* (*kusa*) grass, growing from his navel touches the clouds ; (3) that white worms with black heads creep up from his feet, covering his knees ; (4) that four birds of varied hues from the four quarters of the world fall at his feet and become white ; (5) that he walks to and fro on a heap of dung, by which he remains unsoiled.

"The next day the Bodhisatta sits cross-legged on his seat facing the east, determined not to rise till he has attained his goal. The gods of all the worlds assemble to do him honour. but Māra (q.v.) comes with his mighty hosts and the gods flee. All day, the fight continues between Māra and the Bodhisatta ; the *pāramī* alone are present to lend their aid to the Bodhisatta, and when the moment comes, the goddess of the earth bears witness to his great sacrifices, while Māra and his armies retire discomfited at the hour of sunset, the gods then returning and singing a paean of victory. Meanwhile the Bodhisatta spends the night in deep concentration ; during the first watch he acquires knowlegde of past lives, during the second watch he develops the divine eye, while during the last watch he ponders over and comprehends the *Paticcasamuppāda* doctrine. Backwards and forwards his mind travels over the chain of causation and twelve times the earth trembles. With sunrise, omniscience dawns on him, and he becomes the Supremely Awakened Buddha, uttering his udāna of victory while the whole world rejoices with him."

The pāramitā and bhūmis referred to above are the chief factors in the bodhisattva's discipline. While the *jātaka* and the *Avadāna*, both in Pali and in Sanskrit, are devoted to illustrate these perfections, the *Buddhavaṃsa* (II, p. 116 ff.), contains examples of the previous births of Gotama in which ten such pārami are practised to the highest degree (*BuvA* p. 50 ; J. p. 44ff). In early Buddhist Sanskrit literature the two groups of six or ten pāramī are frequently referred to (e.g. *Lal.* p. 340 ; *Mhvu.* III, p. 226).

Still later, when the concept of bhūmi was developed, each of the ten bhūmi was allotted a pāramī. These pāramitā and bhūmi, to which late Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit literature has devoted so much attention, distinguish the bodhisattvas from arahants and pacceka-buddhas. These constitute the practical and the dynamic side of the bodhisattva's character in contrast with the theoretical and contemplative monastic life of the Hīnayāna monk. At the same time we see them as a concession made to popular Buddhism where emotionalism is at work as, for instance, in the worship of Buddhas like Amitābha and bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, while in late Mahāyāna they cease to have any difference at all.

If the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna be regarded as a protest against the arahant ideal of the Hīnayāna, there is an important fact that needs clarification. This is the charge of selfishness brought against the arahant. In this connection there is much misunderstanding. The charge of selfishness has to be levelled not against the arahants but against the Theravāda monks who have portrayed arahantship as a selfish ideal by their own behaviour and writings and thereby made the higher religious life (*brahmcariya* or *adhisīla*) appear as something unpracticable. The Buddha has clearly shown, both by example and by precept, the value of working for the welfare of others. The spirit of his teaching is that one should enlighten oneself first and then try to help those that can be helped as clearly expressed in the well-known words of the Buddha when he addressed the first sixty arahants to devote themselves to the service of others (*Vin.* I, pp. 19-20). He also discouraged mere philosophy and speculation if it had no practical value. But, quite in contrast to this noble example of the Teacher, his later followers, instead of following by practice the religious life he discovered and promulgated, began to make mere academic study thereof as an end in itself. They became speculators and philosophers, with very little practice. The Hīnayāna monk became

more or less a fossilised antique living in a world of his own. The protest of the Mahāyānist was against this fossilisation and resultant indolence, and not against the arahant ideal as such. The Buddha and the genuine arahants who, after achieving their release, helped mankind, have to be absolved of this charge of selfishness. Yet, on the other hand, when the bodhisattva ideal was advocated, the pendulum swung to the other extreme of mere bodhisattva worship. The extreme intellectualism of the Hīnayāna was replaced by the extreme emotionalism of developed Mahāyāna. The true spirit of the Buddha's teaching lies in between, in a harmonious combination of intellect and emotion, of head and heart, of theory and practice. This is the perfection of character as understood in Buddhism. See also ARAHANT.

The Pali Canon shows little interest either in philosophical speculation or in the personality of the bodhisattvas who are simply treated as "larval forms" of the Buddha. Gotama himself would not have denied the possibility of becoming a Buddha to anyone who is intellectually and morally mature. The significant fact is that it became quite incredible that a superior being such as a Buddha should be suddenly produced in a human family. He was not to be explained as an incarnation. Hence it was quite logical and edifying to treat him as a product of a long evolution of virtue, extending over several existences of good deeds and noble aspirations, culminating in a being superior to both gods and men. Such a being remains in the Tusita heaven in his penultimate existence biding the appropriate time to be born among men. In this manner the Pali Canon, quite logically, recognises the bodhisatta as a rare type of man appearing at a certain stage in time and space. It leaves the matter at that. But later works like the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the Pali commentaries and the Mahāyāna sūtras went on developing the bodhisattva-concept in such a way that he became an object of devotion and his human nature gradually disappeared. The Mahāyānists, in trying to remedy the situation, ended up by making him a saviour.[15]

The Mahāyānist ideas of the celestial Buddhas and bodhisattvas exemplify the development of the bodhisattva doctrine in another direction. According to the Hīnayāna view, the bodhisatta's penultimate life is spent in the Tusita heaven (e.g. *A.* II, p. 30), where he enjoys the power and splendour of any Indian deity. But, as it did not admit more than one Buddha at a time, there was evidently also only one bodhisatta at a time in Tusita. In Mahāyāna, however, the multiplication of not only celestial Buddhas but also of celestial bodhisattvas became such a popular theme that as time went on they became innumerable.

Round about the first century A.C. the luxuriant fancy of India began to invent and multiply divinities much in the fashion of the Ṛgvedic poets and the Buddhist theologians of the time were no exception. When the personalities of Śiva and Viṣṇu were taking shape in Hinduism the figures of divine bodhisattvas were taking shape in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Whereas the Hindu devotees personified the creative and destructive powers of Nature, the Buddhists laid greater emphasis on moral and spiritual qualities. In the two great bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are seen the personifications of kindness and knowledge, respectively. They invite comparison not only with the Hindu deities and the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas, but also with the Christian archangels. With such developments in Buddhist theology it is natural that the number of bodhisattvas became endless. Important Mahāyāna treatises, like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* have very long lists of such bodhisattvas and when names cannot be given the writers merely refer to them in millions[16]. In addition to Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, there are other impotrant figures like Maitreya[17], Samantabhadra, Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Kṣitiga bha, who have become important in the Far East. These six bodhisattavs, along with Akāśagarbha and Vajrapāṇī, make a group of eight who have become more famous than the others. These and many others are worshipped both iconographically and in sādhanas, specially by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

Within the development of the idea of these other worldly bodhisattvas and Buddhas, there is a later phase in which five of them were formed into a pentad and described as Jinas or Dhyānibuddhas (q.v.). According to the fully-developed form of this doctrine the five personages are produced by contemplation from the Ādibuddha (q.v.)

15 Texts like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* portray the typical saviour bodhisattva, who is ready to undergo any suffering for the sake of others. Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* stands out as a poem in which the qualities of the bodhisattva are sung with intense devotion.

16 See, for instance, chapter xiv of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*.

17 Pali: Metteyya, the future Buddha. He is the only bodhisatta referred to in th Pali Canon (*D.* III, 76), excluding, of course, the past lives of Gotama.

and they in turn produce various reflexes including bodhisattvas, human Buddhas and goddesses like Tārā, all of whom constitute their families (*kula*).[18] In this manner the Buddhists, including the Tantrics, came to possess a profusion of bodhisattva deities. When these celestial bodhisattvas were represented in art they were required to show their origin by holding on their head the miniature figure of their parental Dhyāni-buddha. These Buddhas are supposed to be engaged in peaceful meditation and in that sense are inactive. Thus,the art of creation is said to be the duty of the bodhisattvas who are the active agents of the Buddhas. These developments are more or less Tantric and their details should be given when dealing with the Tantras. See further, DHYĀNI-BODHISATTVA.

The bodhisattva-ideal, with its more practical attitude to life, emphasises the value of family life. Gotama's own life could be cited as an example. Renunciation of household life never meant running away from life. Nirvāṇa was to be sought not outside saṃsāra but within it[19]. Gotama never recommended a life of aloofness or perennial seclusion. He was not an escapist and wanted no one to be so. What he taught was that owing to ignorance (*avijjā*), people do not see things as they really are, and as such they are given to their desires. which in turn prolong their suffering. His method was to remove this veil of ignorance so that there would be light. It is the removal of mental illusion, resulting in a psychological [illegible] which makes one free from the trammels of [illegible] birth, disease and death. This cannot be achieved by running away from life. The problem has to be solved by facing and overcoming it, by changing the inner self, the mind where lies the cause of the problem. It is a change of attitude and outlook, resulting from the removal of ignorance. Such a person lives in the world, but is not of the world, a worthy example to be followed. If a person can become enlightened after leading a family life, as prince Siddhartha himself did, he would certainly be a more useful man than a sanctimonious ascetic living in the jungle. And it is this kind of pure social life that the bodhisattva ideal rightly recommends. The ancient emphasis on inward life is given a new application. The godly and efficient layman so envisaged is exemplified in the figure of Vimalakīrti, described in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. This wealthy householder, who was residing at Vaiśālī, lived "only for the sake of the necessary means of saving creatures; abundantly rich, ever careful of the poor, pure in self-discipline, obedient to all precepts, removing all anger by the practice of patience, removing all sloth by the practice of diligence, removing all distractions of mind by intent meditation, removing all ignorance by fulness of wisdom; though he was but a simple layman, yet observing the pure monastic discipline; though living at home, yet never desirous of anything; though possessing a wife and children, always exercising pure virtues, though surrounded by his family, holding aloof from worldly pleasures; though using the jewelled ornaments of the world, yet adorned with spiritual splendour; though eating and drinking, yet enjoying the flavour of the rapture of meditation; though frequenting the gambling house, yet leading the gamblers into the right path; though coming in contact with heresy, yet never letting his true faith be impaired; though having a profound knowledge of worldly learning, yet ever finding pleasure in the things of the spirit as taught by the Buddha; though profiting by all professions, yet far above being absorbed by them; benefitting all beings, going wheresoever he pleases; ever teaching the young and ignorant, when entering the hall of learning; manifesting to all the error of passion when in the hours of debauchery; persuading all to seek the higher things when at the shop of the wine-dealer; preaching the law when among wealthy people; teaching the kṣatriyas patience; removing arrogance when among Brahmans; teaching justice to the great ministers; teaching loyalty and filial piety to the princes; teaching honesty to the ladies of the court; persuading the masses to cherish virtue"[20]

The bodhisattva concept had its influence in the evolution of kingship in Ceylon, too. For, some time between the fourth and eleventh centuries, the kings of Ceylon began to be regarded not as ordinary human beings but as bodhisattvas. The Jetavanārāma slab-inscription of Mahinda IV and the Prītidānaka maṇḍapa inscription of Nissaṅka Malla. The *Cūlavaṃsa* (Chp. 88, *v.* 35), the *Rājaratnākaraya* (p. 47) and the *Nikāyasaṃgrahava*

18 This theory of the five Jinas is first clearly promulgated in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (*Gos.* Vol. LII), which is generally believed to be a work belonging to circa 2nd century A.C. See B. Bhattacaryya, *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1932 p. 129. See also *EncyB'sm.* 1, p. 479.

19 That saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are identical is one of the favourite themes of Tantric philosophers. See Snellgrove's Introduction to his edition of the *Hevajra Tantra.*

20 Translated by Prof. Hokei Idumi in *The Eastern Buddhist,* III, 138–9 and quoted by James Bisselt Pratt in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and A Buddhist Pilgrimage*, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. London, 1928, pp. 232–3.

ed. Kumāranatunga, p. 24) also bear evidence to this when they refer to one of the kings of this period as Bodhi atta Vijayabāhu. Parākramabāhu II says that he would become a Buddha (*Mhvu.* chp. 86, *v.* 7.)[21]

Charles Eliot mentions that in China there is a system of admission into the Order consisting of three stages: admission (*pabbajjā*), higher ordinaiton (*upasampadā*) and the acceptance of the bodhisattva vows (*shou-pu-sa-chich*). The burning of the candidate's head from three to eighteen places is said to be an essential part of the ceremony of the taking of the bodhisattva-vows (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 328)[22]. See also Pratt, op. cit. p. 222

The worship of bodhisattvas needed iconographical representation and this need has been more than fulfilled by the creation of an abundance of bodhisattva images specially in those countries that accepted Mahāyāna. Buddhist art became the richer through these artistic creations. In the subsequent phases of the bodhisattva-cult these deified personages were given many forms in order to symbolise their multifarious functions. Sometimes they were given many heads and many arms which practice has sometimes led to the creation of such figures as exemplified by the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara from Japan[23]. (see also Pls. XXIII–XXVIII)

For iconographical details about the various bodhisattvas, see under their individual names.

A.G.S.K.

BODHISATTVA AVADĀNA (var. *Bodhisattvāvadānamālā*), a collection of legends, relating the religious exploits performed by the bodhisatva. The bodhisattva himself is said to have narrated these stories, at Śrāvasti by the Anavatapta lake, in order to illustrate the means of obtaining deliverence. These legends consist chiefly of meritorious acts performed by the Buddha in his previous births (Rajendralal Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 49).

It is popularly believed that the *bodhisattva-Avadāna* is only an appellation of the *Jātakamālā* (cf. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933; J. S. Speyer, *Jātakamālā* trsl. *SBB*. no. 1, 1895, p. XXII; *Jātakamālā*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST*. 21, p. viii). Notwithstanding many resemblances between the two books, a closer study reveals that it is not exactly so. Equally inaccurate is Max Müller who, erroneously quoting Mitra, says that the *Bodhisattvāvadāna*, like the *Jātakamālā*, contains thirty-four stories (Speyer, op. cit, p. xvi).

According to Mitra, the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* contains not thirty-four but thirty five stories. In fact, the very first jātaka occurring in the collection, namely the *Subhāsa Jātaka* (q.v.), does not appear in the *Jātakamālā*, nor in any other Sanskrit or Pali recension. Besides, with regard to the titles of certain tales in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* too, there exist slight differences. The titles of such Jātakas as *Sivi, Viśvambara, Buddhabodhi* and *Ayo*, occur in the *Jātakamālā* as *Śibi, Viśvanś tara, Chuḍḍhabodhi* and *Ayogṛha* respectively. Moreover, in the *Jātakamālā* there are two jātakas named *Mahākapi* while the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* has only one jātaka by that name, the other being simply called *Kapi Jātaka*.

In the colophon of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* are a few verses illustrating the merits that can be obtained by making offerings to the Buddha and also by reading out and listening to the works of dharma (Mitra, op. cit. pp. 49–57).

It is also interesting to note that one of the avadānas of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* bears the same title, (*Bendall*, p. 19).

C. S. R.

BODHISATTVA-BHŪMI, (vars. *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-mātṛkā, Mahāyāna-saṅgraha*) a section of a larger work called the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* or *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra* said to have been revealed to Asaṅga by Maitreya. M. Winternitz (*A History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 354) thinks that this is a work of Maitreyanātha, but for a different opinion see, *EncyBsm*. II, pp. 154 f.).

As the name suggests, the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* deals with the bodhisattva doctrine, the fifteenth stage of the seventeen stages (see BHŪMI) dealt with in the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra*. It is the only portion of the latter work extant in Sanskrit.

The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is a prose work in the style of Abhidharma texts and belongs most probably to the 4th century A.C. However, it is doubtful whether a specific date could be assigned to the whole of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, for some scholars

21 A similar belief was prevalent in Burma in the 18th century (Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 63, note) The prevalence of this belief in Siam too is recorded by Eliot, ibid. p. 84.

22 This practice has to be treated as a sign of degeneration of Buddhism in that country, for this kind of self-torture does not find acceptance in Buddhist practice.

23 Great Mahāyāna thinkers like Aśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, Nāgārjune and others are often referred to as bodhisattvas; in such cases the term is used as an honorific title.

suggest that certain chapters, for example, the chapters on *vihāra* and *bhūmi* are later in date than the other parts of the treatise (see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London, 1932, p. 50). The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is certainly later than the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, a text dealing with the same subject. Har Dayal (op. cit. p. 272) thinks that the former has borrowed several ideas from the latter. Though the subject-matter is basically the same, the author of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* has not dealt with it as systematically as it is found dealt with in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. The account in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is complicated and overlapping. A comparison of the texts, reveals that the two authors are not of the same point of view, and this is primarily due to the fact that they have adopted two different bases on which to formulate their theses. The author of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* has based his treatise on the ten pāramitā, whereas the author of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* appears to have based his treatise on *nirnimitta-bhāvanā*. He seems to have attempted to divide the bodhisattva's career according to the triple formula of *adhi-śīla, adhi-citta* and *adhi-prajñā*. But, even this division is not maintained throughout. Even his attempt to identify some of the *vihāras* (q.v.) detailed in his treatise, with the bhūmis in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* does not appear to be quite successful. Though it is not a thoroughly systematic work when compared with the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, it is full of detailed information regarding the career of the bodhisattva.

The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is divided into three sections, called (1) *ādhāra-yogasthāna*, (2) *ādhāra-dharma* or *ādhārānudharma-yogasthāna* and (3) *niṣṭha-yogasthāna*. The whole work consists of twenty-eight chapters (*paṭala*) of which eighteen are in the *ādhāra-yogasthāna*. Among the eighteen chapters are the following: *gotra-paṭala*, *cittotpāda-p°*, *svaparārtha-p°*, *balagotra-p°*, *dāna-p°*, *śīla-p°*, *kṣānti-p°*, *vīrya-p°*, *dhyāna-p°* and *prajñā-p°*. Of these, the first chapter is quite important, since the conception of *gotra* (q.v.) as a pre-requisite for the development of the thought of Enlightenment is not found in earlier standard works like the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. Almost all the other topics discussed in the first section are found also in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, though not in great detail.

The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* clearly lays down that a person who is to become a bodhisattva and then attain Buddhahood must necessarily have the proper *gotra* i.e., a pre-disposition, an inclination or an aptitude. At the outset it divides the *gotra* into two, as innate (*prakṛti*) and perfected or attained (*samudānīta*). The *prakṛti-gotra* is characterised by some distinguished excellence in the six faculties (*ṣaḍ-āyatana-viśeṣa*) and it is acquired in some previous birth. The *samudānīta-gotra* is acquired in the present birth by the amplification of former roots of merit (*pūrva-kuśala-mūla-abhyāsāt*).

In discussing this subject, the author takes the opportunity to declare that the career of a bodhisattva (*bodhisattva-yāna*) is far superior to that of a disciple (*śrāvāka-yāna*) and the path of the pratyeka-buddha. Thus, he says that a bodhisattva who is endowed with the proper *gotra* is superior to both, for the *gotra* of the last two is free only from the obstacle of depravity (*kleśāvaraṇa*) whereas the *gotra* of a bodhisattva is free from both obstacle of depravity (*kleśāvaraṇa*) and the obstacle of intellect (*jñeyāvaraṇa*). Besides, a bodhisattva who possesses the proper *gotra* is superior to śrāvakas and pratyeka-buddhas in four other respects, namely, in faculties (*indriya*), in practice (*pratipatti*), in skill (*kauśalya*) and in result (*phala*). A bodhisattva endowed with the proper *gotra* becomes qualified to practise the six pāramitā. Since the *gotra* in bodhisattvas is by nature pure and good, it necessarily contributes to the attainment of Buddhahood. As a bodhisattva is endowed with these good qualities, the four depravities do not affect him. Even if depravities happen to obstruct him, he will not suffer for long like an ordinary person devoid of the *gotra*.

A bodhisattva, even if he has the proper *gotra*, may be precluded from the attainment of Enlightenment by one or more of the following four circumstances : failure to find a good friend, failure to grasp correctly and practise properly the bodhisattva discipline, slackness in carrying out the teaching and, even when the pre-requisites are fulfilled, want of maturity in faculties (*aparipakvendriya*), want of completeness in equipment (*aparipūrṇa-sambhāra*) and a long-established want of mastery of principles conducive to Enlightenment.

In the *cittotpāda-paṭala* the author elaborately discusses the various aspects of the first production of the Thought of Enlightenment (*prathama-cittotpāda*). He seems to divide the subject into seven sections in each of which he attempts to consider in sub-sections some aspects of the first engendering of the Thought of Enlightenment, its nature, origin or results. Thus, he describes the *prathama-cittotpāda* in different ways. He calls it a good resolution (*samyak-praṇidhāna*) and an aspiration (*prārthanā*). He says that it has as its scope the two subjects mentioned above, and so on. Then again, he enumerates a fourfold way of viewing the *prathama-cittotpāda*. He declares that it is twofold, being either conducive to deliverance (*nairyāṇika*) or not so. He also gives the four occasions,

the four causes and forces that contribute to produce the bodhicitta (q. v.), as well as the four causes that force it to turn back. Finally he gives the three pairs of principles resulting in the generation of bodhicitta and the three pairs of results that take place when the bodhicitta is produced.

Chapters iii-vi deal with the seven aspects of the bodhisattva discipline (*bodhisattva-caryā*). The third chapter elaborately discusses the well-being of oneself and of others. The fourth chapter, discussing reality (*tattvārtha*), basically divides it into two categories as (i) truth (*bhūtatā*), taking as a starting point the existence of things (*dharma*) as they are, and (ii) the totality of things (*dharmāṇām sarvatā*), taking as a starting point existence as far as it extends. Further, these are subdivided into four aspects, reality attested by common parlance (*lokaprasiddha*), reality known by proof (*yukti-prasiddha*), reality that comes within the sphere of knowledge which is free from the obstacle of depravity (*kleśāvaraṇa-viśuddhi-jñāna gocara*) and reality that comes within the sphere of knowledge which is free from the obstacle of intellect (*jñeyāvaraṇa-viśuddhi-jñāna-gocara*). Further, it advocates the concurrent negation of the two views, viz. existence and non-existence. To establish his viewpoint, the author cites the authority of such works as the *Bhavasaṅkrānti Sūtra* and the *Arthavargīya Sūtra*.

The chapter on the powers of a bodhisattva details the five particular powers, namely, the powers connected with the six kinds of higher knowledge (*abhijñā-prabhāva*), the powers connected with six pāramitā connoted in the text as *dharma-prabhāva*, the innate powers common to bodhisattvas, śrāvakas and pratyeka-buddhas and the powers which are peculiar to the bodhisattvas (*sādhāraṇaśca śrāvaka-pratyeka-buddhair asādhāraṇaśca taiḥ*).

The *paripāka-paṭala* deals with the subject of bringing about maturity in the religious sense under five main headings which are further sub-divided into numerous other sections. Dealing with the subject of Enlightenment the next chapter says that Enlightenment consists of the destruction of the obstacles of depravity (*kleśāvaraṇa*) and intellect (*jñeyāvaraṇa*) and also of the acquisition of the two-fold knowledge thereof. Further, it details one hundred and forty special attributes of Enlightenment (*catvāriṃśad-āveṇikaṃ buddha-dharmaśataṃ*), the seven supreme qualities (*sapta-paramatā*) of Enlightenment and so on.

The next chapter details five important requisites of a bodhisattva. Thus he should have much aspiration; he should learn as well as preach the doctrine; he should conduct himself according to the doctrine; he should receive good advice and offer good advice to others; his acts of body, speech and mind should be accompanied by proper means (*upāyasaṃgṛhītaṃ . . . . . kāyavāṅ-manas-karma*).

The next six chapters elaborately deals with the six pāramitā which the author extols as the "ocean of all virtues and auspicious principles and which confer prosperity and happiness on all."

The next four chapters of the first section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* also discuss minutely the numerous other qualities and characteristic features that constitute the bodhisattva-discipline. Thus, they deal with the four articles of attraction (*saṅgraha-vastu*), such as pleasant speech (*priyavāditā*), with modesty and also with the principles which are conducive to Enlightenment. The first section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* ends with the *bodhisattva-guṇa-paṭala* which immensely glorifies the bodhisattva ideal.

The second section of the text, i.e., the *ādhāra-dharma* or *ādhārānu-dharma-yogasthāna* consists of four chapters, namely, *bodhisattva-liṅga-paṭala, pakṣya-p°, adhyāśaya-p°, and vihāra-p°*. These chapters further discuss the numerous factors and qualities of the bodhisattva-discipline and also describe the appropriate mental disposition an aspirant should possess. These discussions are very often overlapping and they merely reveal the trouble taken by the author of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* to treat the subject matter in minute detail. Of the four chapters the one on *vihāras* is of great importance with regard to the doctrine of the different stages of bodhisattva's career.

The third section, i.e., *ādhāra-niṣṭha-yogasthāna* has six chapters. Among them are the *upapatti-paṭala, bhūmi-p°*, and *caryā-p°*. This section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* deals with such aspects of the bodhisattva's career as the numerous states of existence of a bodhisattva, his various properties (*parigraha*) which the author treats as being sixfold. In the *caryā-paṭala* he treats the subject under four heads: *pāramitā, bodhipakṣa abhijñā* and *sattva-paripāka*.

The *vihāra-paṭala* of the second section and the *bhūmi-paṭala* of the third section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* are of special importance for the bodhisattva doctrine. This scheme is a special feature in the work. . The author speaks of thirteen *vihāra* which, according to him constitute the whole of the bodhi-

sattva discipline. He further details seven bhūmi which are described as corresponding to the thirteen *vihāra*. The scheme is as follows :

vihāra	*bhūmi*
1. *Gotra-vihāra*	1. *Gotra-bhūmi*
2. *Adhimukticaryā-vihāra*	2. *Adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi*
3. *Pramuditā-vihāra*	3. *Śuddhāśaya-bhūmi*
4. *Adhiśīla-vihāra*	4. *Caryā-prati-patti-bhūmi*
5. *Adhicitta-vihāra*	
6-8. *Adhiprajñā-vihāra*	
9. *Sābhoga-nirnimitta-vihāra*	
10. *Anābhoga-nirnimitta-vhiāra*	5. *Niyata-bhūmi*
11. *Pratisaṃvid-vihāra*	6. *Niyata-caryā-bhūmi*
12. *Parama-vihāra*	7. *Niṣṭhāgamana-bhūmi*
13. *Tathāgata-vihāra*	

Of these thirteen *vihāra* the first two, as pointed out earlier, are preliminary stages of the bodhisattva discipline. The next ten *vihāra* i.e., 3–12 are supposed to correspond to the ten bhūmis of the scheme put forward by the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. But, a comparison of the two schemes makes it quite clear that they hardly correspond. The similarity of the names of *Pramuditā-vihāra* and the *Pramuditā-bhūmi*, which is considered to be its corresponding stage in the scheme of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, is most probably a coincidence. The scheme in the *Bodhisattra-bhūmi* lacks many features which are the essential characteristics of the scheme in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*. The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, for example, allots one pāramitā to each bhūmi. But, the scheme of *vihāra* in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* makes no such allotment. In the allocation of *saṅgraha-vastu*, too, the two schemes differ. The scheme in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* is complicated and incoherent. Despite these shortcomings, the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, as it depicts another stage in the development of the bodhisattva-doctrine, serves as an important source of information for the study of the gradual development of the bodhisittva-doctrine.

The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* was rendered into Chinese as early as the 5th century. There are three Chinese versions. The earliest one, the *P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching* was by Dharmarakṣa 414-21 A.C. This was followed by the translation under the title *P'u-sa-shan-chich-ching* by Guṇavarman 431 A.C., (see *Nanjio*, Nos. 1086, 1086 ; *Taishō*, Nos. 1581, 1582). The other version is found incorporated in the Chinese version of *Yogācārya-bhūmi śāstra* (*Nanjiō*, No. 1170 ; *Taishō*, No. 1579).

The work is also found in Tibetan under the title *Rnal-ḥbyor spyod-paḥi sas-las byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi-sa* (*Yogācāryabhūmau Bodhisattvabhūmi*) and it is attributed to Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes sde (*TM*. No. 4037).

The original Sanskrit text of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* was edited by Unrai Wogihara and published in Tokyo in 1930. Two chapters of the text, namely the *vihāra-paṭala* and the *bhūmi-paṭala* are found in the appendix to the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* edited by J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926. (See also BHŪMI.

S.K.N.

BODHISATTVA-BHŪMI, DOCTRINE OF. See BHŪMI.

BODHISATTVABHŪMI-VṚTTI, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Sems-tsam* (Vijñānavāda) section of the *Tengyur* in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 4044) and in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (sutra commentary) section in the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 112, No. 5545). Cordier also mentions this text (*Cordier*, III, p. 381, No. 5). All the three editions give the same title : *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi-saḥi ḥgrel-pa*. The authorship of this work is attributed to Yon-tan-ḥod (Guṇaprabha), and the translators are known as Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) and Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna.

In this text the author's first salutation is addressed to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas and the second to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta (Tib. Ḥphags-pa ḥjam-dpal gshon-nur gyur-pa). The author says that all beings are full of desire (Tib. *ḥdod-pa*), the root of which should be destroyed in order to overcome the transmigratory existence.

This text is very long, containing nine chapters. They are as follows :—

(1) *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi saḥi gshiḥi rnal ḥbyor-gyi gnas-las, daṅ-poḥi rim-par phye-ba* (The method of the earliest step of meditation of the *bodhisattvabhūmi*).

(2) *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sa-las sems-bskyed-paḥi leḥu rim-par phye-ba ste gñis-pa* (The arising of the bodhicitta).

(3) *Bdag daṅ gshan-gyi don-rim-par phye-ba ste gsum-pa* (The advantages (thereof) for oneself and for others).

(4) *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi saḥi gshiḥi rnal-ḥbyor-gyi gnas-las, bshi-pa, de-kho-na rim-par phye-ba* (The method of meditation of the *bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

(5) *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi saḥi gshiḥi rnal-ḥbyor-gyi gnas-las, mthuḥi leḥu rim-par phye-ba ste lṅa-pa* (The power of meditation of the *bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

(6) ———, *yoṅs-su smin-paḥi rim-par phye-ba drug-pa* (The complete perfection of the meditation of the *bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

(7) ———, *byaṅ-chub rim-par phye-ba ste-bdun-pa* (The method of meditation of the *bodhisattva-bhūmi*).

(8) *Brgyad rigs rim-par phye-ba* (The eightfold ways of meditation).

(9) *Spyin-pa rim-par phye-ba dgu-pa* (The method of giving).

I. K.

BODHISATTVACARYĀ-(SAṄGRAHA-) PRADĪPA-RATNAMĀLĀ NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika section of the *Tengyur* according to the Sde-dge edition and Cordier (*TM.* No. 3936 ; *Cordier.* III, p. 323, No. 31) and in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (Sūtra commentary) section of the *Tengyur*, according to the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 102, No. 5332). The Tibetan version, *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa bsdus-paḥi sgron-ma riṅ-po-cheḥi phreṅ-ba shes-bya-ba*, is common to all these three works. The authorship of the work is attributed to Chos-ldan rab-ḥbyor dbyaṅs (Dhārmikasubhūtighoṣa), and it is said to have been translated into Tibetan by Prajñākaravarman (Rin-chen bzaṅ-po).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas.

A collection of practices that have to be put into practice by a bodhisattva forms the contents of this work. The author declares that one must, first of all, bear in mind to put an end to all deflements etc.

I. K.

BODHISATTVACARYĀSŪTRĪKṚTĀVAVĀDA, the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (Sūtra commentary) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa mdo tsam gdams-ṅag tu byas-pa*, in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 103, Nos. 5342, 5348), and in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the Sde-dge edition (*TM.* Nos. 3946, 4472). Cordier mentions three texts under the same title (*Cordier*, III, p. 327, No. 8 ; p. 328, No. 14 ; p. 337, No. 8). The authorship of this text is attributed to Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna).

The text contains a sūtra preached by the great teacher Dīpaṅkara (Tib. Mar-me mdsad) which is confirmed at the end of the text. Here, he gives advice on the practices of a bodhisattva. The two texts are identical and are short.

I. K.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA. See BODHICARYĀVATĀRA.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA-DURAVABODHA-(PADA) NIRṆAYA-NĀMA-GRANTHA, the title of a text, containing explanations of sections, considered as those difficult to be understood (*duravabodha*), of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* which is identical with the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva.

Śāntideva's name is mentioned as Zi-baḥi lha in the introduction of this text, of which a Tibetan translation occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi rtogs-par dkaḥ-baḥi gnas gtan-la-dbab-pa shes-bya-baḥi gshuṅ.* Kṛṣṇa-pa (Kṛṣṇapāda) is the author of the work while he himself and Chos-kyi śes-rab are stated to have translated it into Tibetan (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5276 ; cf. *TM.* No. 3875). This work is sometimes referred to as *Duravabodhanirṇaya* (see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* XII. p. x. See also BODHICARYĀVATĀRA.

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA—PAÑJIKĀ, a commentary on all ten chapters of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*. A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5277). The colophon of this translation states that the monk Vairocanarakṣita of the Vikramaśilā monastery wrote the commentary.

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA—PIṆḌĀRTHA, a text giving an abridged version of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi don bsdus-pa.* Chos-skyoṅ (Dharmapāla) of Gser-gliṅ (Suvarṇadvīpa) is stated to have composed the work at the request of Kamalarakṣita and Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. Dīpaṅkara and Tshul--krhims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) are credited with the translation (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5281 ; *TM.* No. 3879).

The introductory stanzas of this text are the same as those in *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra-ṣaṭtriṃśat-piṇḍārtha.*

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA - PRAJÑĀPARICCHEDA - PARIṆAMANA - PAÑJIKĀ, a Sanskrit work available in its Tibetan translation entitled, *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi śes rab-leḥu daṅ bsṅo-baḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel.* The author and the translator are unknown. This is included in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 3877). This text has not been included in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka edited by Suzuki. The title suggests that the text deals with the chapter on *prajñāpāramitā* (that is the ninth chapter) of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.* A *Pariṇamanapañjikā* on the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is referred to by P. L. Vaidya on p x. (*BST. XII*) in the introduction to his edition of that text.

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA-SAṂSKĀRA, the name of a commentarial text on the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.* The author of the text is Dge-baḥi lha (Kalyāṇadeva or Śubhadeva). Śrikumāra (Śrīkumāra) and Dge-baḥi blo-gros are stated to have translated the work into Tibetan. This translation occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5275 ; *TM.* No. 3874).

The text has explanatory notes on all ten chapters of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.*

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA — ṢAṬTRIṂŚAT-PIṆḌĀRTHA, the name of a text containing an abridged version of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.* The Tibetan translation of the abridged text occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi don sum-cu rtsa-drug bsdus-pa.* The colophon states that the monk Chos-skyoṅ (Dharmapāla) of Gser-gliṅ(Suvarṇadvīpa) composed the work at the request of Kamalarakṣita and Dīpaṅkara. Dīpaṅkara and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) are said to have rendered the text into Tibetan (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5280 ; *TM.* No. 3878). The introductory stanzas of this text are the same as those in the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra-piṇḍārtha.*

R. H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA — VIVṚTTI, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text of unknown authorship, occurring in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur,* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi rnam-par bśad-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5279). This text is a commentary on two chapters of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra,* viz. the one on the perfection of wisdom (*prajñā pāra mitā*) and the one containing the final blessing (*pariṇāmanā*). The commentator calls these the eighth and ninth chapters of the text commented on. They form the ninth and tenth chapters of the version of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* (= *Bodhicaryāvatāra*), the Sanskrit text of which is available to us. However, see *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra-vivṛtti-pañjikā* for a version of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* in which the second chapter of the extant *Bodhicaryāvatāra* on 'The Confession of Sin' (*pāpadeśanā*) seems to have been omitted. The difference in the numbering of chapters could be due to the commentator using that version.

The two chapters commented on in this text are identical with the corresponding chapters of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra-vivṛtti-pañjikā.*

R.H.

BODHISATTVACARYĀVATĀRA — VIVṚTTI PAÑJIKĀ, the reconstructed title of a commentarial text on the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.* The commentator's name is not known. A Tibetan translation of this work occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-pa-la ḥjug-paḥi-rnam-par bśad-paḥi bkaḥi-ḥgrel* (*TT.* Vol. 100, No. 5274 ; *TM.* No. 3873).

The text contains explanations on nine of the ten chapters of the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra.* The chapter omitted is that entitled 'The Confession of Sin' (*pāpadeśanā*)which forms the second chapter of the text commented on.

R.H.

BODHISATTVĀDIKARMIKA — MĀRGĀVATĀRA-DEŚANĀ, the title of a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur.* Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes (Srī Dīpaṅkarajñāna) is the author of the work. He is said to have translated it into Tibetan with the assistance of Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (*TT.* Vol. 103, Nos. 5349, 5390).

The text deals with the initial practices to be followed by a bodhisattva embarking on the Great Path to Buddhahood. He should approach a holy lama, take refuge in the Three Jewels, rouse the

Thought of Enlightenment (bodhicitta, (q. v.) in his mind) learn the code of conduct of a bodhisattva, determine that his deeds, speech and thoughts may not be fruitless, restrain his senses, make offerings of flowers at the statue of a Buddha, pay homage to all the Buddhas in the ten directions, confess his sins and make a firm resolve to attain Buddhahood for the sake of emancipating others.

R.H.

BODHISATTVA-GOCARA-PARIŚUDDHI-SŪTRĀRTHA-SAṄGRAHA, the name of a Sanskrit text a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma*, (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-yul yoṅs-su dag-paḥi mdoḥi don mdor-bsdus-pa*. The author of the text is Sgra-gcan ḥdzin (Rāhulabhadra). The Tibetan translation is attributed to Śākyaśrībhadra and Byams-paḥi dpal (Maitriśri). See *TT*. Vol. 103, No. 5360 ; *TM*. No. 3965.

The title indicates that the text is a compendium of a work describing the pure conduct of a bodhisattva. (For the occurrence of a text called *Gocara-pariśuddhi Sūtra*, see *Śiks*. p. 350 ; cf. *Mhvyul*. No. 1376).

The present text, which is in verse, gives instructions on the procedure to be adopted by bodhisattvas in their daily activities, such as waking up in the morning, wearing the lower and upper garments, putting on shoes, performing the morning ablutions, sweeping the surroundings, paying homage at the places of worship, reading holy texts, having the daily baths, partaking of meals, taking constitutional walks, delivering religious discourses, making offerings of flowers, incense, flags, etc. and pronouncing the earnest wish (*praṇidhi*) for attaining Buddhahood.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-GOCAROPĀYAVIṢAYA-VIKURVĀṆA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (Instructions on the transformations of the spheres of activity, the originations and the realms of bodhisattvas), a Sanskrit work found in its Tibetan translation, *Ḥphags-pa byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi spyod-yul-gyi thabs-kyi yul-la rnam-par-ḥphrul-ba bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The author of this work is unknown, but the translators are known as Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes sde. This work is incorporated in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Tibetan *Kangyur* (*TM*. No. 146 ; *TT*. Vol. 32, No. 813). There are two Chinese translations of this work entitled *P'u-sa-hsing-fang-pien-ching-chieh-shên-t'ung-pien-hua-ching* and *Ta-sa-ché-ni-kan-tzŭ-shou-chi-ching*. The first one was translated by Guṇabhadra of the earlier Sung dynasty 420-79 A.C. and the latter by Bodhiruci, 519 A.C. of the Northern Wei dynasty (*Nanjio*, p. 55, Nos. 178, 179).

When Śākyamuni was residing at Ḥphags-rgyal (Skt. Ujjayanī) in a park belonging to king Gtum-po-rab-snaṅ (Caṇḍapradyota) he gave, at the request of Ḥjam-dpal (Mañjuśrī), several instructions praising wisdom and good qualities.

This work contains the history of Bden-smra (Satyavādin), a brāhman gymnosophist. Once king Gtum-po-rab-snaṅ paid him a visit. During the course of a long conversation with him, the king listened to an exposition of the good qualities and the defects of people in general, and in particular of some well known individuals, including himself. Thereupon, when the king expressed a desire to meet a person without any fault, the ascetic said that there was but one such: Gautama the Buddha. Then follows an enumeration of the many good qualities and the eighty signs of greatness which the Buddha bears on his person and which are the characteristics of a great saint.

Then, the king, accompanied by the naked brāhman and followed by his large retinue and many people, paid a visit to Śākyamuni. At this place a discourse is said to have taken place on the most sublime principles of Buddhism and a conversation followed between the chief disciples of Śākyamuni and the brāhman gymnosophist on the states of bondage and deliverance and on the way to become a saint or a Buddha (*AMG*. II, p. 251). In the third chapter of this work Mañjuśrī praises the Bhagavat and the latter teaches the former the twelve virtues (*guṇas*) connected with *dāna-pāramitā*. Mañjuśrī also questions the Bhagavat on the Yon-tan-sñiṅ-po of the *Buddha-kṣetra* (*Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tung-Huang in the India Office Library*, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 52, No. 133). The entire work consists of ten chapters.

I. K.

BODHISATTVA-JĀTAKASYA DHARMAGAṆḌĪ, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Skyes-rabs* (*Jātaka*) section of the *Tengyur*. Dpaḥ-bo (Sūra) is the author of the work while Sākya-śrī-bzaṅ-po (Śākyaśrībhadra) and Byams-paḥi Dpal (Maitriśrī) are said to have translated it into Tibetan (*TT*. Vol. 129, No. 5657 ; *TM*. No. 4157).

The text is in verse. Each stanza refers in brief to the Jātaka stories occuring in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, in the order of their occurrence in that text. A refrain at the end of each stanza declares the intention of the author, which is to proclaim the sound of the bell of the doctrine of the Buddha, who in his past births performed the great and meritorious deeds alluded to in the stanza.

An allusion to the bodhisattva's gift of his body to a hungry tigress, who was on the point of devouring its own cubs occurs at the beginning of the text (cf. *Vyāghrījātaka*, which forms the first story in the *Jātakamālā*). The stories of Viśvantara, Śibi, Maitrībala, etc. are alluded to in their proper places.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA - JÑĀNA - SAMAYA - CANDRA-VAJRA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. In an esoteric sūtra entitled the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka* (ed. by Bhattacharyya, *GOS.*, Vol. LIII, p. 46), the following description is found "Hūṃ ; he who by the enjoyment of uniting with Mañjuśrī, achieves diamond-like unity of body, speech and mind, he will become a true bodhisattva, established in the 10 bhūmis. This is the samādhi named *Bodhisattva-jñāna-samaya-candra-vajra.*"

A similar passage appears also in the classical Chinese version of the above sūtra (*Taishō,* No. 855, Vol. 18, p. 479c).

S. Mo.

BODHISATTVAMAṆYĀVALĪ, the title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi nor-bu-ḥi phreṅ-ba*. The auther of the text, Dpal Mar-me mdsad ye-śes (Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna) is stated to have translated it into Tibetan with the assistance of Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (*TT.* Vol. 103, Nos. 5347, 5384 ; *TM.* Nos. 3951, 4471).

As its title indicates, the text enumerates a series of jewels of virtue to be acquired by bodhisattvas. Discarding doubt, the bodhisattvas should exert themselves in accomplishing good ; ridding themselves of laziness, indolence and inertness, they should strive earnestly ; they should restrain their senses, acknowledge their own faults and refrain from proclaiming the faults of others ; whilst acclaiming the virtues of others, they should be modest about their own ; they should discard love of gain, honour and fame ; free of pride, they should cultivate loving kindness and show compassion ; intent on gaining Enlightenment, they should act with faith (*śraddhā*), overcoming feelings of anger, arrogance, and love of earthly possessions ; they should adorn themselves with the seven noble treasures (cf. Pali *ariyadhana*) of faith (*śraddhā*), good conduct, (*śīla*), modesty (*hrī*), bashfulness (*apatrāpya*), learning (*śruta*), charity (*tyāga*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) ; they should live in solitude ; they should respect monks ; they should contemplate on the voidness (*śūnyata*) of all things ; shunning the company of evil friends, they should associate with good friends ; they should rid themselves of avarice, envy and anger. Listed above are some of the bodhisattva virtues enumerated in the text.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA - MĀRGAKARMA - SAṄGRAHA, name of a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi lam-gyi rim-pa mdor-bsdus-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 103, No. 5372). Sākyaśrī bzan-po (Śākyaśrībhadra) is the author of the work. He himself is said to have rendered it into Tibetan, with the assistance of *Byams-paḥi dpal-ldan* (Maitrīśrī).

The author outlines the purpose of his composition at the beginning of the work, which is to compile, according to his ability, a compendium of practices that constitute the path of a bodhisattva. He then sets out the principles to be followed by those desirous of being emancipated. Realising that the path of karma and its fruits are sorrowful by nature, these aspirants to Buddhahood should follow the path of *prajñā* and *karuṇā*. They should overcome the eight obstacles to happiness, reflect on the impermanence of all phenomena, and understand the sorrowful nature of all component things. Being aware that evil leads to evil states, they should avoid sins of body, speech and mind, and cultivate good. They should reflect on *śūnyatā*, the emptiness of all phenomena. They should practise the seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*), follow the eight-fold Aids to Enlightenment (*bodhipākṣika dharma*). These and similar instructions are given in this text to those burning with the fire of sorrow, so that they may strive to attain Buddhahood.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-PRĀTIMOKṢA, is a canonical, scripture belonging to the Mahāyāna *Vinaya Piṭaka* which records the rules of discipline for the bodhisattva and explains the precepts. It is the only basis on which a bodhisattva learns the vinaya.

In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are four translations of this work.

(1) The *P'u sa-chieh-pên* (C. 69) in one fascicle was translated by Dharmarakṣa in North Liang. It is an excerpt taken out from the fourth fascicle of *P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching* (C. 70), the chapter on śīla. Later it was called the *Ti-ch'ih-chieh-pên* (C. 71) in order to distinguish it from the *P'u-sa-chieh-pên* (translated in the T'ang dynasty). The original Sanskrit text was brought to China by Dharmarakṣa from Central India. He traversed the Western Regions and arrived at Tun-huang where he stayed for several years and translated the work into Chinese. The year of his translation was probably earlier than the tenth year of Hsüan-shih (421 A.C.)in which he went to the capital of Liang, Ku-tsang.

(2) *The P'u-sa-shan-chieh-ching* (C. 72) in one fascicle was translated by Guṇavarman in the Earlier Sung dynasty. He arrived at Chien-k'ang (now Nanking) in the 8th year of Yüan-chia (431 A.C.). At the request of Hui-i, a monk in the Ch'i-yüan monastery, he translated the work into Chinese in 28 chapters. Later, his disciple in the Ting-lin monastery again translated for him two chapters, making a total of thirty. This work in one fascicle is really the translation of one of the two chapters done by his disciple and copied out as a separate book.

(3) The first half fascicle of the *Yu-p'o-sai-wu-chieh-wei-ching* (C. 73) ....the translator is unknown (see *A Collection of the Records of Translations of the Tripiṭaka*, fasc. 4). *The Collated Catalogue of Sūtras of the Great Chow* (C. 74) wrongly regarded it as a translation by Guṇavarman. (*The Great Chow Catalogue* says that it is based on Pao Ch'ang's Catalogue, but the latter has long been lost, while the earlier *Record of the Triple Gem in Successive Dynasties* by Fei Chang-fang (C. 75) did not say that it was translated by Guṇavarman; so the statement in the *Great Chow Catalogue* is incredible.).

(4) The *P'u-sa-chieh-pên* in one fascicle was translated by Hsüan-tsang; it was taken from the chapter on śīla in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* in *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* and is generally called the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* : in order to distinguish it from the Liang translation it is also called *Yu-chia-chieh-pên* (C. 76). Hsüan-tsang had heard Śīlabhadra's lectures on the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* and learnt the precepts of the bodhisattva when he studied in the Nālandā monastery in India. When he returned to China he translated *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* in 100 fascicles in the translation institute in the Hung-fu monastery, Ch'ang-an, starting from the 15th of the 5th month of the 20th year of Chên-kuan, (646 A.C.) and ending on the 15th of the 5th month of its 22nd year (648 A.C.). The last part of the 40th fascicle and the 41st fascicle really form the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*. On the 15th of the 7th month of the 23rd year of Chên-kuan (649 A.C.) Hsüan-tsang again translated in Ta Tz'u-en monastery the *Bodhisattva-karman* in one fascicle. On the 21st of the same month he re-translated the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* in one fascicle. In doing both translations P'u-kuang was responsible for writing down the words. This forms the last rendering of the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa.*

Of the four translations the contents of the translation without the translator's name are very much similar to those of the Liang translation. If we compare the number of items there is only one less. The original text of the Liang translation was derived from the *P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching* and that of the Sung translation the *P'u-sa-shan-chieh-ching* ; but both are variations of the T'ang version of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra.* Therefore, the four translations actually come from the same source.

The data forming the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* are the permitted or prohibited activities spoken of by the Buddha in various Mahāyāna sūtras. It is well said at the end of the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên* : " From such matters which the bodhisattva should endeavour to learn the Buddha has talked about to men of different endowments in various sūtras, viz. the precepts of disciplinary rituals, the precepts for imbibing good dharmas, the precepts for benefiting all sentient beings. Now in this *Mātṛkā* of the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* all his sayings are gathered together."

From this we know that the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* has summarized all the teachings of the Buddha in Mahāyāna Sūtras on the vinaya which a bodhisattva should learn. The Chinese translation attributes it to Bodhisattva Maitreya while the Tibetan translation attributes it to Asaṅga. In fact the text was based on what the Buddha had said and compiled by Maitreya and Asaṅga.

In the four different Chinese translations of this work there are differences in the structure. But their chief contents all deal with the precepts, including four important precepts and more than forty minor ones. The precepts for the bodhisattva are classified into three sets : viz. the precepts of disciplinary rituals, precepts of imbibing good dharmas and the precepts for benefiting

sentient beings. The precepts of disciplinary rituals are identical with the *prātimokṣa* of the seven groups of disciples and the commandments for doing the ten good deeds. In conjunction with the precepts of imbibing good dharmas leading to the six pāramitā and the four sympathetic deeds (*saṅgraha-vastūni*) of benefiting all sentient beings, they form the three sets of perfect, pure rules of conduct. As the *prātimokṣa* of the seven groups of disciples and the commandments for doing ten good deeds have been fully dealt with elsewhere, they are not enumerated in this work. About the four important precepts the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan translation all say that they are "similar to *pārājikā*," implying that they enlarge the four important prohibitions of the śrāvaka. The more-than-forty minor ones next mentioned belong separately to the precepts of imbibing good dharmas and those of benefiting sentient beings.

Of the four translations, the T'ang version does not give any account of the formalities of confessing of sin (*poṣadha*) and merely copies in an abridged form the text of the chapter on śīla of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra.* (This chapter mainly explains the nine groups of śīla; but this work copies a large part of it, beginning from the second group which is entitled the "over-all śīla"). Its contents may be divided into three parts: a general enumeration of nine groups of śīla, a detailed account of prohibitions and abstinences and advice to learn.

In the detailed account of prohibitions and abstinences, the four most important ones are first mentioned by enumerating the four kinds of pārājika-dharma of the bodhisattva: (1) greed for profit and reverence (the other three translations lack 'reverence'), to praise oneself and speak ill of others (the Sung translation mentions only the praise of oneself); (2) stinginess in giving to others, both in wealth and teaching; (3) to resent others and not to be exhorted and not to accept others' apology; (4) to calumniate Mahāyānism and preach similar but false gospels (the nameless translation only mentions calumniating the dharma, the Sung version says: On hearing others slandering the dharma you ought not to praise). Next, the work goes on to explain that if one has committed any one of the four grievous sins, one cannot accumulate the nutriments of bodhi in this very life; neither can one attain the first stage (*bhūmi*) of the bodhisattva. This is the reason why they are called *pārājikā* (conquered by others). Next, it explains the forsaking or not forsaking of the prohibitions: if one has committed the sin of the prohibitions of *pārājikā* through entanglements of the highest order, one is said to have forsaken the rules of prohibition; on the contrary if the entanglements are of the lowest or middle order one cannot be regarded as having forsaken them because one can still be purged by confession. There are four kinds of entanglements and they are divided into three orders. The four kinds of entanglements are: (1) torments repeatedly active (2) entire lack of shame and modesty, (3) showing a great delight in them, (4) even regarding them as merits. To have all of them forms the highest order; only to regard them as merits and not have the whole of the other three, the middle order; not to regard them as merits and have more or less of the other three kinds of entanglements, the lowest order. When a bodhisattva has committed a grievous sin and thus forsaken the commandments, he might be re-ordained in this very life. So he is quite different from the bhikṣu who may have committed the fundamental, grievous sin against *prātimokṣa* but cannot be re-ordained.

Next, the work proceeds to talk about the minor precepts and says that in order to understand them one must first know what is meant by being guilty of malpractice (i.e. *duṣkṛta*). And, then, it enumerates 43 malpractices: (1) not to make offerings to, and not to praise and believe in the Triple Gem, (2) never-satisfied greed for profit and reverence (the other three translations only mention profit) (3) not to respect elders and not to answer questions (4) not to accept others' invitation, (5) not to receive gifts, (6) not to give instructions when requested, (7) to forsake sentient beings who have violated the discipline (the other three translations put it as not to preach and educate others; the violation of the above seven minor precepts hinders charity), (8) with regard to some prohibited sins, whether to share them with śrāvakas or not (one ought to share them if prompted by the motive of protecting others; one should not share them, if engaged in some light work), (9) in order to benefit others, either to permit the seven intrinsic sins or not (not mentioned in the other three translations), (10) not to abandon the vicious way of earning a livelihood (the Sung translation puts it as to keep silence when praised), (11) no quietude in manners, (12) not to take delight in Nirvāṇa, (13) not to protect against ill-fame and not to wipe it out, (14) to aid others to indulge themselves in sorrows and worries and not to curtail them (the above seven minor sins hinder morality), (15) to take revenge by getting angry, beating, scolding and ridiculing others, (16) to offend others without confessing and apologizing, (17) not to accept others' confessing

and apologizing (the Sung translation combines the above two items into one), (18) to hate others persistently (the above four minor sins hinder patience), (19) to accept pupils with interested intentions, (20) to be strongly inclined to sleep and reclining, (21) to be strongly inclined to talk meaningless words and to kill time idling (the above three hinder energy), (22) not to seek instruction, (23) not to remove the five coverings, (24) to take delight in mundane dhyāna (the nameless translation puts it as attachment to the merits of dhyāna; in the Sung version this item it not there; the above three hinder meditation), (25) to show contempt to the śrāvaka vehicle, (26) to give up the bodhisattva's *piṭaka* and learn exclusively the śrāvaka's *piṭaka*, (27) to study heretical treatises before one is well versed in the Buddhist teachings, (28) to take delight in heretical treatises (the Sung version combines the above two items into one), (29) to slander the profound meanings of the bodhisattva's *piṭaka*, (30) to harbour love and hate, to praise oneself and defame others, (31) not to hear the preaching of the right Law, (32) to show contempt to the preacher (this item is not found in the nameless translation; the above eight hinder wisdom; the above 32 items belong to the precepts in connection with the performance of good deeds), (33) not to be a helpful companion to others, (34) not to look after others in sicknesses (the above two hinder collaboration), (35) on seeing others doing wrong not to talk with them about the right (this hinders kindly talk), (36) not to require benevolence, (37) not to console those in sorrow and worry, (38) not to give charity when asked for, (39) not to use wealth and teachings to attract pupils (the above four binder charity), (40) not to follow others' ideas and intentions (not found in the Sung translation), (41) not to praise those who really have virtues, (42) not to subdue those who are doing what is unlawful, (43) not to show supernormal powers to effect attraction and subjugation (the above four hinder beneficial conduct; the above eleven items belong to the precepts of benefiting others). According to Tao-lun's *Commentary on Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra*, the eighth item can be divided into two and the 29th item can also be divided into the two items of dis-belief and slander, making a total of 45.

The above 43 minor precepts, whenever violated, fall under the category of malpractices.

Malpractices are also classified into three orders; the highest, middle and lowest. The differences between those minor sins can be summed thus: if they are prompted by heretical view, impure affection, unbelief, shamelessness, non-bashfulness, enmity, affliction, parsimony, envy, etc., they are called tainted violations. If they are committed through forgetfulness, indolence, etc., they are called untainted violations. If they are committed with proper reasons and conditions they cannot be regarded as violations. If they are committed owing to insanity, great, oppressing pain or as a result of having received no pure discipline, they are not violations. After the bodhisattva has received ordination, he should observe the three sets of precepts willingly and guard against committing these sins. If he violates the precepts, he should make confession according to the prescribed formalities.

Of the four translations, the Liang translation begins with four stanzas by way of salutations to Vairocana and others and explaining the purpose of the work. The main part gives a detailed account of the disciplinary precepts, recording the four major and forty-two minor precepts of the chapter on śīla of the *P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching*. In the end it explains the function of the precepts, the essentials of how to guard the mind from evil tendencies and the benefit of observing the precepts. With the exception of the precepts which are quoted from the *Ti-ch'ih-ching*, the rest of the text is added by the translator-compiler. Of the several translations only this contains the texts of recitations used during the time of making confessions.

The main part of the Sung translation comes from the last half of the chapter on śīla of the *P'u-sa-shan-chieh-ching* coming after the advice of cultivating oneself and learning according to the precepts. The very beginning of this work contains a detailed account of the rituals of receiving the ordination and this is not found in the other three translations. Next, it enumerates the precepts and its structure is similar to that of the T'ang translation. But, there is added the statement that the bodhisattva's precepts might be transgressed under two special conditions and his śīla cannot be frustrated through re-births. As regards the rules of discipline, they are quite different from those of the other translations. To the four major precepts of the bodhisattva are added the four fundamental precepts of the *bhikṣu prātimokṣa* and thus the major prohibitions have become eight in number. This is not found in the other translations. Compared with the T'ang version there are four items of minor sins missing and two items which are combinations of other items. Again, after the item corresponding to the third item of the T'ang version, there is added the item " for the sake of

finding fault, listen to the *Bodhisattva prātimokṣa* ;" after the item corresponding to the 18th item of the same version, there is added the precept, " to walk together with lustful desire with a bhikṣuṇī; to receive food from an unacquainted bhikṣuṇī when one has not yet made up one's mind for Enlightenment." After the 35th item, there are added two items to prohibit " to keep the clothes and things of a layman " and " to receive food in silver and gold bowls. " After the 39th item, there is added the item to forbid " sitting on a high bedstead." So, altogether there are added six items. The total number of minor precepts is still 43.

In the beginning of the nameless translation there are six stanzas saluting the Buddha and exhorting the reader to learn. In the main part of the work are enumerated four major precepts and forty-one minor ones (compared with the Liang translation it lacks the item prohibiting " showing contempt toward the preacher "). At the end, there are three stanzas praising the merits of the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*, of turning towards the great Enlightenment and taking vows. It contains a brief account of the formalities of making confessions but it is not so full as that of the Liang translation.

Of the four translations, with the exception of the T'ang translation, there is no item giving permission to the intrinsic sin. This is a precept in the *bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* which gives rise to doubt and dispute. In the T'ang translation, the conflict between the guarding against prohibited sin and the doing of a bodhisattva's deeds are theoretically reconciled in the 8th item ; as to the conflict between guarding against intrinsic sin and the doing of a bodhisattva's deed, it is theoretically solved in this item. The T'ang translation gives a detailed explanation of the conditions under which seven intrinsic sins are permitted ; for example, killing, taking things which are not given, having illicit sexual satisfaction, and telling a lie are all allowed if they will save, and will be profitable to a large number of sentient beings. It should also be known that they are only permissible to a bodhisattva who is a householder. Therefore, some of the intrinsic sins permitted in the T'ang version are not in conflict with the fundamental rules of *prātimokṣa,* such as the taking of things which are not given and the telling of a lie, and some are only confined to a bodhisattva who is a householder such as the permitting of illicit sexual satisfaction. Some intrinsic sins, though they infringe the fundamental precepts, have to be permitted when the consequences of their commission or non-commission are weighed. But, according to the various commentaries on the Tibetan translation, some say that the bodhisattva who is allowed to kill must have attained the bhūmi, while others say that he must have cultivated expedients in many kalpas and attained great compassion. In the commentary written by Jinaputra and some others, it is stated that killing " can be done by a bodhisattva who has disinterestedly acquired a free and pure will and not by one who has little endowment of goodness, lacks wisdom and is greedy for self-interest and who takes the words of the sūtra at their face-value." In ancient times, as the permission of the intrinsic sins was in conflict with the interests of the rules, the translators in the Liang and Sung kingdoms did not translate the items concerning them so as to avoid suspicion. But without this item the contradiction which may possibly arise between the bodhisattva's and the śrāvaka's *prātimokṣa* or between the precepts of disciplinary rituals and those of imbibing good dharmas and benefiting all sentient beings cannot be reconciled. The T'ang translation supplies the deficient item ; it forms the most complete and clear version in contents and expressions and therefore is generally adopted.

This work discusses problems as to how one can proceed from the śrāvaka's vehicle to the bodhiattva's vehicle for the benefit of the bodhisattvas who either are still householders or have already left home. It not only comprehends six pāramitā and four sympathetic deeds but each item of it again contains many details. For example, under the item " not to be helpful companions to others ," there are eight sub-items, and thus all relevant restrictions are included in an exhaustive way. The work is organised according to the plan of the three sets of precepts, six pāramitā and four sympathetic deeds and under each item there are several sub-items. For example, under the item of seven minor sins which hinder charity are subsumed hindrances which interfere with wealth, dharma and fearless charities. So its structure is systematic and clear. As the whole book not only contains the expedient ways of applying the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, but, in explaining the reasons for permitting or prohibiting, committing or guarding against sins, concretely expresses the infinite subtleties with which the bodhisattva benefits others under varying circumstances, so it is the most important and excellent scripture of the bodhisattva *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

So far as the propagation of the bodhisattva's *prātimokṣa* in China is concerned it may be said that in the time before Kumārajīva the rules of discipline brought over were confined to the śrāvakas'

vehicle. Since Dharmarakṣa, Mahāyāna *prātimokṣa* began to prevail in the north of China ; its promulgation in the south started with Guṇavarman. After Dharmarakṣa had translated at Tun-huang the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* there was a *śramaṇa* at Chang-yi named Tao-chin who, on hearing of this information, went there and requested him to administer to him the Bodhisattva's ordination. Later, a famous monk of Liang-chou, Tao-lang, voluntarily lessened his rules of discipline and received the bodhisattva's ordination from Tao-chin. For a time there were other people who did the same thing. In the meantime Emperor Wen of the Eariler Sung dynasty also wished to accept the bodhisattva's ordination from Guṇavarman but failed to realize his intention. When Hsüan-tsang had translated the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*, in the first month of the second year of Yung-whei (651 A.C.), when the Tz'u-shih, (the highest censor of a prefecture) of Ying, P'u Ku, and Hêng prefectures came to the court, they simultaneously received the bodhisattva's ordination from Hsüan-tsang and heard lectures on the bodhisattva's deeds (see the *Biography of the Master of Tripiṭaka of Tzu-ên Monastery*, (C. 77) fasc. 7). Most of his great disciples observed rules of Mahāyāna discipline and were called Mahāyānist so-and-so, e.g. K'uei-chi was called " Mahāyānist Chi. " K'uei-chi even made it a daily lesson to recite the whole *Bodhisattva - prātimokṣa* before the image of Maitreya. From this we can know how highly the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* was esteemed at that time. In Hui-chao's *Collection of Exhortations to Make Up the Mind for Bodhi* (C. 78) he marshals out the methods of receiving the bodhisattva's ordination handed down from Śīlabhadra. From this we can also know that the disciples coming after the Master of the Tzu-ên monastery still continued the tradition of receiving the Mahāyānistic discipline according to the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên*.

Though the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên* was very much in vogue for a time, the *Fan-wang-ching* (C. 79) was even more popular, because in the latter work the statement that filial piety is a kind of discipline is quite compatible with the ethical idea prevalent in Chinese society. Compared with the outstanding characteristic of the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên* which permits the committing of intrinsic sin, it is easier to be accepted. Therefore, not long after the promulgation of the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên*, when the Vijñaptimātra School was on the decline and Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai schools were on their ascendency those bhikṣus who received all the precepts and at the same time accepted the bodhisattva's ordination all used the *Fan-wang-ching* as their norm. Hence the latter sūtra enjoyed much superiority among those people who left home and its sphere of influence was much greater than that of the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên*.

Commentaries on the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* in Chinese which have been preserved down to the present day are very few, compared with those on the *Fan-wang-ching*. There are only four commentaries now extant :—

(1) Tao-lun (the T'ang dynasty)——*Commentary on Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* (C. 80), 10 fasc.

(2) K'uei-chi (the T'ang dynasty)—— *A Brief Compilation on Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* (C. 81) 11 fasc.

(3) Hui-yüan (the Suei dynasty)——*Records of Meanings in P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching* (C. 82) 2nd part of 3 fasc.

(4) Chih-hsu (the Ming dynasty)——*Essentials of the Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* (C. 83) 1 fasc.

Of the above four, the first and second works explain the text of the chapter on śīla in the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* ; the third book explains the text of the chapter on śīla of the *P'u-sa-ti-ch'ih-ching* ; the fourth explains the Liang translation of the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*. Besides, there is the Japanese Gyōshō's (C. 84) *Explanations of the Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* (C. 85) in three fascicles which is also written in Chinese to annotate the T'ang translation.

In the Tibetan Bstan-ḥgyur there are several translations from the Indian language about the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* as follows :—

(1) *Rnal-ḥbhor spyod-paḥi sa-las byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi saḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*, written by Rgya-mtsho sprin, translated by Byaṅ-chub ḥod, Śāntibhadra and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Derge edition, tome yi, pp. 1–338) ;

(2) *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi tshul-khrims-kyi leḥu bśad-pa*, written by Yon-tan ḥod, translated by Prajñāvarman, Ye-śes sde, etc. (tome ḥi, pp. 182a-191a) ;

(3) *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi tshul-khrims-kyi leḥuḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa*, written by Rgyal-baḥi sras, translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, Ye-śes sde, etc. (tome ḥi, pp. 191a-221a) ;

(4) *Byaṅ chub sems-dpaḥi sdom-pa ñi-śu-pa*, written by Candragomin (tome ḥi, pp. 166b-167a) ;

(5) *Sdom-pa ñi-śu-pahi hgrel-pa*, written by Śāntarakṣita, translated by Vidyākarasiṃha and Mañjuśrīvarman (tome ḥi, pp.167a-184b);

(6) *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi sdom-pa ñi-śu-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel*, written by Byaṅ-chub bzaṅ-pa, translated by Kṣemagagana and Byaṅ-chub śes-rab (tome ḥi, pp. 184b–217b).

Of all the Tibetan commentaries that of Tsoṅ-kha-pa on the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa* is the most comprehensive. It has been translated into Chinese by *śramaṇa* Fa-tsün. Besides ancient commentators on the *Fan-wang-ching* such as Fa-tsang, I-chi, Fa-hsien, Sheng-chüang and others, all gave explanations by comparing it with the *Yu-chia-chieh-pên* and their works can also be used as references. See also BODHISATTVA.

L. L.

BODHISATTVA–PRĀTIMOKṢA–CATUṢKA – NIRHĀRA–NĀMA–MAHĀYĀNA–SŪTRA, a text of unknown authorship, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo-sde (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Tibetan Kangyur, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi so-sor-thar-pa chos-bshi sgrub-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. This translation is credited to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, Śākya blo-gros and Dge-baḥi blo-gros (*TT*. Vol. 36, No. 914).

The text enumerates in groups of four certain precepts to be observed by a bodhisattva. The venue of the exposition is stated to have been the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain in Rājagṛha. The Buddha was residing there with a group of monks, when Śāriputra asked the Buddha to explain the qualities that would lead to the attainment of Buddhahood. The Buddha said that those desirous of Enlightenment should possess endeavour, earnestness, correct perception and generosity. Free of attachment, anger and ignorance, they should work for the welfare of all beings.

R. H.

BODHISATTVASAMUCCAYĀ, name of a goddess, occurring in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra*, to whom the Buddha explains various points of ethics and philosophy. (*Svrṇ*. pp. 1, 45, 167, 172, 199, 247.)

BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-GRAHAṆA-VIDHI, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title, *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sdom-pa bzuṅ-baḥi cho-ga* (*TT*. Vol. 103, No. 5365). Ḥjigs-med ḥbyuṅ-gnas sbas-pa (Abhayākaragupta) is the author of the work. Śākyaśrībhadra and Dgra-bcom are the translators.

A description of the manner of taking upon oneself the discipline (*saṃvara*) of a bodhisattva forms the subject-matter of the text. The aspirant to Buddhahood should approach a monk who has already taken the vow of a bodhisattva and observe some religious practices in his presence. For instance, he should take refuge in the Three Jewels, namely, the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, undertake to observe the five precepts firstly, and then the eight precepts. He should make offerings at a statue of the Buddha, and pay homage to the Buddha and bodhisattvas in all directions. He should then request the monk to confer on him the bodhisattva vow. He should also confess his sins, ask for forgiveness, and declare the ultimate purpose of his desire to attain Buddhahood, viz., the emancipation of those in the ocean of saṃsāra.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-VIDHI, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sdom-paḥi cho-ga* (*TT*. Vol. 103, Nos. 5362, 5404). Byaṅ-chub bzaṅ-po (Bodhibhadra) is the author of the text, while Dar-ma grags (Dharmakīrti) and Puṇyaśrīmitra are the translators.

The text describes the procedure of taking upon oneself the obligatory duties of a bodhisattva, for the welfare of all beings. The aspirant to Buddhahood should, in the first instance, make a vow in the manner described in the text, and then make offerings to the Buddhas of the past, present and future. He should then remain silent a moment and wish that he himself may acquire the immeasurable and incomparable treasure of Buddhahood. He should make further vows, which are described in the text, confess his sins, seek refuge in the Three Jewels, arouse in himself the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta* q.v.) and practise the six perfections (*pāramī*).

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-VIṂŚAKA, a metrical text of twenty stanzas, by Candragomin, on the manner of taking upon the disciplinary vow of a bodhisattva. The Tibetan version of the text occurs in the *Sems-tsam* section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sdom-pa ñi-śu-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 114, No. 5582).

The text states that he who intends taking the vow of a bodhisattva should pay obeisance to the Buddha and his disciples, and find a preceptor who already observes the vows of a bodhisattva and is therefore a treasure of virtue. The aspirant should then cultivate kind thoughts and lead a righteous life, and thus prepare himself for receiving the vow. The type of life he should lead is set out in the text. He should practise what is good for himself and others, even though this may not always be easy, and avoid what is not useful even though that might be the more pleasing path. Uninfluenced by love of gain and honour, he should not be subject to avarice, anger and so forth. Renouncing the path of the śrāvakas he should resort to the higher path (of the bodhisattvas) through compassion for all beings.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-VIṂŚAKA-PAÑJIKĀ, the name of a lengthy commentary on Candragomin's *Bodhisattva-saṃvara-viṃśaka*. The Tibetan version of the commentary occurs in the *Sems-tsam* section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi sdom-pa ñi-śu-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* (*TT*. Vol. 114, No. 5584). Byaṅ-chub-śes-rab (Bodhiprajña) and Kṣelakagana (Kṣemagagana acc. to *TM*. No. 4083) are the translators.

R. H.

BODHISATTVAŚĪLA-PARIVARTA-BHĀṢYA, the reconstructed title in Sanskrit of a text occurring in the *Sems-tsam* section of the Tibetan *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi tshul-khrims-kyi leḥu-ḥi-bśad-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 112, No. 5546). Yon-tan hod (Guṇaprabha) is the author of this text and Prajñāvarman and Ye-śes-sde are the translators.

The introductory sentence in this *bhāṣya* (commentary) indicates that the text commented on had as its theme a discussion of the nature of the moral conduct (*śīla*) of bodhisattvas and the four-fold merits of their conduct.

A complete Tibetan translation of the *bhāṣya* text has also been found among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to Central Asia of 1906–8. Parts of this manuscript have been edited (Section 632 in the *Catalogue of Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*. L. de la Vallée Poussin Oxford Univ., Press 1962). Section 675, of the catalogue contains the Tibetan text and an English translation of the fragment of a treatise of unknown title, on the same topics, i.e., the morality (*śīla*) and the discipline (*saṃvara*) of bodhisattvas.

R. H.

BODHISATTVA-ŚĪLA-PARIVARTA-ṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed title of a commentarial text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Sems-tsam* section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ chub-sems-dpaḥi tshul-khrims-kyi leḥu-hirgya-cher ḥgrel-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 112, No. 5547). Rgyal-baḥi sras (Jinaputra) is the author of the work. Jinaputra, Prajñāvarman and Ye-śes-sde are the translators.

The text commented on, the *Bodhisattva-śīla-parivarta*, appears to have dealt with the perfections (*pāramitā*).

R. H.

BODHISATTVĀVADĀNA-KALPALATĀ, the title of a Sanskrit text by Kṣemendra, also known as the *Avadānakalpalatā* (q.v.).

A Tibetan translation by two scholars, Lakṣmikara and Śoṅ-ston, is included in the Skyes-rabs (*jātaka*) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi rtogs-pa brjod-paḥi dpag-bsam-gyi ḥkhri-śiri* (*TT*. Vols. 128–129, No. 5655). This Tibetan text has been printed with the corresponding Sanskrit text in S. C. Das's edition of *Avadānakalpalatā*, in two volumes, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series at Calcutta in 1888 and 1913.

R. H.

BODHISATTVĀVADĀNAMĀLĀ, which may be literally translated as 'the Garland of stories of the aspirant to Buddhahood', is a treatise comprising thirty-four legendary tales dealing with the past existences of Gautama bodhisattva. The title is a synonym for the *Jātakamālā* compiled by Āryaśūra. The *Bodhisattvāvadānamālā* closely resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍiṭīkā* (q.v.) in style and literary technique. The main purpose of the text is to express and exemplify the efficacy of the perfections (*pāramitā*) for the attainment of Enlightenment (bodhi). See JĀTAKAMĀLĀ.

W. S. Ktl.

BODHISATTVAYĀNA, the 'Vehicle of the bodhisattvas', is synonymous with Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle as contrasted with Hīnayāna, the Small Vehicle. *Yāna* here means vehicle to salvation and, by adding the term bodhisattva,

it specifically meant the method or the means (*magga* in early Buddhism) of salvation as taught in the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna as distinguished from the other two methods of salvation, called Śrāvakayāna (salvation as disciples) and Pratyeka-buddhayāna (salvation as paccekabuddhas).

Historically, with the developing rigidity of the Hīnayāna monk as an intellectual recluse, the Buddhist writers, the authors and compilers of Mahāyāna sūtras began to emphasise the bodhisattva ideal more and more. As a result of this, the bodhisattva method of salvation was very often referred to as the only means of salvation, the *Ekayāna*, which was identified with the *Buddhayāna*, as the bodhisattva ideal aimed at Perfect Enlightenment for everyone. With this may be compared the statement attributed to the Buddha in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (p. 37) where he addresses Śāriputra and says "Śāriputra, I preach my doctrine for the sake of only one vehicle and that is this Buddhayāna and there is no second or a third vehicle." For details see BODHISATTVA and MAHĀYĀNA.

A.G.S.K.

BODHISATTVA-YOGĀCĀRA-CATUḤŚATAKA-ṬĪKĀ, the title of a commentarial text, occurring in the *Dbu-ma* (Mādhyamika) section of the *T[illegible]*, under the title, *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi r[illegible] pa bshi-brgya-paḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa* [illegible] V. 98, No. 5266). The commentator's name is [illegible]. The trans- [illegible] Nima [illegible]

An [illegible] the commentary [illegible] that the work [illegible], viz. the *[illegible]*, is the work of a teacher called Āryadeva (Tib. Ḥphags-pa lha). Sixteen chapters of this work have been commented on in the *ṭīkā* under consideration. The titles of these chapters indicate that the original work contained instructions on the method of getting rid of mistaken notions of the permanence and attractiveness (of worldly objects); of ideas of the purity of impure objects; of egotism and attachment to sensual objects; and an exposition of meditational practices leading to the cessation of all false views.

R.H.

BODHISENA, a monk (703–60 A.C.). He was born in a brāhmaṇa family in South India (or in Kapilavastu, Central India). Following its Sanskrit transliteration he was called P'u-t'i-hsien-na (C. 86 or C. 87) in Chinese of which the Chinese translation was Chüeh-chün (C 88). In Japan he was well-known as Baramon Sōjō (high priest of the brāhmaṇa class), Bodai Sōjō or Bodai. Once Bodhisena left for China where he visited Wu-tai shan in order to adore the bodhisattva there. On his voyage to the east, he met by chance Phat-triet (C. 89) or Buttetsu who was shipwrecked on the sea off Lin-i (C. 90) and arrived in China with him. At that time, Hironari Tajibi-no-mahito, a Japanese envoy to China in the Tang dynasty, and Rikyō, a government student sent abroad to study Buddhism, happened to meet Bodhisena and implored him to go to Japan with them. In October, 735 (or in December, 730) Bodhisena, with Phat-triet and a Chinese priest Tao-hsüan (C. 91) or Dōsen, sailed for Japan and arrived at Dazaifu in Kyūshū after having suffered considerable hardship. That was in May of the eighth year of Tempyō in the reign of Emperor Shōmu in 736 (or 746 or 747).

'There were on the same ship with him the notorious Genbō and several other interesting passengers, including Dōsen, who introduced the Kegon-shū sect into Japan, and Kibi-no-Makibi, who is said to have brought back with him the arts of embroidery, of playing the lyre, and the game of Go (a kind of draughts). Kibi is also said to have invented the Kata-kana syllabary, and, if this is true, he may have learned something of the Sanskrit alphabet from Bodhisena and made use of that knowledge.' (C. Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism*, London, 1959, p. 225).

The party went to Settsu Province in August that year. The emperor ordered one hundred priests headed by Gyōgi to be sent to welcome them and entertain them at Naniwa (the modern Osaka). Bodhisena was warmly received by Gyōgi and they exchanged the dhāraṇī and Japanese songs in token of their friendship. Gyōgi brought him to Nara, the capital of Japan, and presented him to the emperor. Bodhisena and Phat-triet were treated with great honour and lodged in the temple called Daian-ji, where they taught Sanskrit. Bodhisena used to chant the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and the mantras and he is specially said to have mastered esoteric magic. In April, 751 (or 750) he was awarded a cleric degree, Sōjō. On the recommendation of Gyōgi and others, he was appointed the highest officiating priest in the celebration of the newly made Daibutsu (Great Buddha's Image) in Tōdai-ji Temple, Nara in April, 752. As a result of this, he was later called one of the four founders of Tōdai-ji Temple

along with the Emperor Shōmu, Gyōgi and Rōben. In February, 754, when Ganjin (C. 92, Chien-Chên) came to Nara from China, Bodhisena went to Tōdai-ji Temple in order to entertain him. With Rōben and Gyōgi, he founded, at the request of the emperor, the Ishiyama-dera temple at Omi. During his last days he retreated to the Ryōzen-ji temple which was named by him after Gṛdhrakūṭa, because of the similarity of the surroundings.

On the twenty-fifth of February 760, he passed away at the age of fifty-seven. Prior to his death he gave his last discourse to his disciples such as Shunnen, Shūei, and others, and invoked Amida Buddha. His grave lies in the Ryōzen-ji temple at Nara. His friend, Phat-triet, was responsible for Buddhist music at the ceremony of Daibutsu as the head musician, and taught Vietnamese music, called Rinyū-hachiraku, at the Imperial Institute of Music, while teaching Sanskrit to Japanese priests.

K. Ha.

BODHISIÑCAKA (var. **Bodhisaññaka**), an arahant. Ninety-one kappas ago, during the time of Vipassī Buddha, when a festival was being held in honour of that Buddha's bodhi-tree, he sprinkled scented water over the bodhi-tree, with great devotion. Thirty-three kappas ago he became a world ruler (*cakkavatti*) eight times by the name of Udakāseccana. During ninety-one kappas from the day he sprinkled scented water on Buddha Vipassī's bodhi-tree until he attained arahantship in the time of Gotama Buddha, he never experienced birth in a bad state (*Ap.* 1, p. 131).

W.G.W.

BODHISIRI, an upāsikā who constructed an apsidal temple for the Sinhala monks from Ceylon at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (circa 2-3rd cent. A.C.). This shrine was complete with the special features of Ceylon vihāras, such as a bodhi-tree (q.v.). In her inscription, she has associated her good works with many members of her family. The particular fraternity of monks was resident in Cūla-Dhammagiri monastery. The site of her nonastery has been named 'Siripavata'. In addition to this foundation, she built a Kula-vihāra and a pillared pavilion of stone at the east gate of the great caitya of Kaṇṭakasōla (*EI.* XX, p. 1 ff.; XXXIII, p. 247 ff.).

D.T.D.

BODHI SUTTA enumerates the seven limbs of wisdom (*satta bojjhaṅgā*) among things that do not cause decline (*aparihāniyā dhammā: A.* IV, p. 23).

BODHITISSA a chieftain of king Aggabodhi IV, 667-83 A.C., probably in the Malaya region of Ceylon. He built the Bodhitissa-vihāra, so-called after him. (*Mhv.* xlvi, v. 30).

BODHI-TREE. The generic name of the tree under which a Buddha attains Enlightenment (bodhi q.v.). According to the *Jātakanidānakathā* (*J.* I, pp. 29ff.) different Buddhas attained Enlightenment seated under different trees of their choice and each of them could be described as the " bodhi-tree " of the particular Buddha during his dispensation. Thus, for Dīpaṅkara and Gotama a *pipphala* ; for Koṇḍañña a *sālakalyāṇi* : for Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita a *nāga* ; for Anomadassī an *ajjuna* ; for Paduma a *soṇa* ; for Nārada a *mahāsoṇa* ; for Padumuttara and Vessabhū a *sāla* : for Sumedha a *mahā; nīpa* : for Sujāta a *mahāveḷu* ; for Piyadassī a *piyaṅgu*- for Atthadassī a *campaka* ; for Dhammadassī a *rattakuravaka* or *bimbijāla* : for Siddhattha a *kaṇikāra* : for Tissa an *asana* : for Phussa an *āmalaka* ; for Vipassī a *pāṭalī* : for Sikhī a *puṇḍarīka* : for Kakusandha a *mahāsirīsa* : for Koṇāgamana an *udumbara* and for Kassapa a *nigrodha*.[1] (See Pls. XXIX—XXXIII).

The site of the bodhi-tree is the same for all Buddhas (*BuA.* p. 247) and it forms the navel (centre) of the earth (*J.* IV, p. 233). No other place can support the weight of the Buddha's attainment (ibid. p, 229). When no bodhi-tree grows, the ground round the bodhi-tree (*bodhimaṇḍa* q.v.), for a distance of one royal *karīsa*, is devoid of all plants and is quite smooth, spread with sand, like a silver plate. Not even Sakka, the king of gods, can travel in the air immediately above it. (*J.* IV, p. 232f.).

At present only the bodhi-tree of Gotama Buddha is reverenced by the Buddhists. The bodhi-tree of Gotama Buddha, which is said to have sprung on the day he was born and hence referred to as a *sahajāta* (*DA.* II, p. 425, *BuA.* p. 248) is in Buddhagayā (q.v.) in India, and a branch of it, brought to Ceylon by Saṅghamittā therī and planted in Anurādha-pura, exists to the present day.

The pipphala tree,[2] under which Gotama Buddha obtained Enlightenment, is also called *assattha* in Pali (from Skt. *aśvattha*, derived from *aśva-sthā*

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[1] At Bhārhut Cunningham has identified the bodhi-trees of six different Buddhas, namely Vipaśyi, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 101).

[2] The Pipphala tree appears to have been regarded as a sacred tree long before the time of the Buddha. The Soma vessel and the sacred fire-drill were made out of the wood of this tree. In the *Atharva-veda* it is said that the gods of the third heaven are seated under the Aśvattha, and this may also be the tree referred to in the *Ṛg-veda* as the tree with fair foliage under which Yama and the blessed are said to pass their time (for details see M. S. Randhawa, *Th Cult of Trees and Tree worship in Buddhist-Hindu Sculptures*, Delhi, 1964).

horses' stand). From the name *pipphala* is evidently derived the term peepul-tree. The name pipal or pipli in the Nepali language is also from the same word. In Bengali and Punjabi it is called pippal and in Hindustani pipal. In Ceylon it is popularly known as bo or bo-gaha, '*bo*' being a shorter form of bodhi, which in English is the bo-tree. Sometimes, generally, in the written language, the name äsaṭu, from aśvattha, is also used. In Japan it is called bodaiju. Its botanical name is *Ficus religiosa*.

Ficus religiosa belongs to the family of M*oraceae*. It is a glabrous tree, usually, an epiphytic. The colour of the bark is grey and nearly half an inch thick. The colour of the wood is greyish-white and moderately hard, having narrow bands of soft tissue which alternate with broader bands of firmer substance. The leaf is coriaceous. The upper surface is shiny and the lower-side is minutely tuberculated when it is dry. It has a long petiole. The shape of the leaf is ovate-rotund, and narrowed upwards. The apex produces a linear lanceolate tail. The edges of the leaf are entire and undulate. This tree produces berries in axillary pairs. The colour of the berries is dark purple. The tree grows to a height of about 100 feet, and the leaves suspended on their long flexible petioles rustle in the slightest breeze.

The earliest suttas that refer to the Enlightenment of Gotama Buddha do not mention a bodhi-tree. Thus, the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*, one of the earliest suttas in this connection, describes how the bodhisattva arriving at the lovely woodland grove in Uruvelā (now identified with Buddha-gayā) and being pleased with its environment sat down there thinking that it was a suitable place for striving (*M.* I, p. 167). In Pali Buddhist literature the earliest reference to the bodhi-tree of Gotama Buddha is probably in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (*Vin.* I, p. 1). Therein is described how the Buddha, shortly after attaining Enlightenment, sat cross-legged for seven days at the foot of the bodhi-tree experiencing the bliss of freedom. The *Jātakanidānakathā* also refers to the bodhi-tree, This contains an account of how the bodhisattva having selected an auspicious spot under the bodhi-tree spread the handful of grass he had received from the grass-cutter Sotthiya and sat there facing east, resolving not to rise until he attained Enlightenment. Besides this account, it also describes graphically the war waged by Māra to capture the seat under the bodhi-tree which legitimately belonged to the bodhisatta and how the earth bore witness to the bodhisatta's claim (*J.* I, p.71ff.).

As pointed out earlier the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* records that the Buddha spent the first seven days after Enlightenment at the foot of the bodhi-tree. The *Jātakanidānakathā*, while maintaining this position, adds that the Buddha spent the second week in front of the bodhi-tree with unblinking eyes gazing at it as a mark of gratitude (*J.* I, p. 77). A shrine was later erected on the spot where he so stood, and was called Animisacetiya (See ANIMISALOCANA). In addition to this the *Jātakanidānakathā* also records that the Buddha himself sanctioned the use of the bodhi-tree as an object of veneration, as a symbol of the Buddha himself. It is said that the people of Sāvatthi who went to the Jetavana monastery when the Buddha was away had no object of veneration to which to offer the garlands and perfumes they had brought with them. Hence, Ānanda, at the request of Anāthapiṇḍika, consulted the Buddha and got his sanction to plant in front of the gateway of Jetavana, a seed from the bodhi-tree at Gayā. For this purpose Moggallāna took a fruit from the tree at Gayā as it dropped from its stalk and before it reached the ground. It was planted in a golden jar by Anāthapiṇḍika with great pomp and ceremony. A sapling immediately sprouted forth fifty cubits high and in order to consecrate it the Buddha spent one night under it, rapt in meditation. This tree, because it was planted under the direction of Ānanda, came to be known as the Ānanda-bodhi (q.v.; see *EncyB'sm*, I, Pl. XLV. *J.* IV, 228ff. *Mhbv.* p. 58ff). Thereafter, pilgrims went to Jetavana with offering of garlands and flowers for the bodhi-tree.

Neither the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* nor the *Jātakanidānakathā* is as old as certain suttas of the Nikāyas. But, undoubtedly, these sources incorporate an early tradition which had gained acceptance by the time these texts came to be composed and as such it could be surmised that the tradition recorded in them belongs to an early period. This literary tradition is corroborated by sculptural evidence. Bhārhut sculptural remains show that the bodhi-tree was not merely held as an object of veneration but was also regarded as a symbolic representation of the Buddha (see *EncyB'sm.* I, Pl. XXXV). Thus, some of the earliest representations of the Buddha were done by the substitution of the bodhi-tree. At Sāñcī where the Enlightenment of the Buddha is illustrated, the bodhi-tree is substituted in place of the Buddha. One of the sculptural remains at Gandhāra depicts the bodhisattva approaching the bodhi-tree (Pl. XXIX; another from Barabudur depicts the bodhisattva receiving a sheaf of grass from Sotthiya (Skt. Svastika). Very often, when Mara's attack

and temptation are depicted, the Buddha is represented as being seated under the bodhi-tree.[3]

Even after the time of the Buddha, the bodhi-tree was considered a sacred object. The account given by Hsüan-tsang (7th century A.C.) about the sacred bodhi-tree at Gayā is interesting in detail and important historically. He says: "Going South-West of Mount Pragbodhi about 14 or 15 li we come to the Bodhi-tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall (a wall of piled bricks) of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about 50 paces round........... The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairanjana river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access (steep and strong). The northern gate opens into the great sangharama........ The kings, princes and great personages throughout all Jambudvīpa who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials." He adds "The Bodhi-tree above the diamond throne is the same as the Pippala tree. In old days, when the Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 ft. in height....... On this day (of the Nirvāṇa) the princes of different countries and the religious multitude from different quarters assemble by thousands and ten thousands unbidden, and bathe (the roots) with scented water and perfumed milk; whilst they raise the sounds of music and scatter flowers and perfumes, and whilst the light of the day is continued by burning torches, they offer their religious gifts. (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, India, 1958, III, pp. 344ff.).

The same source (p. 346) records that Asoka, before his conversion, personally brought an army and destroyed the bodhi-tree. After cutting down the tree he ordered a brāhman to burn the wood in a sacrificial fire. But, when the smoke cleared away, the tree sprang from the flaming fire, and as the leaves and the branches were shining like feathers it was called the 'ashes bodhi-tree'. Asoka being struck with wonder, ordered the tree to be bathed in milk, and on the following day the tree appeared as it was before. Asoka paid homage to the tree so earnestly that his queen Tissārakkhā (Skt. Tiṣyarakṣitā) was filled with envy and had the tree destroyed secretly. But again it was revived by Asoka as before.[4] Asoka is said to have built round the tree a brick wall over 10 ft. in height which existed even when Hsüan-tsang visited the place (see *EncyB'sm.* II, pl. xv). In the 6th century, king Śaśāṅka cut down[5] the tree and even dug up its roots, though he was unable to get to the very bottom of it. But sometime later, king Pūrvavarma of Magadha poured the milk of a thousand cows and made it sprout again. This time within one night it rose to the height of 10 ft. King Pūrvavarma also built a wall about 24 ft. in height and its remains were about 20 feet in height, when Hsüan-tsang visited it.[6] This restoration seems to have taken place somewhere in 600–620 A.C. Cunningham surmises that the tree planted by Pūrvavarma may have lasted down to the times of the Buddhist dynasty of Pāla kings (813 A.C., A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 30ff; *ASIAR.* 1871–72, Vol. III, p. 79ff.). Cunningham thinks that king Mihirakula, too, may have destroyed the bodhi-tree.

According to the Burmese tradition king Pasenadi is said to have surrounded the bodhi-tree with a double wall and Dharmasoka added a third wall. On this point Cunningham says that there may have been a double pallisade of wood and concludes that it would have been removed when Asoka built his great temple immediately to the east of the bodhi-tree. (Cunningham, op. cit. p. 31).

The bodhi-tree that stands in Buddha-gayā at present is not the original tree. Cunningham observes that, as the bodhi-tree is a quick growing and short-lived tree,[7] there must have been a large succession, perhaps as many as twenty, from the time of Asoka down to the present day. Buchanan who visited the site in 1811 saw the tree in full vigour and estimated its age as 100 years (*Eastern India*, I, p. 76). Cunningham who visited the site in 1861 and 1871 found that during the 10 years the principal branches had disappeared and the stem was decaying fast. In 1876 during a storm the remaining parts of the bodhi tree fell over the wall and there

3 See, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956, plate 73.

4 This account is corroborated by a reference in the *Mhv.* xx, *vv.* 3ff.

5 Cunningham thinks that the two pieces of the old bodhitree, one 6½ inches and the other 4 inches, which he dug out a short distance west of the Vajrāsana could be the fragments of the bodhi-tree cut down by Śaśāṅka (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, loc. cit.).

6 Both Hegler and Cunningham agree that the surrounding of the tree with this high wall refer to the placing of the new tree on the terrace of the temple which is about 30 ft. above the original ground level (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi or the Greatest Buddhist temple under the Bodhi-tree at Buddhagaya*, India, p. 30f.)

7 But this observation does not appear to be quite correct when the age of the sacred bodhi-tree at Anuradhapura (Ceylon is taken into consideration.

were young sprouts to take the place of the dead tree, and thus came into being the bodhi-tree at Buddha-gayā that exists at present.

According to the Ceylon chronicles branches from the bodhi-trees of all the Buddhas born during this kappa were planted in Ceylon, on the spot where the sacred bodhi-tree stands today at Anurādhapura. (*Mhv.* xv, *vv.* 78, 112, 147). The branch of Kakusandha Buddha's bodhi-tree was brought by bhikkhunī Rucānandā, Konāgamana's by Kanthakānandā, and Kassapa's by Sudhammā. The same source records that the Buddha on his death-bed had resolved five things, one being that the south branch of his bodhi-tree which was to be taken to Ceylon should detach itself (*Mhv.* xv, *v.* 34; xvii, *v.* 46f.).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* records that king Devānampiyatissa decided to send for the bodhi-tree and bhikkhunī Saṅghamittā on the suggestion of Mahinda thera (*Mhv.* xv, *v.* 34). For this purpose he sent his nephew Mahāriṭṭha. Asoka readily agreed to comply with this request. The chronicle records in detail how the southern branch of the bodhi-tree severed itself and the miraculous happenings that accompanied this event. Asoka despatched the branch of the bodhi-tree together with different classes of artisans to perform the various services necessary for the bodhi-tree. Therī Saṅghamittā was in charge of the sacred object. With Ariṭṭha at the head of the mission they embarked at Tāmalipti (Tāmraliptī). Mahinda thera and the king who had gone to Jambukola received the bodhi-tree with great reverence. The bodhi-tree was placed in a pavilion at the sea-shore and homage was paid for three days, the king himself acting as the door-keeper. From there the bodhi-tree was taken to a spot where the Pācīnārāma in Nāgadipa was later established. In a few days the bodhi-tree was brought to Anurādhapura. Entering the city through the northern gate the sacred object was taken through the southern gate to the selected spot. Nobles of Kājaragāma, Candanagāma and of the village of brāhman Tivakka assisted the king at the ceremony of planting of the bodhi-tree. A berry that grew on the eastern branch of the bodhi-tree was planted by the king at a spot called Mahā-āsana. From this sprang eight saplings. These were planted respectively at Jambukola, in the village of brāhman Tivakka, at Thūpārāma, at Issarasamaṇarāma, in the court of Paṭhamacetiya, in Kājaragāma, and in Candanagāma. Thirty other saplings from four other berries were planted here and there in the vihāras at a distance of one yojana.

From the earliest times ceremonies were instituted in honour of the bodhi-tree. The supervision of these ceremonies was assigned to the Bodhāhāra-kula, at the head of which were the eight envoys of Asoka led by Bodhigutta and Sumitta. (*Mhv.* p. 165f.). King Devānampiyatissa himself performed ceremonies with great pomp. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that since the planting of the bodhi-tree the rulers of Ceylon held in every twelfth year (of their reign) a festival for the bodhi-tree. However, when describing the reign of each king the chronicle does not corroborate this statement (*Mhv.* xxxviii, *v.* 57). Kings Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (111–137 B.C.) and Bhātikarāja (19 B.C.–9 A.C.) performed great ceremonies in honour of the bodhi-tree. Abhaya (236–244 A.C.) is said to have set up a *vedi* (a platform) round the bodhi-tree. King Sirināga (244–246 A.C.) restored the wall round it. King Goṭhābhaya (253–66 A.C.) set up a *vedi* of stone and an arched gateway at the northern entrance. Jeṭṭhatissa (266–276 A.C.) is said to have built three gateways to the temple of the bodhi-tree. King Dhātusena (459–477 A.C.) performed a bathing festival similar to that performed during the time of Devānampiyatissa. He is also said to have erected a splendid house for the bodhi-tree (*bodhi-ghara* q.v.). King Silākāla (522-535 A.C.) paid homage to the bodhi-tree daily. Mahānāga (573–575 A.C.) is said to have put up a roof over the bodhi-ghara. Aggabodhi II (608–618 A.C.) had a well dug in the vicinity of the bodhi-tree. Moggallāna (618–623 A.C.) and Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623–632 A.C.), too, performed great ceremonies for the bodhi-tree. Aggabodhi VII, (772-777 A.C.) built the ruined temple anew. Mahinda II (777–797 A.C.) made a great offering to the bodhi-tree. Sena II (853–887 A.C.) dammed up the irrigation trench, first dug by Mahānāga, and also held a festival. Kassapa IV (898–914 A.C.) amidst celebration had the soil about the bodhi-tree increased. See further BODHIGHARA, BODHI-PŪJĀ and ŚRĪ-MAHĀBODHI.

K. Hi and S. K. N.

BODHIUPAṬṬHĀYAKA, an arahant. He was born in Rammavatī and was named Muraja. He was a regular attendant on the bodhi-tree (q.v). On account of this good deed he never experienced any evil state during a long period of eighteen hundred kappas. Fifteen hundred kappas ago he was a world ruler by name Damatha (*Ap.* 1. p. 194).

W. G. W.

BODHI-UPPALAVAṆṆĀ-KASSAPAGIRI, the name of two vihāras built by king Kassapa I (Ceylon) in the 5th cent. A. C., one in Anurādhapura, the traditional capital, and the other in his own capital, Sīhagiri (modern Sigiriya). The name is a compound of the names of his two daughters and of himself (*Mhv.* xxxix, *vv.* 10–16).

The vihāra in Anurādhapura was offered to the Mahāvihāra community who were not disposed to accept it, "fearing the reproach of the people, because it was the work of a parricide"—the chronicles agree as to his grave crime. Thereupon the king "presented it to the image of the Buddha". Evidently he courted even their lukewarm acquiescence in his position (he was not born of a consecrated queen) and the fraternity, their conscience eased, finally accepted it as it had been vicariously offered to the Buddha himself.

The statement in the *Mhv.* regarding the site of this vihāra is fairly confirmed by the evidence of a 10th cent. inscription (*EZ.* I, p. 29ff.) as being near the ancient Issarasamaṇārāma (modern Vessagiriya). An appurtenant cave in the vihāra group shows the remains of murals in the definite style of the Sīgiriya frescoes ; they are believed to have been the work of the artist of Sīgiriya (*ASCAR.* for 1907, p.6—caves 9 & 10).

The establishment was evidently referred to, briefly, as Kassapagiri-vihāra and Kassapa-vihāra. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (xliv, *v.* 98 ; xlv, *v.* 27) mentions that king Jeṭṭha Tissa III (628 A.C.) gave the village Ambilāpika to the Kassapagiri (-vihāra) for the supply of food, and that king Dāṭhopatissa II (659–67 A.C.) dedicated the village of Sonāmagāma to the Kassapa-vihāra. The *Mahāvaṃsa* Commentary (pp. 407, 652) has, in addition to Kassapagiri, also Kacchapagiri, but Malalasekera (*DPPN.* I, 553) considers the latter a wrong reading of the former. He also gives (op. cit. p. 543) Kassakagiri as another variation of Kassapagiri.

The vihāra at Sīhagiri itself, equipped with the four necessaries and, with the additional endowment of a garden to its north, was presented to the Dhammaruci fratenity. Being regarded as heterodox, they showed no reluctance in accepting it. Its location has not been traced.

D.T.D.

BODHIVAKA-NIRDEŚA (var. *Bodhivakṣo-mañjuśrī-nirdeśa Sūtra*) known in Chinese as the (G. 93) (*Fa-shuo*) *ta-shêng-shan-chien-pien-hua-wên-shu-shih-li-wên-fa-ching* (*Buddhabhāṣita-mahāyāna-sudarśanavikriyā-mañjuśrī-dharmaparipṛcchā Sūtra*) occurs in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and was translated by Thien-si-tsāi (980–1001 A.C.) of the later Sung dynasty 960–1127 A.C.

This sūtra agrees with the Tibetan *Byaṅ-chub-kyi-phyogs-bstan-pa, Bodhipakṣa-nirdeśa-mahāyāna Sūtra,* (*Nanjio*, No. 792, *OM.* No. 845).

S.K.N.

BODHIVAṂSA. See **MAHĀBODHIVAṂSA.**

BODHIVANDAKA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth, ninety-one kappas ago, he paid homage to the pāṭali-bodhi-tree of Buddha Vipassī as though he was worshipping the Buddha himself. In consequence of this good deed he escaped birth in the states of woe in later lives (*Ap.* I, 290).

BODHIYAŚAS, name of a translator who, together with Guṇabhadra, rendered into Chinese, Vasumitra's Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text, the *Prakaraṇapāda,* which in its Chinese rendering is known as *Chung-shih-fên-a-p'i-t'an-lun-* (*Abhidharma-prakaraṇapāda*) (*śāstra*) (C. 94). He belongs to the earlier Sung dynasty (420–479 A.C.) and this particular translation was made in the period between 435–443 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 1292 ; A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature,* Calcutta, 1957 p. 62).

S.K.N.

BODHNĀTH (var. Bodhināth), a stūpa in Nepal situated about three and a half miles east from Kātmandu, the capital of Nepal.

Although the founding of the great Bodhnāth stūpa is of great antiquity, some have ascribed it to king Mānadeva of the sixth century A.C., as also to a Tibetan Lāmā, named Khāsa of later date (L A. Waddel, *Lamaism,* pp. 315–317 ; see also S. Lévi, Le Nepal, *Annals du Musée Guimet,* Bibliotheque dé Etude, Tome XVII, p. 151 ; D. Wright, *History of Nepal,* Culcutta, 1958, p. 100, plate IX ; Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal,* Vol. II, p. 260).

Bodhnāth, like many other Nepalese stūpas and Buddhist monuments, is important for the study of the evolution of Buddhist stūpa architecture in India. While India and many other Buddhist countries have lost most of the early Buddhist architectural designs, due to extraneous influences, Nepal, being well protected by natural barriers, has preserved up to the present day many traces of the cultural movements, in the religious monuments, especially those of the Buddhists. Scholars

think that 'Nepal is still an authentic replica of an India that has disappeared' (Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, Bombay 1959, p. 163; A. H. Longhurst, *The Story of the Stupa*, Colombo, 1936, p. 46).

The Bodhnāth stūpa had undergone periodical repairs and restorations but it has not lost its early characteristics which are common to the earliest phase of stūpa construction in India and Ceylon, in the pre-Christian era (J. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, edited by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, London, 1910, I, p. 219). The stūpa is solid and brick-built. The dome, which in hemispherical, like that of the stūpas of Sāñcī, Amarāvatī and Ceylon, stands on three successive tiers of elevated platforms or terraces, about 45 ft. in height, the dome being 90 ft. in diameter and about 45 ft. in height. Above the dome is a square platform (*harmikā*) over which stands the square pyramidal brick spire, which again is surmounted by a large finial of unusual design and imaginative treatment. The pyramidal spire which suggests the *chattrāvalī* or the conventionalised umbrella of early stūpas, is in thirteen diminishing tiers, which some scholars think is symbolic of the thirteen Buddhist heavens (P. Brown, op. cit. p. 162).

It is the design of the 'cubical base' supporting this pyramidal spire, corresponding to the *harmikā* (or *muddha-vedi, hatäraskoṭuva* in Sinhalese) in the Indian examples, that presents the most striking appearance. For, on each of its four gilded sides is embossed a face in metal and ivory with a large pair of human eyes. (When Sylvain Lévi photographed the stūpa in the previous century the eyes on the cubical base above the stūpa were missing, probably removed for repair. See S. Lévi, op. cit. P. 151). Such an innovation produces a startling and almost mesmeric effect, the eyes following the course of the pilgrim in a mysterious manner as he circumambulates at the base of the sacred monument. Percy Brown thinks that this device is probably meant to suggest the outward sign of the "All Seeing One" the Buddha (cp. the epithet *samantacakkhu*; P. Brown, op. cit. p. 162, see also Plate CXLII). Some have attributed this device to a certain aspect of sun-worship recalling the motif known as the "surāj mukh", or "Sun-face". As remarked above, this is an example of a Nepalese tradition preserving an old architectural device common to stūpa builders (see Pl. XXXIV.) In early Ceylonese stūpas the faces of the *harmikā* are decorated with solar and lunar symbols (See S. Paranavitana, *TheStūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946 pp. 31 ff), which too suggest the eyes of heaven.[1]

The *pradakṣināpatha* or the lower paved terraces (circumambulatory paths); the hemispherical dome, which is the earliest type until Gandhāra Buddhists introduced large domical tower-like superstructures; the square platform above the dome, the conventionalised spire above the *harmikā* resembling the *chattrāvalī* of early stūpas; all these are explicit in the Bodhnāth stūpa.

The Bodhnāth has every appearance of having been thoroughly restored, within modern times, but nonetheless, such conservation is of a convincing nature, suggesting that the old forms have been retained and that the building as a whole is not far removed from its original design (J. Fergusson, op. cit. p. 279; P. Brown, op. cit. p. 162).

It is recorded that in the third century B.C., Emperor Asoka of India made a pilgrimage into Nepal, and commemorated this event by the foundation of a number of stūpas. It is now believed that the Bodhnāth stūpa is one of those original stūpas founded by Asoka but that it had considerably changed during the passage of two thousand years (P. Brown, op. cit, p. 162).

A.D.T.E.P.

BODHYĀKARA-PRAṆIDHĀNA, the title of a text ascribed to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *No- mtshar Bstan-bcos* (*Āścarya-śāstra*) section of the *Tengyur*, under the title *Byaṅ-chub ḥbyuṅ-baḥi smon-lam* (*TT*. Vol. 150, No. 5930).

The text describes the procedure of taking upon oneself the vow of Enlightenment, which has to be done in the presence of a holy monk.

The devotee is exhorted to take delight in the meritorious deeds of the Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas, the Saṅgha and the bodhisattvas, and seek refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha before taking upon this vow.

A fragment of a manuscript from the *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the Indian Office Library*, L. de la Vallée Poussin, Oxford University Press, 1962, No. 244, 3 refers to the three-fold refuge of a householder

1. This may be a Mahāyānic introduction to stūpa building. The earliest type of stūpa has a simple railed enclosure as in Sāñcī. Unlike the earliest simple relic mound, the later stūpas were constructed to symbolise various aspects of Mahāyāna worship. The early features in the stūpa were modified for this purpose. The *harmikā*, discussed here, too, had undergone this modification. In Ceylonese stūpas a novel feature known as '*devatākoṭuva*' (*devatākoṣṭhi*, the chamber of gods) was introduced as a part of the *harmikā* in later centuries.

bodhisattva, while another fragment (ibid. No. 245) has *śaraṇāgamana* as part of *praṇidhāna*. cf. BODHICITTOTPĀDA-VIDHI.

R. H.

BODHYAṄGA, collective name in Sanskrit for the seven Factors of Enlightenment. See **BOJJHAṄGA.**

BODHYAṄGAVATĪ, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. Its literal meaning is "possessor of the Factors of Enlightenment". According to the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (p. 1422, 1.

9 ff) it is by concentrating on the Bodhyaṅgavatī samādhi that one obtains the seven Factors of Enlightenment (*sapta-bodhyaṅgāni*). The same description is found in a classical Chinese version of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā - prajñāpāramitā* (*Taishō*, No. 223, Vol. 8, p. 252c) and also in the calssical Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra* (*Taishō*, No. 1509, Vol. 25, p. 398a; *Mhvyut*. No. 586).

S.Mo.

BODHYAṄGĀYUṢYA, a group of Buddhas who will appear in the world in a future kalpa called *Puṣyākara* (*Śsp*. I, 323).

BODHYĀPATTI-DEŚANĀ-VṚTTI, a commentarial text occurring in the *Mdo-tshogs ḥgrel-pa* (*Sūtrānta--vṛtti*) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-kyi ltuṅ-ba bśags-paḥi ḥgrel-pa*. The authorship of the work is attributed to Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna). The Tibetan translation is attributed to Śāntarakṣita (Śāntirakṣita), and Devaghoṣa (*TT*. Vol. 105, No. 5506).

R. H.

BODHYĀPATTI - DEŚANĀ - VṚTTI - BODHI SATTVA-ŚIKṢĀ - KRAMA - NĀMA, a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Mdo-tshogs ḥgrel-pa* (*Sūtrānta-vṛtti*) section of the *Tengyur* under the title *Byaṅ-chub-kyi Ctuṅ-ba bsags-paḥi ḥgrel-pa byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi bslab-paḥi rim-pa shes-bya-ba.* Its authorship is ascribed to Jaitāri (Jetāri) and Dgra-las rnam-par rgyal-ba. The translation is attributed to Bal-po paṇḍit and Chag Lo-tsāba (*TT*. ed. Suzuki, Vol. 105, No. 5507).

The text contains explanations of various steps in the procedure of taking the vow of Enlightenment, e.g., taking refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, confession of sin, rejoicing in the merits of others, etc.

In explaining the step of taking refuge in the Triratna, the three *kāyas* of the Buddha, the foremost of the Three Jewels, are specified. The epithets of the Buddha, such as Bhagavan, Tathāgata and Arhat are explained.

The sins to be confessed are categorised as those incurred through body, speech and mind. The ten *akuśalakarma* are explained.

The practice of the ten *pāramī*, the four *anusmṛti*, the five *bala*, the ten *bodhyaṅga*, the Noble Eight-fold Path and the Four Noble Truths etc. constitute merit, in which the devotee should rejoice.

BOD-KYI YUL-DU CHOS-DAṄ CHOS-SMRA-BA JI-LTRA BYUṄ-BAḤI RIM-PA DEB-THER SṄON-PO, "the stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet called the Blue Annals." These are constantly quoted under the title *Deb-ther*, meaning the Annals, and contain the historical chronicles of Tibet. See DEB-THER.

BOD-RJE ḤBAṄS DAṄ BTSUN-RNAMS-LA SPRIN-YIG, see BOD-RJE ḤBAṄS-LA BRDSAṄS-PAḤI ḤPHRIN-YIG.

BOD-RJE ḤBAṄS-LA BRDSAṄS-PAḤI ḤPHRIN-YIG, the title of a text found in the *Gtam-yig* section of the *Tengyur*. *Bhoṭasvāmidāsa-lekha* has been suggested as the corresponding Sanskrit title (*TT*. Vol. 129, No. 5693). The Sde-dge edition has a slightly varying title, viz., *Bod-rje ḥbaṅs daṅ btsun-rnams-la sprin-yig*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which has been surmised as *Bhoṭasvāmidāsa* (*guru*) *lekha*. The author of the work is Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba (Buddhaguhya).

As the title indicates, the text contains the message of the 'dharma' sent to the king of Tibet and his subjects. Judging from Buddhaguhya's introduction to the text, the king referred to appears to be Khri-srod-lde btsan, who sent messengers to India, to bring back the light of the 'dharma' to destroy the darkness (of ignorance), that was then prevalent in Tibet. For Khri-srod-lde-btsan being the sponsor of a Buddhist mission to Tibet cf. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhsim of Tibet*, p. 24.

R. H.

BODY, THE. I Development of Medical View of Body in Buddhism: The Buddhist view of the body can be considered from various standpoints, but what forms its basic idea is the

medical knowledge ancient Buddhists possessed regarding the body. Buddhist medicine is the succession and the synthesis of systems of medicine in ancient India and China, and what the Buddhists added to them are merely metaphysical and dogmatical interpretations. In Vedic India, it is said that there were hundreds of wandering physicians who knew about numerous kinds of medical herbs. They dissected animals, and as a result they obtained knowledge of important bones and organs of the human being, as well as of the cow. Indian medicine had reached a remarkably developed stage by the time of the composition of the *Caraka* and *Suśruta* *saṃhitās*. which followed the tradition of Āyurvedic medicine. Compared with ancient Chinese medicine, which consisted mainly of acupuncture and moxibustion, decoctions and massage, the characteristic feature of Indian medicine was that it developed surgery from early times. The *Suśruta*, e.g., enumerates and comments on 20 kinds of sharp surgical instruments of iron or bronze and 101 different kinds of apparatus. The Chinese had a fairly developed system of therapeutics as early as the Ch'un-ch'iu period, and had formed a medical system from the Hsien-ch'in to the Han dynasties. About the beginning of the Christian era, they dissected living human bodies and obtained knowledge of the 'five viscers and six bowels' (wu-tsang liu-fu, (C. 95), which, being combined with the theory of the 'two cosmical principles and five primary elements' (yin-yan wu-hsing, C. 96), had given birth to the Chinese medicine of acupuncture and moxibustion. With the transmission of Buddhism to China, Indian medicine was also introduced along with it and had influence upon Chinese medicine. At the same time these two systems of medicine were synthesized into one by Chinese Buddhists. The syncretism of Buddhism and medicine, or the dogmatic interpretation of medicine, was a conspicuous characteristic of esoteric Buddhism. Both the Tibetan physiology of the *Anuttara-yoga-tantra* and the Chinese theory of the 'Maṇḍala of five viscera' (wu-tsang man-t'o-lo, C. 97) tried to combine Indian or Chinese medicine with esoteric metaphysics and the method of religious training, and came to believe in parallelism between the human body and the macrocosm.

Buddhist literature presents valuable data for the study of the medical history of ancient India. Many sūtras, such as the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* (Chinese version 53), the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, etc., tell us of the existence of professional dissectors of the cow in ancient India. The *Mahāvagga* records the stories of the Buddha permitting his Saṅgha to use medicines and medical apparatus, and of a physician named Ākāsagotta who performed an operation for piles with a knife. We know much of the activity of Jīvaka, who, being the court physician of king Bimbisāra, also attended on the Buddha and his Saṅgha. Jīvaka is said to have been a student of Ātreya of Taxila, but yet it remains a matter of controversy whether or not this Ātreya was the same person as Ātreyapunarvasu, a teacher in the lineage of the Caraka medical school. Opinions of scholars again differ much as to whether the *Suśruta* and the *Caraka Saṃhitās* formed separate schools from the beginning, or whether they formerly followed one and the same tradition of the Āyurvedic medicine. But so far as Buddhist medicine is concerned, we are wrong if we think that the Buddhists followed a particular system from among the medical schools of ancient India. For, as to the number of bones in the human body, which forms one of the important topics of the problem, the *Caraka* counts 360, and the *Suśruta* 300, while the Buddhist books are not in agreement as to the number. The *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (Chinese version 55, 56) counts 200 big bones omitting small ones, while Vol. 96 of the same sūtra and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* give the number as 360, and the *Hsiu-hang-tao-ti-ching* (C. 98 *Yogācāryābhūmi Sūtra*) gives the number as 300. Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* counts 300, excluding 32 teeth, in which exclusion he is not in agreement with the *Suśruta* (*Vism.* p. 209; cf. *DhpA.* III, p. 109; *Suśruta*, III, 5). Therefore, we have to conclude that the Buddhists introduced medical theories into their literature without any bias for a particular school.

The most systematic view of the body among various theories found in Buddhist literature is what is known as the 'thirty six components of the human body' (san-shih-liu-wu, C. 99), though the number varies between 32 and 39 according to diverse texts. In the Pali literature what is equivalent to these 'thirty six components' are called the 'thirty two aspects' (*dvātiṃsākāra*), the thirty two being as follows: hair of the head, hair of the body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinew, bone, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lung, intestine, mesentery, undigested food in the stomach, dung, bile, phlegm, brain, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tear, grease saliva, nasal mucus, synovia and urine (*A.* III, 323).

The *Visuddhimagga*, in particular, minutely comments on these thirty two aspects or components, describing them from the standpoint of colour, form, direction, place and limitation, counting

precise numbers of bones, muscles, tendons, etc., and concretely explaining the aspects of organs. (*Vism.* chp. viii). However, besides the fact that his explanations may seem inaccurate viewed in the light of modern science, Buddhaghosa's comments are not built into a system and lack the precision that is found in the texts of Indian medical schools. It is due to the fact that the Buddhists propose their theory not for the sake of scientific knowledge, but for the purpose of the 'contemplation of impurity' (*asubhasaññā*), and that the medical theory which was introduced into Buddhism at the beginning had never been revised till a much later time. But, it is noteworthy that a particularly Buddhistic theory is found in the statement that the colour of the blood differs from red to black as man's defiling elements and knowledge differ.

Other various kinds of knowledge of Indian medicine were absorbed into Buddhist literature. Candrakīrti, relying on the *Śālistamba Sūtra* explains that the foetus is formed by the co-ordination of consciousness and the five elements *viz.*, earth, water, fire, air, and ether which are given by the union of father and mother. (*Ārya Śālistamba Sūtra*, ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar Library, 1950, p. 5). Consciousness (*vijñāna*) just referred to was developed by the Sarvāstivādins into the intermediate existence between death and regeneration (*antarābhava*, q.v.) to which we shall refer later on. These explanations correspond to the theories of the subtle body and foetus found in the medical texts of India. The famous theory of Indian medicine regarding the 'three humours of air, phlegm and bile' (sometimes blood is added to form the four element theory) is found, too, in Buddhist literature like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. One hundred and seven *marmans* or vulnerable points of body reckoned in Indian medicine exist also in Buddhist texts, and are known as ssû-hsüeh (C. 100) or mo-mo (C. 101) in Chinese. The theory of the 'five viscera and six bowels' of Chinese medicine, on the other hand, regards five viscera, viz., heart, liver, spleen, lung, and kidney to be '*yin*' and six bowels, viz., gall, stomach, large and small intestines, three *chiao* and bladder to be '*yan*'. The three *chiao*, though sometimes said to be nominal and formless, are the upper *chiao* below the heart in charge of digestion, the middle *chiao* inside the stomach in charge of nutrition, and the lower *chiao* below the navel in charge of excretion. The measure and form of each organ are minutely described in Chinese medical texts. As referred to earlier, this theory was introduced into Buddhism, and played an important role especially in Chinese esoterism.

II Characteristics of Buddhist View of the Body :

(1) *Teleological* : Of the peculiar characteristics of the Buddhist view of the body, we notice first that it is teleological. Although we find in the *Mahāvagga* the Buddha making use of medical knowledge with a rational attidude quite exceptional with ancient Indians, to whom religious faith was superior to medical science, and who did not know how to use medicine separately from religion,—it does not necessarily mean that the Buddha dealt with medicine as a scientific study. He used medicine for curing disease which was an obstacle to individual pursuit of the truth and the discipline of the Saṅgha. Buddhism is a religion whose object is self-awakening and, accordingly, medicine was adopted as helping that object, but not studied as an independent subject. Later, however, medicine came to be regarded as one of the five subjects which had to be studied by monks. In fact, Buddhism in its early stages was not so much interested in science as Brāhmanism which developed many separate branches of scientific study. The 'thirty two aspects' or the 'thirty six components' was nothing but a kind of meditation which aimed at the restraining of passions which were impediments to religious enlightenment, and did not constitute a theory of the body.

(2) *Serious and negative* : The body is regarded as the origin of disgust, pain and evil, and emancipation from the body is the ideal. We are impressed by this serious view of the body as soon as we open any book of Buddhist literature. The truth of pain, one of the four Noble Truths, forms the core of Buddhist doctrine. The sub-divisions of pain, sometimes as four and sometimes as eight, are also enumerated as suffering in human life in its bodily existence. Body is an aggregate of sores, a nest of pains and qualms, easy to be destroyed, and it finishes in death just as a king's cart, no matter how beautifully adorned, goes to decay at last. Lust, anger and ignorance originate on account of body, and disgust, doubt and pain, arising from body, trouble the mind of man just as naughty children tease a crow. Emanicipation means finding out what makes body, that is, finding the cause of the circle of birth and death, so as to escape completely and ultimately from body. We are familiar with the story of Prince Siddhārtha, who, having seen an old man, a sick man, and a dead man on each occasion on which he went on his state drive, deeply pondered over the sufferings of human life, and the story of Yasa who was ordained as a monk after having been disgusted with the sight of female dancers and singers sleeping at night

with dishevelled hair and open mouths. Most of the Buddhists renounced the world or took refuge in the religion out of disgust and doubt, which, though aroused by a particular experience, was deepened into the negation of life itself. Even when the body is theoretically disclosed as the cause of pain and evil, we always find religious or supra-mundane worries and qualms which cannot be solved by any worldly method.

(3) *Continuous relation between mind and body*: The impermanent, soulless view of body, however, has in Buddhism led neither to disparity of mind and body, nor to dualism. Indian thought in general does not think of mind and body as two opposing principles. Buddhism in particular advocates the doctrine of non-ego, and denies the spiritual principle which, being eternal, unique, and free, presides over individual life like a lord. Mind, according to Buddhism, is merely one of the elements which together form human existence. At the time of the Buddha, when Brāhmanism was already advocating union of the ātman (individual self) and the Brahman (universal self), Indian thought had left far behind the primitive view of non-difference of body and mind. Buddhism, however, started from the standpoint which refuses any ideal postulation, and, therefore, denied the ātman as a spiritual entity. On the contrary, mind is recognized as a mental organ almost on the same level as the other perceptual organs like the eyes, ears [illegible]. When the theory of the 'five aggregates' [illegible] explains that 'all things' such as individual existence and the environment are formed out of matter and mental action, neither the idealistic nor the materialistic principle is admitted; nor has dualism any opportunity to creep in. 'All things' or the world as the environment of individual existence cannot be any principle. Therefore, mind and body (or matter) never oppose each other, but together form the world of birth and death. It means that not only body, but also mind, which is inseparably connected with body, is to be denied. Mind and body are thought to be interdependently in a kind of continuous relation. This tendency has been maintained in its essence even in idealistic Buddhism as in the Vijñānavāda, in the Tathāgatagarbha thought and in some sects of Chinese Buddhism.

III Metempsychosis and the Body: Abhidharma philosophy presents the most abundant material for the study of the Buddhist view of the body. It adopted a scientific and scholastic standpoint, perhaps opposing the intuitive standpoint of Buddhism in general, and picked up its contemporary myths, legends, medical theories and other sciences, especially for the purpose of scientific and rational explanation of the doctrine of metempsychosis. Conscious beings are divided into five (or six) kinds, viz., dwellers in hell, hungry ghosts, animals, fighting demons, human beings and celestial beings, and their way of birth is divided into four, viz., birth from mother's womb, from egg, from moisture and as spontaneous appearance. Here it should be noted that an individual assumes these forms of existence as a result of the good and evil done in his previous lives, and that man is not necessarily reborn as man.

A cycle of metempsychosis is again divided into four, viz., the first moment of birth (*upapattibhava*), the existence of a lifetime (*pūrvakālabhava*), the moment of death (*maraṇabhava*), and the period between death and next rebirth (*antarābhava*). The human *antarābhava* is compared to a child of five or six; it has six cognitive organs, but it is invisible to ordinary people because it is made up of extremely refined materials. It lives on "fragrance" for seven to forty-nine days, between the *maraṇabhava* and the next *upapattibhava*. The *pūrvakālabhava*, which is the period between the moment when the *antarābhava* has just entered into the mother's womb and the moment of death, has 'five stages outside the womb as well as inside the womb'. The five stages inside the womb are as follows: (1) *kalala*: the existence in the first seven days after the mother's conception is the stage in which the four elements, i.e., earth, water, fire, and air, have congealed like milk-curd; (2) *arbuda*: in the second seven days the *kalala* is covered by thin skin, which stage is called *arbuda*; (3) *peśi*: flesh and blood are produced in the third week, and this stage is named *peśi*; (4) *ghana*: the flesh becomes hard in the fourth week, which period is called *ghana*: (5) *praśākha*: thereafter in the thirty eight weeks till the child is born, bones and limbs are developed; this is the stage called *praśākha*. The five stages outside the womb are babyhood till the age of 6, boyhood between 7 and 15, youth between 16 and 30, manhood between 31 and 40 and old age, the rest.

The theory of the 'twelvefold chain of causation' (*dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*) was in early Buddhism a sequel to the logical ground of suffering in conscious existence and of emancipation from such suffering. It was not directly combined with the doctrine of metempsychosis. Abhidharma philosophy, however, assigned the twelve links to the

three periods, and interpreted the theory in close connection with metempsychosis, making use of the embryological theory of Indian medicine. (1) Ignorance (*avidyā*) is equivalent to the period between the appearance of various defiling passions in the past life and appearance of consciousness in the present life at the last moment of *antarābhava*. (2) Volitional actions (*saṃskāra*) are good and evil deeds done in the past. These two links belong to the past life. (3) Consciousness (*vijñāna* or *pratisandhicitta*) is exactly the same as the *upapattibhava*, the name *vijñāna* being due to the pre-eminence at this moment of the consciousness which carried over from the past. (4) Name-form (*nāmarūpa*) is the stage of pre-natal growth, and is equivalent to the first four of the 'five stages inside the womb'. (5) The six cognitive organs (*ṣaḍāyatana*) again exactly corresponds to the last of the five stages inside the womb, in which all cognitive organs are completed. (6) Contact (*sparśa*) corresponds to the first two or three years after birth, in which sensation works most actively. (7) Perception (*vedanā*) is the name given to the stage in which the boy, before the age of 14 or 15, has not yet developed carnal desires, though he understands the causes of sensations. (8) Craving (*tṛṣṇā*) is equivalent to the period before the age of 17 or 18, in which sexual desire and covetousness are develpoed. (9) Clinging (*upādāna*) corresponds to the third of the five stages outside the womb, in which the desires are strengthened to the highest degree. (10) Existence (*bhava*) is synonymous with action (*karma*), and covers the period in which accumulation of actions goes on to form the future result. The above eight links from *vijñāna* to *bhava* belong to the present life. (11) Birth (*janma*) is the first moment of the future life, corresponding to the *vijñāna* of the present life. (12) Decay and death (*jarāmaraṇa*) is the name of the span from birth to death in the future life. Out of these twelve links, 1 and 2 i.e., ignorance and volitional action, are the two causes, in the past ; 3 to 7 are the present sufferings as the result of the past causes ; 8 to 10 are the present ignorance and volitional actions which provide the causes ; and 11 and 12 are the future sufferings as their results. Thus, the process contains the double causations during the three periods of existence.

The above is a resumé of the theory of the twelve *nidānas* as given by the *Sarvāstivādins*, and it goes without saying that there are divergences of opinion among the Śrāvakyāna (Hīnayāna) Buddhist schools. Nevertheless, all of them have the common tendency to give a rational interpretation to metempsychosis by means of the theory of *karma*, postulating *antarābhava*, *pratisandhivijñāna* etc., which mediate between one life and another.

IV Religious Training and the Body : (i) *Physical conditions for monkhood* : All religious people are accepted into the Saṅgha without any discrimination of their status and class, with the exception of those who, not being qualified for the monastic life, are likely to give trouble to the Saṅgha, or whose motive to enter the Saṅgha is not religious but just utilitarian. Now, most of these qualifications or conditions are physical. A boy under twenty cannot stand physical difficulties like cold and heat, hunger and thirst, disease, harm by insects etc., and mental sufferings such as insult and the like. This is the reason why the Buddha prohibited admission into the Saṅgha of a boy under 15 as a novice and a person under 20 as a fully-fledged monk. Again, a boy under 7 without rational understanding and an old man over 70, who, due to physical decay, is almost in the same condition as the boy, are not permitted to enter the Saṅgha, as both of them need to be looked after and thus would disturb others' religious study. Apart from age, physical deficiency, such as deformity in limbs, abnormality in ears, nose, fingers, sinews, etc., being a hunchback or a dwarf, having wen on the neck or on the hands, blindness in one eye or in both, dumbness, deafness, deformity in sex, hemiplegia, infirmity due to old age, elephantiasis and other virulent diseases are among the conditions of non-admission into the Saṅgha. A man with any of these deformities and diseases cannot pursue hard study and training, is apt to transgress the rules and discipline of the Saṅgha, and give trouble to his colleagues. This is one reason why he is not admitted. But another reason was to protect the Saṅgha from the infiltration of criminals who were once punished and as a result were deformed. As to utilitarian motives, some people, who did not have the means to pay for medical treatment wanted to enter the Saṅgha, simply because they would be looked after by the royal physician who attended on the Saṅgha. Naturally, the Buddha did not accept them. As for sexual defects, the Buddhists had the theory of 'five (or six) kinds of sexual defects'. The *Abhidharmakośa* itself, however, classifies sexual defects only into three, viz., *ṣaṇḍha*, one who has no sexual organ, *paṇḍaka*, one who is impotent, and *dvidhākṛti* (or *ubhayaviyañjana*), a hermaphrodite. Those who are deficient in sex are, on the one hand, generally termed as

paṇḍaka or as Huang-men (C. 102), and, on the other, they are classified into five or six kinds, on various bases. The *Mahāvagga* describes a hermaphrodite who, after entering the Saṅgha, committed sexual intercourse and let others commit the same. The abnormal desire of the *paṇḍakas* was very harmful to the discipline of the Saṅgha and this was the reason why the Buddha prevented them from joining the Order.

(2) *Meditation and the Body* : As mentioned in Section II, the Buddhist view of the body is closely connected with the contemplation of impurity and so also its purpose with disgust and non-attachment to the body. We find various theories and descriptions of the contemplation of body in many branches of Buddhist literature. It is incorporated in the well-built Abhidharmic system of study and training. The Sarvāstivādin school has a different system from that of the Theravādin, and includes the contemplation of body in the 'contemplation of impurity' (*aśubha bhāvanā*) and the 'four objects of meditation' (*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*). But their implications are common to both schools. According to the Theravādin, the body is enumerated as a topic (*kammaṭṭhāna*) of *samatha*' i.e., meditation for restraining worldly passions and desires which are obstacles to emancipation. The object of meditation belonging to the corporeal (*rūpāvacara*) and incorporeal (*arūpāvacara*) worlds is classified into seven divisions, among which the 'ten stages of a dead body' (*asubha*), 'death' and 'body', i.e., two out of the 'ten objects for reflection' (*anussati*), and the 'four essential elements of the body' (*catudhātu-vavatthāna*) are to be considered here. The ten stages of a dead body from [illegible] to skeleton on which an ascetic meditates with careful observation, are as follows: (1) disgusting swelling of the dead body; (2) the flesh turning blue; (3) pus flowing out of the broken parts of body; (4) the body cut into two at the middle; (5) the body bitten and eaten by animals; (6) hands, legs and head dispersed here and there; (7) all body and limbs mutilated and scattered in fragments; (8) blood shed around the body; (9) worms wriggling on the body; (10) the skeleton. The reflection on death (*maraṇa-sati*), the eighth of the ten reflections, is a meditation on inevitable death from various standpoints, e.g., 'however vigorous and strong, man decays at the end', 'no matter how great a man is, he is mortal, too', 'I am also to die as I am the same as others so far as my physical conditions are concerned', 'life is limited', and so on. In the 'reflection on the body' (*kāyagatā-sati*), an ascetic precisely observes and meditates on all parts of the human body, that is the thirty-two parts or aspects, which have already been described, and realises the true nature of the body. This kind of contemplation on the body occurs often in Buddhist sūtras and śāstras of Mahāyana schools, though it may not be as well systematised as in the Theravāda Abhidharma. The meditation on the 'four essential elements of the body' means to understand the body as composed of earth, water, fire and air and to observe each of the thirty two parts as classified into one or more of these four elements. The Abhidharmic system of meditation is so well built that a particular object is assigned to a particular stage of meditation by a person of a particular character and inclination. For instance, the 'ten stages of a dead body' and the 'reflection on the body' are said to be fit for a yogi who is covetous, the reflection on death is fit for a rational person, and the 'four elements' are for all without discrimination; all of these are objects of the first dhyāna and its preparatory stage.

(3) *Emancipation and the Body* : Emancipation or Nirvāṇa for which all Buddhists strive is attained by the total destruction of defiling elements and by obtaining knowledge of the absolute truth, while the defiling elements originate from, and depend upon the body. It means that emancipation and bodily existence are in contradictory relation, which problem all Buddhist schools have tried to solve by various interpretations. Śrāvakayāna Buddhism has the theory of two kinds of Nirvāṇa, according to which, even if one attains to the highest sainthood, arhatship, he still remains only in the 'Nirvāṇa with some residual substratum' (*sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). He has the effects of past craving to a small degree until his body is completely destroyed. But if, on attaining arhatship all results of past actions are outlived and destruction of body takes place without any trace of physical existence, it is called *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*. Therefore, the supreme ideal of Śrāvakayāna Buddhism is completely realised on the destruction of the causes that make rebirth. This idea, however, is not necessarily common to all schools of Buddhism, for Bodhisattvayāna Buddhism has come positively to approve the body in particular ways. The Prajñāpāramitā or Mādhyamika philosophy does not recognize any essential individuality and regards all things as equal in their emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Therefore, the body, which is originally nothing, is not to be annihilated or denied. The *Tathāgatagarbha* (Buddha-matrix) philosophy, which originally developed in India, has had a great influence upon Chinese Buddhism. This philosophy believes in identity between the universal body (*dharmakāya*) as the absolute

truth and the Buddhahood existing within individual beings. Therefore, the actual is not thought to oppose the ideal, but to have the potency of the ideal, which is itself the reality and the ground of the actual. Furthermore, the theory of metempsychosis has not had as much weight in Chinese thought as in Indian. The Chinese were more interested in self-awakening in this life. All these thoughts were combined together to materialize the possibility of emanicipation in this world. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* tells a story of a dragon king's daughter at the age of eight who is said to have attained Buddhahood instantaneously. This story was combined by the T'ien-t'ai school with the theory of 'essential identity of defilement and Enlightenment' to form the theory of 'attainment of Buddhahood in the present life'. The Hua-yen philosophy, too, came to proclaim 'instaneous Enlightenment', the Chen-yen stressed the possibility of ataining Enlightenment without giving up the flesh; and finally Zen Buddhism said that all is perfected by realization of self-awakening, the self being nothing but the Buddha. Pure-land Buddhism, as one of the Bodhisattvayānic branches, regards reflection on evils of human being as the necessary and intrinsic element of its faith, and advocates salvation by the Other Power or Amitābha Buddha, condemning the possibility of attaining Enlightenment by means of self-exertion. Their view of the body, accordingly, is pessimistic and negative. Nevertheless, some masters, like Shinran, estimated the intrinsic value of acquirement of faith in Amitābha Buddha as highly as the very rebirth in the Pure Land, which fact shows the implicit, but essential similarity of Shinran's thought to the 'theory of attaining Buddhahood in the present life'. We can conclude from all these Bodhisattvayānic thoughts that the scientific and practical view of concrete body in the Śrāvakayāna thought was almost lost in Bodhisattvayāna, which tended to idealize the body to a greater or smaller extent.

V The Ideal Body: Lastly, mention should be briefly made of the ideal body conceived by the Buddhists, and for this purpose the idea of the body of the Buddha—who is superior to an arhat, the practical ideal of the Śrāvakayāna Buddhists—and of the bodhisattvas, who are reborn in the Pure Land, should be stated. The Buddha was a sort of superman who had awakened to the Truth. He is believed, according to the theories of metempsychosis and karma, to have accumulated a great deal of merit and religious practices as means for Enlightenment. The merits in his past had given the Buddha particular physical marks different from those of the ordinary man. The Buddha was thought to share the thirty two physical characteristics or marks with the universal ruler, *cakravartin*. The Buddhists tried to explain respectively each of the moral merits and religious practices which enabled the Buddha to acquire these thirty two bodily characteristics. The thirty two marks, with varying differences according to the different literatures, are as follows: (1) an *uṣṇīṣa* or fleshy protuberance on the crown; (2) head-hair curling to the right side; (3) broad and flat forehead; (4) white curl between the eyebrows; (5) eyes deep blue and eye-lashes like those of a royal bull; (6) 40 teeth; (7) evenly placed teeth; (8) teeth close to each other; (9) teeth purely white; (10) saliva improving the taste of all food; (11) lion-jawed; (12) tongue long and slender; (13) voice deep and resonant like the voice of Brahma; (14) full and round shoulders; (15) seven parts of the body *i.e.*, two soles, two palms, two shoulders and crown well-rounded; (16) below the armpits well-filled; (17) skin smooth and golden-hued; (18) hands reaching below the knees; (19) lion-shaped upper body; (20) height and strech of arms equal; (21) body hair curling to the right side; (22) and growing upwards; (23) well-retracted male organ; (24) round thighs; (25) round and full ankles; (26) soft hands and feet; (27) toes and fingers finely webbed; (28) long, slender fingers; (29) wheel-signs on hands and feet; (30) level feet; (31) broad heels; (32) legs like those of a royal stag.

Each Buddha has his own Land and its beings radiantly beautiful compared with our actual world. The beings in Amitābha Buddha's Land, for example, present the ideal image of the body. Since there are no three dismal destinies in the Pure Land, only human and celestial beings are found, whose bodies are hard and strong like those of wrestlers; faces are noble as well as clean; there are no distinctions of prettiness and ugliness among them. They have no suffering nor disease, and always enjoy all kinds of pleasures. Their life-span has no limitation, though a bodhisattva can limit it by his own will. Women are not found in the Pure Land. All beings are free from defiling passions and possess various magical powers. However, side by side with all these ideal characteristics of body, we find the contradictory description that those, whose abode is the Pure Land, are born neither from mother's womb, nor from eggs, nor from moisture, but they appear suddenly, have incorporeal and ubiquitous bodies and need not eat in spite of the abundance of food. These two contradictory descriptions show that the Pure Land

which is depicted concretely as an ideal Buddha Land, is at the same time regarded as the purely spiritual world.

In Buddhist metaphysics, the Buddha's body is sometimes divided into two viz., *dharmakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*, or three, viz., *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*. In the theory of karma bodily action is one of the three actions, the other two being mental and verbal. Kāyaindriya or bodily organ has skin as the tactual organ, which, together with visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory organs, forms the five organs; *kāya-vijñāna* or bodily cognition means the tactual perception. There are many other concepts related to 'body', but these have been omitted from this article which is meant only for the explanation of the Buddhist view of the physical body.

Y. kj.

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Section II. *ERE* s.v. Body (Buddhism).

Section III.—For the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādin: S. [illegible] *Abhidharmakośa*); [illegible] Buddhism, Vol. II. For [illegible] the 'twelve [illegible] *Abhidharmattha-* [illegible] *Philosophy*.

Section IV.—For 'contemplation and body': same books as mentioned in III, esp. *Visuddhimagga*. For physical conditions [illegible]

Section V.—B. Matsumoto, *Gokuraku Jōdo-ron* (A Study of the Pure land); D. Suzuki, *Jōdo-kei Shisō-ron* (A study of the Pure-land thought).

BOERSCHMANN, ERNEST (1873-1949), a German Sinologist, whose pioneer explorations opened up a new vista in the field of Buddhist architectural studies in China.

He was born on the 18th of February 1873 in an old east-Prussian family. He received his secondary education at the Grammer school at Memel and in 1891 entered the Technical University in Berlin to follow a course in architecture. After obtaining his first degree, he joined the Government service as an architect. In 1902, he was posted to a brigade in China as an inspector of military buildings. He was so deeply impressed by Chinese architecture that he resolved to embark upon a comprehensive research project in that field. After his return to Germany in 1904, he persuaded the German Government to finance his project. He visited China again in 1906 as a counsellor of the German Embassy in Peking He spent the next three years exploring the architectural remains of most of the eighteen provinces of the old Chinese empire and on his return, he wrote a book entitled *Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen*, in which he attempted to trace the development of Chinese architecture. In 1911 and 1914 appeared the first two volumes under the titles, *P'u T'o Shan'* and *Gedächtnistempel* respectively. The former dealt with the famous shrine which the Buddhists called Kusan Yui in Chusan-Archipelago, while the latter dealt with a number of monumental pagodas (Gedächtnistempel). These two works bring out his notion that the expression of religious sentiments and the mode of living of the Chinese are unmistakably depicted in their classical architecture. In 1923 appeared his book, *Baukunst und Landschaft in China*, in which he threw light upon the close affinity between Chinese architecture and landscape. In this work he attempts to elucidate, with examples, the intuitive feeling for nature the Chinese had exhibited in selecting picturesque settings for their buildings. The highlight of his career was the publication, in two volumes, of his work, *Chinesische Architektur* (Berlin, 1926). This work, illustrated with many excellent photographs, purports to be a display of pure forms of Chinese Art. In twenty chapters he deals with important groups of architectural structures and their different adjuncts. Whenever possible, the author attempts to throw new light on the national characteristics of the Chinese, their philosophy of life, their way of thinking, their concept of beauty and art and their aesthetics. A supplement to this work was published in 1927 under the title, *Chinesischen Baukeramik*.

In 1924 Boerschmann was appointed Honorary Professor in the Berlin Charlottenburg Technical University, where he was at the same time called upon to lecture on Chinese architecture. During the following years, he actively promoted German-Chinese cultural relationship, which he cherished as the goal of his life. He also delivered lectures and organised exhibitions of Chinese architecture in other places and prepared for publication in three volumes, a work on Chinese Buddhist sculpture entitled, *Der Baukunst und religiosen Kultur der Chinesen* (Vol. I, Berlin, 1911; Vol. II, Leipzig, 1914; Vol. III, Leipzig. 1931). He strongly advocated the idea of the need to keep in touch with the culture of China, where radical

changes of cultural and social nature were taking place quite frequently. Accordingly, in 1933 he travelled to China for the third time and brought some valuable material on architecture. His total collection, made at his own expense, he donated to the Department of Chinese in the University of Berlin. In 1943, he shifted to Bad Pyrmont and in 1945, he incorporated his collection in the Department of Chinese in the University of Hamburg, where he became the Professor Chinese. He died on the 30th April 1949 in Bad Pyrmont.

Apart from his books, he also contributed articles to journals of repute on subjects relating to Chinese architecture, such as Über das Studien der chinesischen Baukunst (*Kolnische Volkszeitung*, no. 124, 1905), Architektur and Kulturstudien in China (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1910, pp. 390-426), 'Einige Beispiele für die Gegenseitige Durchdrigung der drei chinesischen Religionen' (Ibid. 1911, pp. 425-35), 'Baukunst and Landschaft in China' (*Zentralblatt der Baukunst*, 1924, no. 1, pp. 1-4; no. 2, pp. 10-12) Eisen-und Bronzepagoden in China' (*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, pp. 223-35), 'Pagoden der Sui-und frühen T'angzeit' (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI, 1930, pp. 195-221), 'Die Pai t'a von Suiyüan, eine Nebenform der T'iennigpagoden' (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXIV, 1939, pp. 185-208), 'Pagoden in nordlichen China unter fremden Dynastien' (*Der Orient in Deutscher Forschung*, Liepzig, 1944, pp. 182-204).

Boerschmann also showed a penchant for poetry and his translations appeared in various journals under such titles as, 'Chinesische Gedichte' (*Sinica*, Vol. II, 1932, pp. 235-40), and 'Zur Frage der Übertragung Chinesischer Gedichte' (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 303-37).

C.S.R.

BŌGEN, a Japanese esoteric priest (? —— 1351). His home and year of birth are not known. He was a disciple of Shingen (? ——1322), a chief priest of the Jizō-in (temple) which is the headquarters of a sub-school, of the same name, which is located in the grounds of the Daigoji (temple) in Kyōto, the headquarters of the Daigo-ji school of the Shingon (Esoteric) sect in Japan.

In April of 1307, Bōgen received his initiation (*abhiṣeka*) and was granted by his master some valuable sacred books transmitted from Jinken (?——1261), the founder of the above-mentioned Jizō-in sub-school and from Dōkyō (1198-1236), a junior fellow-pupil of Jinken. In November of 1312, his master gave him some other articles which had been transmitted from master to disciple and which had been kept in the South Kyōzō (South store-house for Buddhist scriptures) of the Jizō-in (temple). His succession to his master in the Dharma was completed with this transmission, and he stayed in Shōjyōkō-in (temple) in the grounds of the Daigo-ji in order to preach the Dharma. He later stayed in the Ishin-in (temple) in Kamakura, the actual capital of those days and died in October 1351, leaving a disciple named Shinne as his successor (*Moc.* Vol. 5, p. 4589, b & c, etc.).

S. Mo.

BOJJHĀ. An eminent female lay-disciple (*upāsikā*) of Gotama Buddha. She once visited the Buddha at Jetavana in the Anāthapiṇḍikārāma. The Buddha preached to her the *Bojjhā Sutta* (q.v.) on uposatha and the advantages of keeping the fast (*A.* IV, 259, 347). *Bojjhā* means wisdom.

BOJJHAṄGA (skt. *bodhyaṅga*), factor or constituent of *bodhi*, i.e. Supreme Wisdom or Enlightenment.[1] There are seven such factors, namely, (i) mindfulness (*sati-sambojjhaṅga*), (ii) investigation of Dhamma (*dhammavicaya-s°*), (iii) energy *viriya-s°*), (iv) zest (*pīti-s°*), (v) tranquillity (*passaddhi-s°*), (vi) concentration (*samādhi-s°*)and (vii) equanimity (*upekkhā-s°*). They are also included in the aggregate of thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment (*sattatiṃsa-bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*)[2], the cultivation and development of which is said to result in the realization of bodhi. In fact, it is said that one enlightened by the harmony of these seven constituent states (*dhammasāmaggi*), thereby attains a "rising" from the slumber of the continuum of the lower nature (*kilesa-santāna-niddāya uṭṭhahati*), or a penetration of the Noble Truths (*cattāri vā ariya-saccāni paṭivijjhati*) or the realization of *Nibbāna* (*nibbānam eva vā sacchikaroti*)[3]. Bodhi or Supreme Wisdom, therefore, has to be realized by the cultivation and development of the seven *bojjhaṅgas*. Hence, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* defines them as factors that contribute to the realization of Enlightenment (*bodhāya saṃvattantīti bojjhaṅgā*)[4]. In fact, in the *Vibhaṅga*, the technical term *bodhi pakkhiyā-dhammā* (q.v.), Factors of Enlightenment, is exclusively applied to the category of seven

1 Frequently also called *Sambojjhaṅga*.
2 See *Vbh.* pp. 244, 249 *Nett.* p. 31; *Vism.* p. 678. etc.
3 *SA.* III, p. 138
4 *S.* V. p. 72.

bojjhaṅgas[5]. The *Sāratthappakāsinī* defines them as Factors of Wisdom or of one who has attained Wisdom (*bojjhaṅgāti bodhāya bodhissa vā aṅgā*)[6]. From these data furnished from the Buddhist texts, it becomes abundantly clear that the seven *bojjhaṅgas* form the corner-stone of the Buddhist system of ethical training.

Mindfulness (*sati-sambojjhaṅga*) : The term *sati* (Sanskrit : *smṛti*) is derived from the root *smṛ*. to remember, and it has, therefore, been generally interpreted as memory. But, this etymological meaning is not adequate enough to explain *sati* as a Constituent of Enlightenment. *Anussati*[7] which means reiterated recollection and *paṭissati*[8] which throws emphasis on vivid reinstatement are the Pali equivalents for memory. Although *sati* and memory are closely allied, the former is best rendered by "mindfulness". Its characteristic features are alertness and lucidity of mind. Sometimes, it is described as the lucid retention of both the past and the present. In the commentaries it appears under the metaphor of an inward mentor, descriminating between good and bad and prompting choice[9]. In the *Dhammasaṅganī*, it is defined as recollecting (*anussati*), calling back to mind (*paṭissati*), remembering (*saraṇatā*), bearing in mind (*dharaṇatā*), the opposite of superficiality and of obliviousness (*apiḷāpanatā, asammussanatā*)[10]. It is, therefore, as Mrs. Rhys Davids opines, "a quality rather than a specific direction of consciousness"[11]. It expresses that heedful, thoughtful awareness which is the opposite of mental distractedness, and the essential preliminary to deliberate concentration of mind. It is often associated with another quality, namely, *sampajañña* (Sanskrit : *samprajanya*) which means "sustained cognizing, deliberateness, self-awareness, self-possession."[12] It denotes mental alertness and self-control and emphasises the intellectual factors implied in such self-mastery. Their close connection is brought to light by the fact that *sampajañña* is more or less coincident with *sati* and is usually employed in the Nikāyas as a twin word (*sati-sampajañña*). As defined in the *Visuddhimagga*, *sati* has the characteristic of establishing (*upaṭṭhānalakkhaṇa*). Its function is to eliminate obliviousness (*asammussana-rasā*) and it is manifested as the abandoning of wrong mindfulness (*micchāsatippahāna-paccupaṭṭhitā*)[13].

Mindfulness, thus, appears to be the corner-stone of the Buddhist system of ethics. The ethical desirability of *sati*, as the instrument most efficacious in self-mastery, has been repeatedly emphasised in the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist works, without distinction of language and age, emphasize the necessity of cultivating, safeguarding and developing it. Its importance in the realm of Buddhist philosophy may be gauged by the circumstance that it is included in several of those overlapping numerical formula found in the Buddhist scriptures. Thus, it is reckoned as the seventh of the eight items in the Eightfold Path. It is also one of the Five Powers (*pañca balāni*) and the Five Moral Faculties (*pañcindriyāni*) and is in its widest sense one of those mental factors inseparably associated with all karmically wholesome (*kusala*) and karma-produced pure (*sobhana*) consciousness. It thus appears four times in the list of the Thirty-seven Factors of Enlightenment.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, too, a central position is attached to mindfulness. *Smṛti* or mindfulness is spoken of as the entrance to the Light of the Faith.[14] One of the qualities of a bodhisattva is that he does not pay attention to anything that is adverse or prejudicial to *smṛti*.[15] A Perfect Buddha is described as one whose mindfulness never falters or disappears—*amuṣita-smṛtiḥ*[16]. It is one of the eighteen special characteristic attributes of a Buddha.[17] It is the chief instrument with which the senses, which are naturally in a state of unrest, are diverted from the objects by which they are attracted.[18]

5 *Vbh.* p. 249.
6 *SA.* p. 138.
7 *A.* III, p. 284 ; V. p. 329
8 *Sn.* verse 283 ; *DhsA.* p. 147
9 *DhsA.* (edited by Ven : *Ratnasāra*) p. 132
10 *Dhs.* p. 11
11 *Buddhist Psychology.* p. 90.
12 Ibid. p. 91
13 *Vism.* p. 433.
14 *Lal.* p. 34.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid. pp. 434
17 *Mhvu.* I, p. 160
18 *Saundarananda Kāvya* xiii, v. 30.

It is, in brief, the very foundation of all moral progress and ethical perfection. Hence the *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā* says that *sati-sambojjhaṅga* has the characteristic function of serving as the basis for all other *bojjhaṅga*. (*upaṭṭhāna-lakkhaṇo sati-sambojjhaṅgo*).[19] It is also remarked that mindfulness as a Constituent of Enlightenment is given priority beacuse it serves the six other *bojjhaṅgas* (*sabbesaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ upakārattā sati-sambojjhaṅgo paṭhamaṃ vutto*)[20]. In the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* two types of *sati-sambojjhaṅga* are mentioned, namely, (i) mindfulness as to one's own personal conditions (*ajjhattaṃ dhammesu sati*) and (ii) mindfulness as to external conditions (*bahiddhā dhammesu sati*)[21]. Here the term "condition" (*dhamma*), according to the *Sāratthappakāsinī* refers to *saṅkhārā*—formations or synergics[22]. This two-fold division of *sati-sambojjhaṅga*, therefore, refers to the development of mindfulness in regard to *saṅkhāra*, both internal (*ajjhattika*) and external (*bahiddhā*).

Investigation of Dhamma (*Dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅga*) : The term *vicaya* of the compound *dhammavicaya* has the meaning of "examination, research, investigation, study." In the *Dhammasaṅgani*, it is explained as "research (*paricaya*), discernment (*sallakkhaṇā*), discrimination (*upalakkhaṇā*), differentiation (*paccupalakkhaṇā*), criticism (*vebhavyā*) reflection (*cintā*), analysis (*upaparikkhā*).[23] Thus, it refers to the type of investigation that is characterised by intensity, force and thoroughness.

The other term in the compound, i.e. *dhamma*, presents some difficulties as it lends itself to a variety of interpretations. It can refer either to the Doctrine (*dhammo*) or to general phenomena (*dhammā*). But, the constant occurrence of the plural form of *dhamma* in the Pali literature[24] makes it clear that here the term refers to what are called phenomena or "things". Buddhaghosa, on the other hand, in his commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgani* opines that *dhammavicaya* means the examination or investigation of the four cardinal truths of Buddhism (*catu-sacca-dhamme vicinātīti dhammavicayo*)[25]. According to this interpretation, *dhamma* represents the core of the Buddha's teaching. In some of the Buddhist Sanskrit works,[26] the terms *dharma* and *dharma-pravacana*[27] (exposition of the doctrine) are identical. As *dharma-pravacana* refers to the twelve sections of the Buddha's entire teachings, *dharma* in this context means all that has been uttered and taught by the Buddha. Accordingly, *dhammavicaya* would mean the investigation of the teachings of the Buddha. It is clearly seen, therefore, that in some of the Buddhist Sanskrit works, an attempt has been made to give a wider content of meaning to *dhammavicaya*.

As a constituent factor of Enlightenment it falls into two categories, namely, *dhamma-vicaya*, in the sense of searching (*paricināti*), scrutinizing (*parivīmaṃsati*) and investigating (*pavicarati*) into i, one's own conditions (*ajjhattaṃ-dhammesu*) and ii, into external conditions (*bahiddhā-dhammesu*).[28] According to the *Sāratthappakāsinī*, the term "conditions" refers to *saṅkhārā*—formations or synergies.[29] These two aspects of the *Dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*, therefore, throw emphasis on the understanding of both internal and external *saṅkhāra* in their true perspective.

Energy (*Viriya-sambojjhaṅga*) : *Viriya* or energy is an important category in Buddhist philosophy and religion. Literally it means "virility", "manliness" and refers to such qualities as energy and heroism. In the *Dhammasaṅgani* it is described as "the mental inception of energy (*cetasiko viriyārambho*), the striving and the onward effort (*nikkamo, parakkamo*), the exertion and endeavour (*niyāmo, vāyāmo*), the zeal and ardour (*ussāho, ussoḷhi*) the vigour and fortitude (*thāmo, dhiti*), the state of unfaltering effort (*asithila-parakkamatā*), the state of sustained desire (*anikkhitta-chandatā*), the state

19 *VbhA*. p. 338

20 Ibid.

21 *SV*. p. 110.

22 *SA*. p. 170.

23 *Dhs*. p. 62.

24 *S*. V. p. 110.

25 *DhsA*. (Edited by Ven. *Ratanasāra*) p. 153.

26 *Lal*. p. 34 ; *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra*, 144.

27 *Dharma-pravacana* is the collective name given to the twelve categories of Buddhist Scripture, viz. i *Sūtra* (discourses), ii *Geya* (mixed verse and prose), iii *Vyākaraṇa* (expository answers), iv *Gathā* (Poems), v *Udāna* (Solemn utterances), vi *Ityukta* (quatations), vii *Avadāna* (edifying stories), viii *Jātaka* (birth-stories), ix *Vaipulya* (extended treatieses), x *Adbhuta-dharma* (tales of wonder), xi *Upadeśa* (treatises on esterin ritual) and xii *Nidāna* (discourses on causation).

28 *S*. V, p. 111.

29 *SA*. p. 170.

of unflinching endeavour (*anikkhitta-dhuratā*), the solid grip of the burden (*dhura-sampaggāho*) and energy (*viriyaṃ*).[30] Buddhaghosa defines it as the state of an energetic man (*vīrassa bhāvo viriyaṃ*) and as the action of the energetic (*vīrānaṃ vā kammaṃ*)[31]. It is that which should be effected and carried out by method or suitable means (*vidhinā vā nayena upāyena īrayitabbaṃ pavattayitabbam*).[32] It is said to be characterised by supporting (*upatthambhana-lakkhaṇaṃ*), grasping at (*paggahana-lakkhaṇaṃ*) and exerting (*ussāhana-lakkhaṇaṃ*).[33] Its main function is to strengthen the co-existent wholesome states. (*sahajātānaṃ upatthambhana-rasaṃ*).[34] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, on the other hand, gives a fanciful etymology : *varena yojayatīti* (it unites one to that which is excellent—hence it is so-called).[35] In Buddhist Sanskrit literature *viriya* is usually defined as "energy in the pursuit of the good" or "vigour in well-doing" (*kuśalotsāha*).[36] The *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* defines it as the "great energy or vigour of the mind in the accumulation of meritorious principles" (*cittasyātyutsāhaḥ kuśaladharma saṅgrahe*).[37] The words *appamāda*[38] meaning vigilence, alertness, or watchfulness and *dhiti*[39] meaning fortitude, or steadfastness also denote certain aspects of *viriya*.

Its ethical desirability, according to Buddhaghosa, lies in the fact that all moral states when strengthened by energy do not fall away (*viriyupatthambhitā sabbe kusalā dhammā na hāyanti, na parihāyanti*).[40] In view, therefore, of this fact it occupies a central place in the field of Buddhist ethics. This is evident from the fact that it forms one of the Five Powers (*pañca balāni*) and the Five Moral Faculties (*pañca indriyāni*) and the fifth item in the Noble Eightfold Path. As a Constituent of Enlightenment, it is constantly extolled by the Mahāyānist writers, too, and its fundamental importance is indicated in unequivocal terms: "Enlightenment depends entirely on *viriya*, where there is *viriya* there is *bodhi*."[41] "It is the foremost and paramount cause of all the wholesome principles that are conducive to Enlightenment". (*bodhi-kārakānām kuśaladharmānām pradhānaṃ kāraṇaṃ*).[42] "It promotes a bodhisattva's material and spiritual well-being."[43] "It ensures success and protection and counteracts all fears and evil proclivities."[44] "It is far better to live only for a day with unswerving energy and unmitigated perseverence than to vegetate without energy even during a period of hundred years."[45] "Gautama Buddha himself was a great *vīra* (hero) and his unique victory over the forces of Māra was chiefly due to his unflinching energy."[46]

As a Constituent of Enlightenment it is of two kinds : (i) bodily energy (*kāyikaṃ viriyaṃ*) and (ii) mental energy (*cetasikaṃ viriyaṃ*)[47]. *Kāyika viriya*, according to the *Sāratthappakāsinī* is "the energy which comes to one who practises walking up and down" (*caṅkamaṃ adhiṭṭhahantassa uppanna-viriyaṃ*)[48]. *Cetasika-viriya* is defined as the energy of one who determines thus : "I will not abandon this sitting-posture till my mind be absolved from the depravities without grasping (*natāv' ahaṃ imaṃ pallaṅkaṃ bhindissāmi yāva me na anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccissatīti evam kāyappayogaṃ vinā uppannam viriyaṃ*).[49] The *Lalitavistara*, too, speaks of *viriya sambojjhaṅga* as of two kinds :—i, the energy of preparation and initiative (*sannāha-viryaṃ*, i.e. putting on the armour) and ii, the energy

30 *Dhs*. p. 12.
31 *DhsA*. (Edited by Ven. *Ratanasāra*) p. 131.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* p., 102.
36 *Bodhicaryāvatāra* vii, 2.
37 *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* p. 80.
38 See pp. 1, 13 ; iii, 30 ; *M*. 1, p. 477 ; *A*. 1, 16 etc.
39 See *S*. 1, pp. 122, 215 ; *Sn*. 188 ; *J*. 1, pp. 266, 280 etc.
40 *DhsA*. (Edited by Ven. *Ratanasāra*) p. 131.
41 *Bodhicaryāvatāra* vii, 1.
42 *Bodhisattva-hhumi* p. 81.
43 *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 114.
44 *Lal*. p. 373.
45 *Mhvu*. III, p. 436.
46 *Lal*. p. 354 ; *Divy*. p. 392.
47 *S*. V, p. 111.
48 *SA*. p. 170.
49 Ibid.

of practice and activity (*prayoga-vīryam*).[50] The former is similar to the *cetasika-viriya* which is not associated with bodily movement (*kāyappayogaṃ vinā*). The latter represents *kāyika-viriya*, which, as observed earlier, finds mention in the *Sāratthappakāsinī*. The *Dharmasaṅgraha* speaks of a third category, named *paraniṣṭhā-vīryaṃ* or *pariniṣṭhā-vīryaṃ*.[51] This is not clearly intelligible, but may signify *viriya* that leads to the Supreme End.

Zest (*pīti-sambojjhaṅga*) : The term *pīti*, derived from the root *prī* means emotion of joy, delight, zest, exuberance. It is defined as zest (*pīti*), joy (*pāmojjam*), rejoicing at (*āmodanā*), rejoicing over (*pāmodanā*), mirth (*hāso*), merriment (*pahāso*), felicity (*vitti*), exultation (*odagyaṃ*) and elation of mind (*attamanatā*).[52] As distingiushed from *sukhaṃ* (ease), *pīti* is explicitly exculded from the aggreagate of feeling (*vedanākkhandha*) and is referred to the composite psychoses of the aggregate of formations or synergies (*saṅkhārakkhandha*). As Mrs. Rhys Davids opines, "it connotes emotion as distinct from bare feeling".[53] *Pīti*, therefore, is a complex psychical phenomenon.

In the commentarial literature it is very often spoken of as five-fold (*pañcavaṇṇā pīti*), viz. i, slight sense of interest or the thrill of joy (*khuddikāpīti*), "just causing the flesh to creep"; ii, the flash of joy (*khaṇikā-pīti*) like lightning: iii, the flood of joy or oscillating interest (*okkantikā-pīti*) like the breakers on a seashore; iv, ecstasy or thrilling emotion or transport in which the subject could float in the air (*ubbegā-pīti*); and v, overwhelming suffusing joy or interest amounting to rapture (*pharaṇā pīti*)[54]. The differences in these five species of *pīti* lie in the degree of intensity of zest.

Pīti as a state of mental experience has satisfaction as its chracteristic (*sampiyāyana-lakkhaṇa*) ; the thrilling of body and mind (or suffusion) as its function (*kāya-citta-pīnana-rasa*) and elation as its manifestation (*odagya-paccupaṭṭhāna*)[55]. As a Constitutent of Enlightenment it is of two types :— i, zest that is accompanied by thought, directed and sustained (*savitakka-savicāra-pīti*) and ii, zest unaccompanied by thought, directed and sustained (*avitakka-avicārā-pīti*)[56]. Here the phrase *savitakka - savicāra* refers to the restless, discursive work of intellect which seeks likenesses and differences; zest accompanied by such discursive activities of the mind belongs to the first *jhāna*. That which is unaccompanied by such mental activities is one of the factors of the second *jhāna*. The second state of *pīti* is of a higher plane and as such represents a more developed and more purified form of zest.

Tranquility (*passaddhi-sambojjhaṅga*) : Derived from the root *śrambh* to calm down, *passaddhi*, in the terminology of Buddhist philosophy and ethics, signifiies calmness, tranquillity, repose and serenity. It is described as a state free from pain where pain is allayed and suppressed, where tremor or unquiet is replaced by coolness—the opposite to the states called depravities (*kilesas*). In the *Dhammasaṅgani* it is defined as serenity (*passaddhi*), composure (*paṭippassaddhi*), calming (*paṭisambhitattaṃ*), tranquillising (*paṭisambhanā*) and tranquillity (*paṭisambhitattaṃ*)[57].

Passaddhi as a *bojjhaṅga* is always spoken of as two-fold : i, tranquillity of body (*kāya-passaddhi*) and ii, tranquillity of mind (*citta-passaddhi*)[58]. The former refers to the tranquillity of the three aggregates of feeling (*vedanākkhandha*), perception (*saññakkhandha*) and formations or synergies (*saṅkhārakkhanda*). The latter, on the other hand, refers to the tranquillity of the aggregate of consciousness (*viññāṇakkhandha*)[59]. These two states, in common, possess the characteristic of pacifying the suffering of both consciousness–concomitants and consciousness (*kāyacitta-daratha-vūpasamana-lakkhaṇa*).[60] Their function is to crush the suffering associated with the aggregates of feeling, perception formations or synergies and consciousness. They manifest themselves as an unwavering and cool state of consciousness and its concomitants (*kāyacittānaṃ apanapphanda-sītibhāva-paccupaṭṭhānā*).[61] And their

50 *Lal.* p. 354.

51 *Dharmasaṅgraha, Section* 108.

52 *Dhs.* p. 21.

53 *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, p. 9.

54 *DhsA.* (Edited by Ven. *Ratanasāra*) p. 127.

55 Ibid.

56 *S.* V. p. 111.

57 *Dhs.* p. 14.

58 *S.* V. p. 111.

59 *SA.* p. 170.

60 *Dhs.* p. 139.

61 Ibid.

ethical disirability lies in the fact that they eliminate all forms of disturbance and distraction that perturb consciousness and its associated phenomena.

Concentration (*samādhi-sambojjhaṅga*): Derived from *sam+ā+dhā*, to place well, the term *samādhi* in the phraseology of Buddhist philosophy means concentration or a concentrated, self-collected, intent state of mind and meditation. Its ethical desirability for the system of Buddhist self-culture lies in the fact that, concomitant with right living, it is an essential condition for the attainment of higher wisdom and emancipation. It is usually defined as stability (*ṭhiti*) solidity (*saṇṭhiti*), and absorbed steadfastness (*avaṭṭhiti*) of thought which is the absence of distraction (*avisahāro*), balance (*avikkhepo*), unperturbed mental procedure (*avisāhaṭa-mānasatā*) and quiet (*samatho*).[62] All these synonyms bring out clearly the thoroughness and intensity of self-collectedness which characterise samādhi.

Buddhaghosa defines samādhi as the profitable unification of the mind (*kusala-cittassekaggatā*)[63]. Here the term *cittassekaggatā* is only a synonym for samādhi and it specifically refers to the agreement or harmony of consciousness and its concomitants. He further remarks that it is the centering (*ādhāna*) of consciousness and consciousness-concomitants evenly (*samaṃ*) and rightly (*sammā*) on a single object.[64] Non-distraction is its main characteristic (*avikkhepa-lakkhaṇa*): "As the king in battle goes wherever the army is giving way, and the army wherever he has gone becomes reinforced and—the hostile army being broken—follows the king, so concentration, from not allowing the wholesome co-existent states to be thrown out and scattered, has non-distraction as its characteristic."[65]

"He who is concentrated sees things as they really are".[66] These words indicate not only the essence of samādhi, but also the nature of the relation between samādhi and paññā, i.e., wisdom. It is thus a pre-requisite for the realization of Nibbāna, for only a concentrated mind can have the vision of truth and reality. It, therefore, is not an end in itself but a means to an end. That end is Supreme Wisdom or Enlightenment, the seeing of things as they are in truth and reality.

Equanimity (*upekkhā-sambojjhaṅga*): Derived from the root *īkṣ*, to see, the term *upekkhā* literally means "looking on". But in the phraseology of Buddhist philosophy it assumes different shades of meaning in different contexts. It conveys, therefore, such a variety of meanings as hedonic neutrality, indifference, disinterestedness, equanimity, zero-point between joy and sorrow, neutral feeling, feeling which is neither pain nor pleasure, neutral middle term between friendliness (*anunaya*) and repugnance (*paṭigha*) and impartiality.

Three principal types of *upekkhā* can be distinguished. The first is the *upekkhā* of sensation or physical sensibility (*anubhava-upekkhā*). This state is described as the neutral feeling or zero-point between bodily pain and pleasure (*kāyika-dukkha-sukha*). The second type is the *indriyappabheda-upekkhā* which refers to the neutral middle term between joy (*somanassa*) and grief (*domanassa*). In other words, it is *upekkhā* of mental pleasure and pain. Of these, the former is sensational while the latter is emotional. But both are hedonic in character. The third type of *upekkhā* is usually referred to as *tatramajjhattatā*—balance of mind or mental equipose. As Shwe Zan Aung remarks, "It is intellectual and not hedonic and appears as a nuance in conscious experience, when the object is of a higher kind than those which evoke the hedonic *upekkhā*."[67] This type of equanimity is to be found in the *saṅkhārupekkhā* or indifference to the world and *brahmacariyupekkhā* or religious equanimity. This feeling of indifference is fostered by balance of mind or equanimity (*tatramajjhattatā*) and is different from the neutral aspect of feeling, or zero-point between pain and pleasure, joy and sorrow. It is, in other words, a mental attitude of a more exalted nature. It is this third type of equanimity which, when developed to perfection, constitutes *upekkhā* as a Constituent of Enlightenment.

These *bojjhaṅgas*, seven in all, constitute one of the most important items in the system of Buddhist ethics. Their ethical desirability lies in the fact that, when cultivated and made much of, they conduce to full comprehension, to wisdom and to Nibbāna. In fact, as observed earlier, Supreme Wisdom is defined as the harmony of these seven constituent states of bodhi. Both in Hīnayāna

62 *Dhs.* p. 11.
63 *Vism.* p. 68.
64 Ibid.
65 *Expositor,* i, 156.
66 *S.* III, xxii, 5.
67 *Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy.,* p. 230.

and Mahāyāna scriptures, therefore, their fundamental importance is indicated in unequivocal terms. They are said to be the seven conditions of welfare—*aparihāniyā dhammā*.[68] They cause vision, knowledge and growth of insight; they consort not with pain and conduce to the Supreme Goal.[69] They constitute the way for crushing Māra's forces (*mārasenappamaddana-maggo*).[70] When cultivated and made much of, they complete release by knowledge (*vijjāvimuttiṃ paripūrenti*).[71] Whatsoever recluses or brāhmins do abandon the three types of conceit, all of them do so by the fact of cultivating and making much of the seven Constituents of Enlightenment.[72] By whomsoever the seven limbs of wisdom are neglected, by them is neglected the Eightfold Path for the utter destruction of ill.[73] As one cultivates them, one frees one's heart from the passions of sensuality, becoming and nescience. The knowledge comes to him: "Freed I am by being free"; so that he fully knows: "cut off is rebirth, lived is the holy life, done is the task, there is no more of being here for me."[74]

Methods of Development: The *Bojjhaṅga-Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and the *Paṭhavikasina-Niddesa* of the *Visuddhimagga* explain in detail the manner in which the seven *bojjhaṅgas* are to be developed. Mindfulness, in this connection, is given priority since it is said to be profitable on all occasions (*sabbatthikaṃ*),[75] whereas the other six *bojjhaṅgas* are to be developed on specific occasions. Thus, it is specifically said that *dhammavicaya*, *viriya* and *pīti* ought to be cultivated and developed when the mind is slugghish (*līnaṃ cittaṃ*) while the remaining three ought to be cultivated and developed when the mind is elated (*uddhataṃ cittaṃ*).[76]

As observed earlier, mindfulness is described as *sabbatthika*—profitable on all occasions. The *Sāratthappakāsinī*[77] likens it to a salt-spicing, i.e. strongest among all flavourings (*loṇadhūpanaṃ viya sabba-vyañjanesu*). It is again compared to an "all-round" royal minister who can also fight or counsel or do special service equally well. Thus, the presence of mindfulness is indispensable either in exerting a sluggish mind or in restraining an elated mind (*uddhatassa cittassa niggahanaṃ līnassa paggahananti sabbaṃ etaṃ satiyā ijjhati*).[78] For the development of this *bojjhaṅga*, certain conditions called *sati-sambojjhaṅgaṭṭhāniyā dhammā* are necessary. According to Buddhaghosa, they refer to the objects of mindfulness, namely the thirty-seven Factors of Englihtenment (*sattatiṃsa-bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*) and the nine Supramundane States (*navalokuttara-dhammā*).[79] Systematic attention towards them is said to be the food (*āhāro*) for the arising of mindfulness.[80] Four other preliminary conditions are mentioned as leading to the arising of Mindfulness as a Constituent of Enlightenment namely, i, mindfulness and self-possession (*sati-sampajañña*), ii, avoidance of persons not possessed with mindfulness (*muṭṭhas-satipuggala-parivajjanatā*) iii, association of persons endowed with mindfulness (*uppaṭṭhitassatipuggala-sevanatā*) and iv, resoluteness upon *sati-sambojjhaṅga* (*tad-adhimuttatā*).[81]

As already observed, *dhammavicaya*, along with *viriya* and *pīti* ought to be developed when the mind is sluggish. Thus, when one's mind is slack with over-laxity, then one should pay one's attention to the afore-said three factors, for, it is emphatically said that a slack mind can well be roused by those states (*līnaṃ bhikkhave cittaṃ taṃ etehi dhammehi susamuṭṭhāpayaṃ hoti*). In speaking of the states that conduce to *dhamma-vicaya-sambojjhaṅga* the Buddha says: "Bhikkhus, there are profitable and unprofitable states, reprehensible and blameless states, inferior and superior states, dark and bright states—the counterpart of each other. Wise attention much practised therein is the nutriment for the arising of the unarisen

68 *D.* II p. 79.
69 *S.* V. p. 97.
70 Ibid. p. 99.
71 Ibid. p. 73.
72 Ibid. p. 98.
73 Ibid. p. 82.
74 Ibid. p. 90.
75 Ibid. p. 115.
76 Ibid. p. 112f.
77 p. 171.
78 Ibid.
79 *SA.* p. 141.
80 *S.* V, p. 104.
81 *SA.* p. 155.

ḍhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅga or leads to the growth, fulfilment, development and perfection of the arisen *dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅga*."[82] This particular *bojjhaṅga*, therefore, requires for its development a critical analysis and thorough-going discrimination of ethically good and bad states. For the abandonment of unwholesome states and the cultivation of wholesome states a correct valuation of all states is essential. Knowledge must needs precede action. It is on this fact that this particular *bojjhaṅga* lays emphatic stress.

There are, besides, seven preliminary conditions that lead to its arising, namely, i, asking questions (*paripucchakatā*) ii, making the basis clean (*vatthu-visada-kiriyatā*) iii, balancing the faculties (*indriya-samatta-paṭipādanā*) iv, avoidance of persons devoid of wisdom (*duppaññapuggala-parivojjanatā*) v, association with persons possessing wisdom (*pañña-vanta-puggala-sevanā*) vi, reviewing the field for the exercise of profound knowledge (*gambhīra-ñāṇa-gocara-paccavekkhaṇā*) and vii, resoluteness upon *dhammavicaya*.[83] Here, the first one, i.e. *paripucchakatā*, refers to questions pertaining to aggregates, elements, spheres, faculties, powers, factors of wisdom, tranquillity and insight (*khandha-dhātu-āyatana-indriya-bala-bojjhaṅga-samatha-vipassanānaṃ atthasannissitā paripucchā*). The second refers to the cleanliness of one's own body and one's environs. "Balancing the faculties" indicates the necessity of development of such faculties (*indriyāni*) as faith, wisdom and concentration. They ought to be harmoniously blended so that there may be that mental composure which is indispensable for the development of higher states of mind. The sixth condition refers to the necessity of exercising one's insight in more profound aspects of the teaching. *Tad-adhimuttatā* lays stress on the necessity of consistent and persistent attention thereto.

Viriya-sambojjhaṅga requires for its arising and development systematic attention towards the element of putting forth energy (*ārambhadhātu*), the element of exertion (*nikkamadhātu*) and the element of striving (*parakkama-dhātu*). This is said to be the nutriment (*āhāro*) for the arising of energy not yet arisen, or for the cultivation and fulfilment thereof, if already arisen.[84] *Ārambha-dhātu*, according to Buddhaghosa, is the initial effort of striving (*paṭhama-viriyaṃ*). *Nikkama-dhātu*, is the same, grown stronger by casting off sloth (*kosajjato nikkhantattā tato balavataraṃ*). *Parakkama-dhātu*, too, refers to the same, still stronger as it draws nearer and nearer to the goal (*paraṃ paraṃ ṭhānaṃ akkamanato tato pi balavataraṃ*).[85] These three, therefore, represent three stages of energy distinguished only by degrees of intensity and thoroughness.

Besides these, Buddhaghosa mentions an aggregate of eleven conditions for the effective arising of *viriya-sambojjhaṅga*. It includes, i, reviewing the fearfulness of the states of loss (*apāyādi-bhaya-paccavekkhanatā*); ii, seeing benefit in obtaining the mundane and supra-mundane distinctions dependent on energy (*viriyāyatta-lokiya-lokuttara-visesādhigamānisaṃsadassitā*); iii, reviewing the course of the journey thus: the path taken by the Buddhas, Pacceka-buddhas and the great disciples has to be taken by me and it cannot be taken by an idler (*Buddha-paccekabuddha-mahāsāvakehi gata-maggo mayā gantabbo, so ca na sakkā kusītena gantunti evaṃ gamana-vīthi-paccavekkhaṇatā*); iv, being a credit to those who provide alms by producing great fruit for the givers (*dāyakānaṃ mahapphalabhāva-karaṇena piṇḍapacāyanatā*); v, reviewing the greatness of the Master thus: My Master praises the energetic and this unsurpassable Dispensation, that is so helpful to us, is honoured in the practice, not otherwise, vi, reviewing the greatness of the Heritage (*dāyajjamahatta-paccavekkhaṇatā*); vii, eschewing stiffness and torpor by attention to perception of light (*āloka-saññā*), change of postures (*iriyāpatha-parivattana*) and frequenting the open air (*abbhokāsa-sevanā*); viii, avoidance of idle persons (*kusīta-puggala-parivajjanatā*); ix, association with energetic persons (*āraddha-viriya-puggala-sevanatā*); x, reviewing the right endeavours (*sammappadhāna*) and xi, resoluteness upon energy.[86]

These conditions enumerated in the *Visuddhimagga* relate more to the preliminary preparation than to the immediate causes. They refer, in the main, to the ways and means of checking all forms of inertia and inactivity which might impede the spiritual progress of the disciple. Faithful observance and constant practice of them serve to enhance and intensify energy until it gradually becomes a Constituent of Enlightenment.

The contributory factors of *pīti* are known as the *pītisambojjhaṅgaṭṭhāniyā dhammā* which, according to Buddhaghosa refer to the recollections (*anussati*):

82 *S*. V, p. 104.
83 *SA*. p. 156.
84 *S*. V. p. 104.
85 *SA*. p. 156.
86 *SA*. p. 158.

i, of the Buddha (*buddhā-nussati*), ii, of the *Dhamma* (*dhammānussati*); iii, of the *Saṅgha* (*saṅghānussati*); iv, of the virtues (*sīlānussati*); v, of generosity (*cāgānussati*) and vi, of deities (*devatānussati*).[87] The special qualities of the Buddha, the efficacy of the *Dhamma* and the virtues of the *Saṅgha* form the objects of recollection in the first three *anussatis*. *Sīlānussati* refers to the reflection on the faithful observance of the Four Precepts of Purity (*catu-pārisuddhi-sīla*) in the case of a monk, and the Five or Ten Precepts (*pañca-sīla or dasa-sīla*) in the case of a layman. Recollection of generosity, says Buddhaghosa, must be practised by one who is naturally devoted to liberality and the constant practice of giving and sharing.[88] These objects of recollection, it is said, are capable of evoking zest which, when brought to perfection, forms a Constituent of Enlightenment.

The cultivation of the last three *bojjhaṅgas*, as observed earlier, serves to restrain an agitated mind. In view, therefore, of this specific quality, it is specifically laid down in the suttas that they ought to be cultivated when the mind is agitated, for, an agitated mind is easily calmed by such conditions.[89]

The first of these, i.e., *passaddhi-sambojjhaṅga* includes two types of tranquillity—i, *kāya-passaddhi* and ii, *citta-passaddhi*. The former refers to the tranquillity of distress (*daratha*) of feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*) and formations (*saṅkhāra*). The latter, on the other hand, refers to the calming down of distress associated with consciousness. Systematic attention thereto, if made much of, is spoken of as the food (*āhāro*) for *passaddhi-sambojjhaṅga*. Besides these, mention is made of seven other factors contributing ot its realization: i, using superior food (*paṇīta-bhojana-sevanatā*); ii, living in a good climate (*utu-sukha-sevanatā*); iii, maintaining a pleasant posture (*iriyāpatha-sukha-sevanatā*); iv, keeping to the middle path (*majjhatta-payogatā*); v avoidance of violent persons (*sāraddha-puggala-parivajjanatā*); vi, cultivation of persons tranquil in body (*passaddha-kāya-puggala-sevanatā*); and vii, resoluteness upon tranquillity (*tad-adhimuttatā*).[90]

Constant and systematic reflection with calm (*samatha*) and non-dissipation (*avyagga*) as its objects is said to result in samādhi.[91] In this connection, Buddhaghosa enumerates eleven factors as contributing to its effective realisation. They are:– i, making the basis clean (*vatthu-visada-kiriyatā*); ii, skill in the sign (*nimitta-kusalatā*); iii, balancing the faculties (*indriya-samatha-paṭipādanatā*); iv, restraining the mind on proper occasions (*samaye cittassa niggahaṇā*); v, exerting the mind on proper occasions (*samaye cittassa paggahaṇatā*); vi, encouraging the listless mind by means of faith and a sense of urgency (*nirassādassa cittassa saddhā-saṃvega-vasena sampahaṃsanatā*); vii, looking on with equanimity at what is occurring rightly (*sammā-pavattassa ajjhupekkhaṇatā*); viii, avoidance of unconcentrated persons (*asamāhita-puggala-parivajjanatā*), ix, association with concentrated persons (*samāhita-puggala-sevanatā*); x, reviewing of the jhānas and liberations (*jhāna-vimokkha-paccavekkhaṇatā*) and xi, resoluteness upon concentration (*tad-adhi-muttatā*).[92]

Among these factors, what is called "skill in the sign" refers to the ability to bring about the unification of mental phenomena through the objects of meditation. "Balancing the faculties" points to the necessity of establishing harmony and equilibrium in regard to the faculties (*indriyāni*) such as faith, energy, etc. The third and fourth factors stress the desirability of restraining the mind when it is agitated through over-energeticness and exerting the mind when it is slack with over-laxity of energy. The fifth emphasises the need to encourage the mind when it is dull and insipid through the recollection of the suffering associated with reiterated existence and by recalling to mind the special qualities of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. These objects of recollection serve as a source of inspiration for one whose mind is not concentrated and is dissipated.

The factors that bring about *upekkhā-sambojjhaṅga* are called in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*[93] the *upekkhā-sambojjhaṅgaṭṭhāniyā-dhammā*, which, according to the Commentary,[94] are the same as the *majjhattakarā dhammā*: factors that bring about balance of mind. According to Buddhaghosa, there are five such factors, viz. i, maintenance of neutrality towards living beings (*satta-majjhattatā*), ii, maintenance of neutrality towards formations

87 *SA*. p. 161.
88 Ibid.
89 *S*. V. p. 105.
90 *SA*. p. 162.
91 *S*. V. p. 105.
92 *SA*. p. 163.
93 *S*. V. p. 105.
94 *SA*. p. 141.

sankhāra-majjhattatā); iii, avoidence of persons who adopt a discriminative attitude towards beings and formations (*satta-saṅkhāra-kelāyana-puggala-parivajanatā*); iv, association with persons who maintain neutrality towards beings and formations (*satta-saṅkhāra-majjhatta-puggala-sevanatā*) and v, resoluteness upon equanimity (*tad-adhimuttatā*).[95]

The first, i.e. *sattamajjhattatā* comes about by two ways: by reviewing the fact that one is heir to one's own kamma (*kammassakataṃ paccavekkhaṇatā*) and secondly, by considering that from the point of view of ultimate truth (*paramatthato*) there is no living-being to speak of (*nissatta-paccavekkhaṇatā*).[96] Conviction of those facts, it is said, does not give rise to any form of discrimination towards living-beings. *Saṅkhāra-majjhattatā* or neutrality towards formations too comes about by two ways: The first is called *assāmikabhāva-paccavekkhaṇatā* or the reflection on the fact that in truth none can claim ownership for any object. The things one possesses, it is said, do not behave according to the dictates of the owner, but they follow the inexorable laws of decay and destruction. The second is called the *tāvakālika-bhāva-paccavekkhaṇatā* or meditation on the fact that all phenomena, both psychical and physical, are in a state of constant flux.[97] To understand things in their true perspective is what is emphasised here. Such knowledge, says Buddhaghosa, eliminates all forms of egotism and brings about an attitude of neutrality towards all phenomena.

These seven ethical qualities of mindfulness, investigation of the Dhamma, energy, zest, tranquillity, concentration and equanimity, when developed to perfection, form what are called Constituents of Enlightenment. And Enlightenment itself is defined as the harmony of these seven constituent states (*dhamma-sāmaggi*) and as being opposed to the various perils of mental contraction and distraction (*līnuddhacca*), fixity and restlessness (*patiṭṭhānāyūhana*), indulgence in sensual pleasures and devotion to self-mortification (*kāmasukhatta-kilamathānuyoga*) and addiction to the speculations of nihilism and eternalism (*uccheda-sassatābhinivesa*).[98] It is this harmony of states, at the moment when transcendental state arises (*lokuttara-maggakkhaṇe*) that is called bodhi—Supreme Wisdom or Enlightenment—which implies a rising from the slumber of continuum of lower nature, or the penetration of the Noble Truths or the realization of Nibbāna.[99]

Y. Kr.

BOJJHAṄGAKOSALLA SUTTA, name given in the *Sammohavinodanī* (*VibhA.* p. 229) to the *Aggi Sutta* (*S.* V, p. 112) in quoting a section of the same.

BOJJHAṄGASĀKACCA, name of the sixth chapter (*vagga*) of the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V, p. 102). It contains the following six suttas: (1) *Āhāra,* (2) *Pariyāya,* (3) *Aggi,* (4) *Mettā,* (5) *Saṅgārava,* (6) *Abhaya.* For each sutta, see the relevant headword.

The name is probably suggested by the contents of the first sutta which deals with perseverence in the "limbs of wisdom".

B. J.

BOJJHAṄGA SAṂYUTTA, the second section (the forty-sixth *saṃyutta*) of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V, pp. 61-140), containing several suttas dealing with problems connected with seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*)[1]. It is divided into the following *vaggas*, in the numerical order given (1) *Pabbata°*, (2) *Gilāna°*, (3) *Udāyi°*, (4) *Nīvaraṇa°*, (5) *Cakkavatti°*, (6) *Bojjhaṅgasākacca°*, (7) *Ānāpāna°*, (8) *Nirodha°*, (9) *Gaṅgāpeyyāla,* (10) *Appamāda°*, (11) *Balakaraṇīya°*, (12) *Esanā°*, (13) *Ogha°*, (14) *Gaṅgāpeyyāla* (*Rāgavinay°*), (15) *Appamāda°*, (*Rāgavinaya°*), (16) *Balakaraṇīya°* (*Rāgavinaya°*), (17) *Esanā°* (*Rāgavinaya°*), (18) *Ogha°* (*Rāgavinaya°*).

For suttas under each ***vagga,*** see relevant ***vagga.***

B. J.

BOJJHAṄGA SUTTA (1), a sutta in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II, p. 236 f.), in which the Buddha tells the bhikkhus that, of the four kinds of deeds (i.e., (1) the dark deed with the dark result, (2) the bright deed with the bright result, (3) the both dark and bright deed with the dark and

95 *SA.* p. 164.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid. 138.
99 *Expositor,* ii, p. 294.
1 *Bojjhaṅga* is translated by Woodward (*Kindred Sayings,* V, p. 5) as 'Limbs of Wisdom'.

bright result, (4) the neither dark nor bright deed with the neither dark nor bright result), the *bojjhaṅgas* fall into the fourth category, leading to neither dark nor bright results, being conducive to the waning of deeds.

B. J.

BOJJHAṄGA SUTTA (2), a sutta in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V. p. 312 f.), preached by the Buddha to the bhikkhus at Sāvatthi. It describes how concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing (*ānāpāna*) can be utilised to develop the seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*).

B. J.

BOJJHAṄGA SUTTA (3), a sutta in the first *vagga* of the *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, p. 361), preached by the Buddha to the bhikkhus. It is one of several suttas in this *Saṃyutta* in which the Buddha deals with the subject of the Uncompounded (*asaṅkhata*) and the path leading thereto. This sutta states that the seven Factors of Enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) lead to the Uncompounded, as in the other suttas the Buddha mentions mindfulness relating to the body (*kāyagatā sati*), calm and insight (*samatha-vipassanā*), etc. The names of these suttas are derived from the particular quality mentioned in them as leading to the Uncompounded, whence *Bojjhaṅga Sutta*.

B. J.

BOJJHĀ SUTTA, a sutta in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 259) which the Buddha delivered at Sāvatthi to the lay-disciple, Bhojjā, from whom it derives its name. The contents of this sutta recur in several other discourses given to laymen and monks (e.g., ibid. pp. 248, 255), and deal with the advantages of keeping the observance day (*uposatha*) with the eight qualifications. Power over the sixteen republics (*mahajanapada*, here mentioned by their names) is of little worth as compared with these observances, and celestial happiness is presented as superior to human rule and human power. "Mean is the rule of man" says the Buddha here, "compared with celestial happiness". It is then shown that a day in the heavens is many times that of a day among mankind, the proportions increasing as we ascend from the heaven of the Four Regents (*Cātummahārājikadevā*) to the heaven of the Brahmas. At the end of the sutta, the observances are summed up in a recurrent gāthā, concluding with the insistent lines :

"Wherefore the virtuous woman, moral man,
Who keep the observance day in these eight ways,
Make merit-yielding happiness, and come
Blameless, unto the blissful heaven-world."

(trsl. Hare, *Book of Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 174.)

B. J.

BOKI-ESHI (C. 104), a classical Japanease work by Jyūkaku Jishun (1295–1360) in 10 fascicles.

The literal meaning of *boki* is 'to yearn after returning to *Nirvāṇa*', and that of *eshi*, 'picture story'.

This is an illustrated biography of Shūshō Kakunyo (1270-1351) who was the third chief priest of the Hongan-ji (temple), the headquarters of the Shin-shū (Pure-land) sect in Japan. This biography is formed with 26 chapters. The first chapter contains the introduction and the facts of his birth : the next 23 chapters have his chronological personal history and his poems; and in the last 2 chapters appear the titles of his works, the names of his disciples and the description about his death in January, 1351.

This work was written in October of 1351 by Jyūkaku, the second son of Shūshō, in compliance with the request of Gyōsen, one of the disciples of Shūshō.

An old manuscript of this work, which has been kept in the Hongan-ji itself, is now designated as a national treasure. The work was first printed in 1673, and it is now collected in the *Shin-shū Hōyō*, the *Shin-shū Kana Seikyō* etc., (*Moc.* Vol. 5, p. 4656c ff. ; Vol. 3, p. 2277 b, c, etc.).

S. Mo.

BOMMŌKAISHONSHO-NICHIJUSHŌ, (*Fan-wang-chieh-pên-shu-jih-chu-ch'ao*, C. 105 ; *Taishō*, No. 2247, Vol. 62, pp. 4–262), a work in classical Chinese produced in Japan. It is a commentary written by Gyōnen (1240–1321A.C.), a famous Kegon-priest of the Tōdai-ji (temple), on the *Fan-wang* (*-ching-p'u-sa*)*-chieh-pên-shu* or *Bommō* (*-kyō-bosatsu*)*-kaihonsho* (*Taishō*, No. 1813) in 6 fascicles. The *Fan-wang-chieh-pên-shu*, written by Fa-tsang (643–712A.C.), the 3rd patriarch of the Hua-yen or Kegon-sect in China, is one of the three most important commentaries on the later half of the *Fan-wang-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 1484) in which

a Mahāyāna-vinaya text named the *Fan-wang-p'u-sa-chieh* is mentioned. This work, therefore, is considered to be a sub-commentary of the above vinaya-sūtra. Although the present text of the sub-commentary in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* constitutes 50 fascicles of which the 14th and 23rd are missing, it is reported that the work was originally composed of 80 fascicles in all (*Moc.* Vol. 1, p, 614c). According to the colophons which are found at the end of almost all fascicles, the following may be said regarding the formation of the sub-commentary : Originally Gyōnen wrote the first 45 fascicles at the Kaidan-in, in the grounds of the Tōdai-ji (temple) in Nara, the headquarters of the Kegon sect, from June of 1276 to the following April. Later on, he revised the first twenty fascicles at the same place between May and October of 1283 ; and the 20th to the 45th chapters between March and July of 1286. But, the re-examination of the 40th and 41st is not stated in their colophons. In March of 1318, he again revised the 43rd and 44th at the Kaidan-in, above-mentioned, and the 45th at the Tōshōdai-ji. In this temple, he originally added the 46th to the 50th fascicles, the last 5 fascicles of the present text, in the following April and May. In June of the same year, he revised the 40th at the Kaidan-in, the 41st at the Azō-in, attached to the Daishō-gyōrin-ji, and the 42nd at the Chikurin-ji. Thus he completed his writing.

The present text in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* is based on a manuscript kept in the Tōdai-ji, which was transcribed by several copyists between May and October, 1712.

S. Mo.

BOMMŌKYŌ. Japanese pronunciation for a Chinese work. See FAN-WANG-CHING.

BOMMŌKYŌ-KAIDAI (*Fan-wang-ching-k'ai-ti*, C. 106 ; *Taishō*, No. 2246, Vol. 62 pp. 1-3), a work in classical Chinese compiled in Japan. It is an introductory commentary in 1 fascicle on the *Fan-wang-ching* (*-lu-she-na-fu-shuo-p'u-sa-hsiṅ-ti-p'in*) or *Bommōkyō* (*-rushanabutsu-bosatsu*) *sushinji-kaihon:* (*Taishō*, No. 1484) which is well known for its statement of an important Mahāyāna-vinaya text, named the *Fan-wang-chieh* or *Bommōkai.* The commentator is Kōbōdaishi Kūkai (774-835A.C.), the founder of the Shingon (esoteric) sect in Japan.

S. Mo.

BON (1), the indigenous cult practised in Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism to the country *circa* 6th cent. A.C. At first the cult had neither priest nor shrine. Its followers, known as Bon-pa, largely indulged in forms of demonic propitiation which used to demand even human sacrifices.

When Buddhism was finally established, the Bon-pa lost ground, but not completely. In the 10th cent., for instance, they nearly ousted their powerful rivals. In some parts, mainly the central and eastern provinces, Bon practices were fairly extensive among the settled agricultural tribes. These received support from China whose rulers were induced by political considerations to further their cause. The nomads, however, followed Buddhism ; perhaps they, too, thought it politically expedient to be in favour with the central Lhasa authority.

Little is known of Bon scriptures (if any) but, as is to be expected, it is known that in some ways they have distorted the rites and symbols of their Buddhist neighbours, to use them in their own way. One of their oldest signs, the *svastika*, points in an anti-clockwise direction opposite to the Buddhist *svastika*; they turn the prayer-wheels likewise in the direction opposed to the Buddhists, and are equally contrary in their ritual of circumambulating shrines ; they repeat, in reverse order, the *Om maṇi padme Hūṃ !* of their rivals ; many of their deities and demons are those taken from Buddhism and shown in different garb and name ; and so forth.

On the other hand the Buddhist Red-hat sect has also borrowed from Bon ritiual. This sect, known to be the primitive Buddhist group, has particularly taken over their necromantic and astrologic rites, divinations, devices to propitiate and expel the demons of maladies.

The Bon-pa existed more or less as a submerged cult in a land of strong lamaism where they were more in demand for the powers of witchcraft they were assumed to possess. They received no honourable place in the land, but themselves were bitter against Buddhists.

D. T. D.

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BON (2) Definition : The Bon Ceremony is a sort of Buddhist memorial service held for several days before and after the 15th of July, usually for four days from the 13th to 16th, under the belief that the souls of the departed will call at the homes of their descendants during that period.

In Japan the Bon ceremony is commonly called "Obon", "Tama-matsuri", or "Shōryō-matsuri" (memorial service for the spirits of the dead), but it should, strictly speaking, be called "Ura-bon-e". The name "Bon-e" is an abbreviation. Further, as for the common name "Obon", the suffix "e" meaning "memorial service" or "ceremony" is omitted and, instead, the prefix "O" is added as a term of respect. The name "Tama-matsuri" or "Shōryō-matsuri" is generally used by the Japanese to denote the significance of the ceremony.

Generally speaking, "Ura-bon" is said to be the translation of the Sanskrit "ullambana", and this is recognized in academic circles. The Sanskrit word "ullambana" is said to be a corruption from the word "avalambana" meaning "hanging". (The Chinese translation of the word is "tao-hsüan" signifying "hanging upside down" or "so great pain"). Ura-bon-e, accordingly, can be taken as a Buddhist service held to save the departed from the great pain of being hung upside down and to put them under easy circumstances.

Thus, the Bon ceremony is a Buddhist form of ancestor worship. In some countries where people believe in a posthumous world, they imagine that the souls of their ancestors live therein just as they did in this world, and have contact, constantly or during a special period, with those on earth. With such people that ceremony has developed into a typical religious function of ancestor worship, along with the spread of Buddhism. This is best illustrated in the case of Japan.

Other definitons: The definition given above is based upon the 13th volume of '*Hsüan-ying-yin-i*' (25 vols.) which a Chinese monk, Hsüan-ying by name, wrote to explain the meaning of the sounds of the words used in the scriptures and discourses, totalling 449 volumes. There he explained that, "The word ura-bon (*yü-lan-pên*) is a corruption. Formally, it should be termed 'ullambana', which can be translated into 'tao-hsüan' (hanging upside down). But, in opposition to that view, another Chinese monk, named Kuei-fêng Tsung-mi, set up a different theory and wrote a commentary on the *Ullambana Sūtra* (*Yü-lan-pên-ching*) in which he said, 'ullam is of the Central Asian stock and can be translated as tao-hsüan, while 'bana' is the Chinese word standing for saving a vessel. Therefore, if the word 'ullambana' is translated into Chinese, it means 'saving a tray (vessel) hanging upside down". In his opinon, only "ullam" is the transliteration of the Sanskrit word, and "bana" is not a transliteration but a free translation.

Now, the *Ullambana Sūtra* is the scripture that gives a full explanation of the origin and method of the Bon ceremony. In that scripture, there are the lines, "Filling the tray with delicious drinks and eatables on earth..", "Serving various kinds of spiced or seasoned things . . . ." etc. Further, the *Ta-pên-ching-t'u-ching* quoted in Vol. 62 of *Fa-yüan-chu-lin* (a 100–volumed book, compiled by a Chinese monk, Tao-shih by name, who classified the doctrines of the scriptures and discourses and systematized them), is said to be a different scripture of the *Ullambana Sūtra*, in which also can be found the following passage; "Cloisonned trays and bowls full of good things to eat and drink are offered to the Buddha and monks". According to those scriptures, therefore, the main object of the Bon ceremony is to offer trays and bowls full of various dainties to the souls of the dead and to entertain many priests with them. Thus, Tsung-mi probably opined that the suffix "bon" is not the transliteration of the Sanskrit word but the free translation of the Chinese word "pên" (bon) meaning a vessel or bowl to hold food and drink. Among those that support Tsung-mi's opinion are records such as "*Yü-lan-pên-ching-shu-chê-chung-shu*", "*Yü-lan-pên-ching-liao-shu,*" "*Fan-i-ming-i-chi*" (Vol. 9), "*Shih-shih-yao-lan*" (2nd Volume), and others.

So far as the definition of "ullambana" is concerned, as above-mentioned, there was a difference in views between Hsüan-ying and Tsung-mi, both Chinese priests living in the Tang Dynasty. Since there is the established theory that "ullambana" is the Sanskrit word corresponding to the Chinese word "yü-lan-pên," it can be said that the former's view is right, and this is the reason why his theory has been regarded so far as authentic. Nevertheless the latter's theory cannot be lightly dismissed. In this connection, it follows that both views have been taken up, as occasion demands.

The Bon Ceremony in India: The Bon ceremony, as has been already pointed out, is observed with a view to saving the dead from their great pain of being hung upside down in the other world. Such a practice however, did not arise from the original dogma of Buddhism but from the beliefs and customs of ancient Indians. They had believed that those dying without heirs

would be born in hell after their death, because the extinction of their lineages would cause them to neglect the memorial service for their ancestors. Ancient Indians, therefore, including brāhman priests and laymen, after completing the prescribed course of training, used to get married and beget sons in order to preserve their family lines. Thus alone would they be able to lead a peaceful life in a posthumous world. The Buddha's disciples, too, had been brought up in the midst of such old customs. But, instead of getting married and having heirs, they looked for an alternative method to free themselves from the pain of "hanging" after death. It was under these circumstances that the Bon ceremony, as a memorial service, came into being.

A full explanation of the origin and function of the Bon ceremony in Buddhism is given in the *Ullambana Sūtra.* In that scripture, a tale is told about the blessed Mahāmaudgalyāyana who, seeing his deceased mother suffering in the world of pretas (hungry ghosts), asked Buddha to teach him how to relieve her of her anguish and did as he was told, thereby saving his mother from the abyss.

Thus, the creation of the Bon ceremony meant the victory of Buddhism over old Indian beliefs and customs.

Contents of the Ullambana Sūtra : The following is an outline of the contents of the *Ullambana Sūtra.* When the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, one of Buddha's immediate disciples and the chief person in occult power, gained magic power for the first time, he peeped into the other world, desirous of seeing his deceased parents and of thanking them for his upbringing. What he found in it, however, was the haggard figure of his mother. Overwhelmed with grief, he hastily served boiled rice in a bowl and set it before her, but the moment she attempted to eat it, the rice turned into red fire which she could not eat at all. He did everything in his power to help her, but it was beyond the power of his magic to relieve her of the agony. Crying for his mother, he came running back to the Great Teacher and asked him to teach him how to save his mother. "Your mother was so sinful", said Buddha to him, "so you can't expect to save her by yourself. But if you get the help of many monks, you can do that ; now, I'll tell you the ways and means. Do as I tell you. On the 15th of July, when the monks seriously reflect upon themselves, offer many tasty and beautiful things in the name of your suffering ancestors and then entertain the elders and monks with them". He did as he was told and successfully freed his mother from the world of pretas. This he saw with his magic and was immeasurably pleased and contented. Expressing his deep gratitude to the Buddha, he asked him if he might give many suffering people Buddha's precious teachings and hand them down to posterity. His request was granted by the Master who added, "Priests and priestesses, kings and princes, state ministers and government officials, subjects and common people—whatever you may be, try to observe the Bon ceremony as formally as I have told you, and your forefathers will be freed from the world of pretas to be born in the blessed realms of human and heavenly beings". Such is the gist of the *Ullambana Sūtra.*

The *Ullambana Sūtra* is considered to have been written in India and later translated into Chinese. But, judging from the personality of its translator appearing in the list of scriptures and from the analysis of its contents and from checking the sūtra with other sūtras, there is reason to ask if that sūtra is a spurious scripture produced in China. Looking at the *Ullambana Sūtra* from the scripture lists, the oldest mention of it is in the *Ch'u-san-ts'ang-chi-chi* (445–518 A.C.), of which Vol. 4 has a note, "Its translator is unidentified," while the *Li-tai-san-pao-chi* and its following scripture lists say that it was translated by Dharmarakṣa of Hsi-chin (China). And the latter view is taken for granted even today, but the fact remains that whereas the oldest scripture list, made in the age nearest to Dharmarakṣa, says "Translator unknown", the later ones identify the translator with Dharmarakṣa.

Further, judging from the contents of the *Ullambana Sūtra,* while one can understand that the word "ullambana" was transliterated into "yü-lan pên", no one can tell why the suffix "bana" was freely translated into "bowl" or "vessel".

A different translation of the *Ullambana Sūtra* is the *Pao-ên-fêng-p'ên-ching* (alias, the *Pao-hsiang-kung-to-ching,* one volume), but its translator remains unidentified. Further, there is another scripture entitled *Ta-pên-ching-t'u-ching* which appears in Vol. 62 of the *Fa-yuan-chu-lin.* It is conjectured however that this might be a different book of the *Pao-ên-fêng-p'ên-ching.*

Now, in comparing the *Ullambana Sūtra* with the *Pao-ên-fêng-p'ên-ching,* the contents of the latter end with a passage in which Mahāmaudgalyāyana, who had been taught by Buddha the way of saving his deceased mother and other fellow-monks were all very pleased to do as they were told. But

the former has a further portion corresponding to about one-third of the whole volume, where it is said that when the venerable one asked permission to hand the method of relief down to posterity, he was not only permitted to do so by Buddha but also was given further instructions. This portion is obviously a later addition and it seems to have been supplemented in China.

This is why the *Ullambana Sūtra* is regarded as a spurious scripture produced in China. But the idea of hanging, as already pointed out, is an old belief of the Indians, and it would be premature, therefore, to conclude that the scripture is utterly counterfeit. Rather, as is commonly believed, it is preferable to accept that the part of the *Ullambana Sūtra,* corresponding to that of the *Pao-ên-fêng-p'ên-ching,* was written in India, and that only the appendix to that sūtra was supplemented in China.

The origin of the Bon ceremony in Buddhism is due to the historical fact that the said venerable monk had freed his mother from the world of pretas, but to what extent it became popular in India is quite unknown. In the *Ta-pên-ching-t'u-ching,* however, it is noted that king Bimbisāra, the devotee Sudatta, Mallikā, queen of Prasenajit, and others, following the Bon doctrine of Mahāmaudgalyāyana, each had five hundred gold trays made and offered them to Buddha and the monks in order to expiate the sins of their ancestors. That sūtra however is regarded as a different version of the *Ullambana Sūtra* and it is conjectured that it was a counterfeit produced in China. There exists no other record than this to say that the Bon ceremony was held in India. As far as the existing valid data are concerned, it cannot be concluded that the ceremony in India was performed according to the rules laid down in the *Ullambana Sūtra.*

Bon Ceremony in China : The oldest Chinese record on the Bon ceremony is the one appearing in the *Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi* in which there are these lines: " In the fourth year of Ta-t'ung (538 A.C.), when Wu-ti of Liang paid a visit to the T'ung-t'ai-szu Temple, the Emperor had the Bon ceremony performed for the first time ". But, as there is no record of that ceremony having been annually performed since that year, it cannot be considered that the service had become popularized in those days. It was not until the appearance of the book entitled the *Shih-shih-chi-ku-lüeh* that the function came to be annually observed. In Vol. 3 of that book, occurs the following note : " In July of the first of Ta-li (766 A.C.), Emperor Tai-tsung of Tang observed the Bon ceremony at court. The Emperor, having seven memorial tablets made for his seven deceased forefathers including Kao-tsu, Ta-tsu and five others and having hoisted so many large banners—the title of each deceased emperor was written on each——sent his chamberlains to the mausoleum for them and enshrined them in the hall. On that day, the Emperor sent his courtiers to the Kuang-shun Gate for the procession. After that, it became an annual function. " This, however, was the case with the Imperial Court, but there was to be a good space of time before the ceremony became popular among the people. But, because of the coincidence of the period of the Bon ceremony with the Chung-yüan holiday, as will be mentioned later, the spread of that function over the greater part of the community was comparatively smooth and speedy.

The Bon Ceremony and the Chung-yüan Holiday : On the 15th of July when the Bon ceremony is observed, people call on their relatives to give presents or to inquire after their health. Such a custom is called " Chung-yüan " (in Japanese, Chūgen) and is very popular in Japan today, though originally introduced there from China.

The Chung-yüan arose from Taoism in China. It is said to have originated about the time of Emperor Wu-ti of Liang (at the beginning of the sixth century). In the opinion of Taoists, Shang-yüan is set for January 15, Chung-yüan for July 15 and Hsia-yüan for October 15. Of these, the Chung-yüan, falling just in the middle of the year, is the day of division of the first half of the year, when the hottest period of summer and the slack farming season set in. So, various kinds of functions are held on this occasion. In addition, with the holiday corresponding to the Bon memorial day, those twofold ceremonies have become popular, as we see today.

Bon Ceremony in Japan : The first Japanese record of the Bon ceremony is in the 30-volume book *Nihon-shoki* (compiled in 720 A.C.). In Vol. 22, recording the events in April of the 14th year of the reign of Empress Suiko (666 A.C.), there is a passage: " For the first time this year, every temple was instructed to observe the ceremonies on April 8 and July 15 ". April 8 is the birthday of Śākyamuni and July 15 is the day of self-reflection by priests. The latter, therefore, can be considered as signifying the

Bon ceremony, while it can be seen also that the function in Japan originated at the beginning of the seventh century.

The first Japanese historical book carrying the word "Bon ceremony" is the above-mentioned *Nihon-shoki*, of which Vol. 26, dealing with the events in July of the third year of the reign of Emperor Saimyō (657 A.C.), has the lines: "The model of Mt. Sumeru was set up on the west side of the Asuka-dera Temple and the Bon ceremony was observed thereat." Further, in the same volume, recording the events in the fifth year of the same period (659 A.C.), there are the lines: "Several temples in the capital of Kyoto were instructed to chant the *Ullambana Sūtra* for the repose of the ancestors' souls", while Vol. 22 of *Genko-shakusho*, noting down the events in July of the fifth year of Tempyō (733 A.C.) under the reign of Emperor Shōmu, carries the lines: "The Bon ceremony was performed at court and instructions were given to the temples throughout the country to make it an annual function". Furthermore, in the book entitled *Kuji-kongen*, there is a passage: "For the first time in July of the fifth year of Tempyō, the Bureau of Imperial Cuisine was furnished with tableware for the Bon ceremony." Judging from these literary sources, it would seem that it was not until the year 657 A.C. that according to the *Ullambana Sūtra*, the Bon ceremony was observed for the first time in Japan and that it was not until the year 733 A.C. that it was made an annual function at court. But, in those days the function was only held by the Imperial Court and by noblemen, because the common people still adhered to the old and traditional functions. It was not until the arrival of the Muromachi period from the 14th century to the 15th century that the ceremony came to be observed by the people at large. With the political and economical development of farm villages in that age, their local culture also suddenly advanced and their annual ceremonies, including various Buddhist ones, were established. Later, at the beginning of the Edo period, corresponding to the 17th century, when the Tokugawa Government enforced its anti-Christian policy through the Buddhist registration and family-altar inspection system, the authorities forced the people to observe the Buddhist ceremonies which, accordingly, became very popular. In this manner, the Bon ceremony and its contents, which had been established during that period, have been handed down up to now. What must be especially mentioned about the Bon ceremony, however, is that while having been observed as one of the civil annual functions for the repose of ancestors' souls, it has given the people the holidays of leisure and amusement, along with the social customs of Chūgen.

Japanese Old Belief and the Bon Ceremony: In Japan, too, as shown in many sorts of popular beliefs, there has been an old belief that a dead person's soul would call at the home of his descendants at a certain time. Some Japanese scholars are of opinion that this happens five times a year, in January, February, July, September and December. Further, it is a common-sense view that the word "Obon" is the abbreviation of the Buddhist term "ullambana," but recently some authorities on folk-lore, rejecting the common view, have stated that the name of Obon was corrupted from the word "boni" that had been used in ancient Japan. Passing over the origin of its name, it must be pointed out that the Bon ceremony in Japan, though following the doctrine of the *Ullambana Sūtra*, is not so faithful to the ultimate purpose of the scripture, because it still contains many elements of Shamanism. Perhaps, those elements might be the remnants of the old belief of that nation, and the phrase "Tama-matsuri," or "Shōryō-matsuri," used as another name of Obon, might be the right example to illustrate the fact.

The Japanese people of modern times believe that the spirit of the dead will come back to the home of their descendants once a year, but until about the 14th century their ancestors had believed that their souls would be back twice a year or during the Bon period and on New Year's Eve. Thus, the frequency of the memorial service that had been performed five times a year in ancient Japan was reduced to twice a year about the 14th century and later finally to once a year. Various reasons for this can be considered. Until the 10th century, as has already been pointed out, the Buddhist functions including the Bon ceremony had been observed only by the Imperial Household and by the gentlefolks, while the memorial service for the spirit of the dead had been conducted several times a year, not as a Buddhist function but as a sort of folk-custom. After that century, however, with the advancement in mission work by the Buddhist circles, the dogma and functions of Buddhism came to overrule the old-fashioned belief and functions of the people, resulting in the absorption of that memorial service in the Bon ceremony. And, it was through the Buddhist registration system enforced by the said Government that such a trend was much

expedited. In this way, the Bon ceremony was established as one of the annual functions and there arose a religious custom whereby during the Bon period, monks visit their supporting devotees from house to house and chant the scriptures in front of the specially-decorated altar. It is the custom as can be seen even in today's Japan.

It was about the middle of the seventh century that, according to the doctrine of the *Ullambana Sūtra*, the Bon ceremony was held for the first time in Japan. That ceremony in those days, as above-mentioned, used to be performed in a simple way by the Imperial Family and noblemen. And it is unknown what temples used to receive the offerings granted by the Imperial Family, but according to the Kojin Code compiled early in the ninth century, it is mentioned that those offerings were presented to seven temples, namely To-ji, Sai-ji, Sahi-ji, Yasaka-ji, Hoju-ji, Izumo-ji and Shojin-ji. Further, the Engi Code, compiled early in the 10th century, also carries the same information. Judging from these sources, it would appear that until the 10th century, the Imperial Bon ceremony had been solemnized in a simple way, i.e., to make offerings, to perform a brief religious service and to entertain the monks at some special temples in Kyoto with the offerings, and the ceremony by the upper classes also had been in like manner. Among the lower classes, on the other hand, that ceremony had not been popularized at all, with the time-honoured memorial service for the spirits of the dead still prevailing in those days.

It was far later or during the Edo period that the Bon ceremony became popular with the common people. To have a look at one or two works of literature compiled in that period, *Nenju-koji-yōgen* (Outline of Annual Functions, produced in 1800 A.C.) there occur the lines, "July 15 is called Ura-bon and is the day for holding a Buddhist service for the souls of the departed. People, believing that those souls will call at their homes on the night of July 13, are ready to receive them by making offerings with a bowl of rice, melons, egg-apples, red-bean and other fruits of the season", while the book *Ryori-saiji-ki* (Outline of Rural Annual Functions) (compiled in 1780's A.C.) has the lines: "Today (July 15), people, after sweeping their houses, set up a new shelf with leafy bamboos standing at four corners and with a rush-mat laid on it and enshrine the memorial tablets of their ancestors and various Buddha-images thereon. The shelf is called 'Bon-dana' or 'Shō-ryō-dana'. Articles of food, such as cowpea, potatoes, noodles, etc., are offered in front, and beside them are placed images of cattle made of melons and egg-apples and with four legs made of chopsticks. Further, lotus leaves are laid on the shelf and a vessel of water, wherein a spray of bush-cloveri s soaked, is offered. Incense is burned, flowers are offered and a lantern is lit. In the evening, dumplings and tea are offered. Besides, in some cases, lotus leaves are laid under the shelf to put articles of food on them, and those articles are the offerings for the good of the deceased without any surviving descendants who could conduct religious services for them. This function, though childish in some points, is observed by nearly every house." In this manner, since the Edo period, the Bon ceremony has been the religious function of every family in Japan.

Present day Bon Ceremony : The Bon ceremony now carried on in Japan, follows, for the most part, the customs of the Edo period. According to them, around July 10th, there is held a fair, called "Bon-ichi" or "Kusa-ichi," at the street-corner where many booths stand selling various articles of Bon function such as flowers, lanterns, offerings, etc. People buy what things they need, and offer them on the Bon shelf on July 13th. But recently, such a system of fairs has been nearly abolished, because those articles can now be bought readily at the green-grocer's, at the florist's and at other shops. Further, the Bon shelf that has been mentioned in the preceding section is hardly made use of except in the country, because the family altar is now generally substituted for that shelf. People, believing that the spirits of the dead will call at the houses of their decendants on July 13th, make a sacred fire, called "Mukae-bi" (Welcome fire), at the front door of their houses on the evening of that day, in order to receive the souls. In some parts of the country, there are the customs that on the evening of the 13th the master of a house goes to the graveyard to receive the souls of his forefathers and comes home, showing them the way by torch-light. Under the belief that those spirits will stay indoors for two days (July 14 and 15), people offer them various articles and invite the priests of their family temples to make them chant the sūtras. This sūtra-chanting is called "Tanagyō". Further, believing that those souls will leave this world on the night of July 16th, people make another sacred fire called "Okuri-bi" (Send-off fire), at the front

door to send them off. In the above-mentioned districts, the head of the family accompanies them, by torch-light, to the graveyard.

Thus, the Bon ceremony begins when a welcome fire is lit on the evening of July 13th and ends when a send-off fire is made on the evening of the 16th. During that period, where that function is splendidly observed, people leave off work and spend the nights and days at the ceremony. With regard to the ceremony, there are given various kinds of entertainments, typical of which is the Bon dance. (See Pl. XXXV) Usually, on the night of the 16th, crowds of people, irrespective of age or sex, gather together in the precincts of temples or shrines and dance in a ring to the accompaniment of festival music. Another main entertainment is a lantern-display on the water. In addition, the Bon cremony, corresponding to the setting in of a slack farming season, gives them a good chance to recover themsleves from the tiredness from their hard labour since the spring time, and is, therefore, one of the most important annual functions for the farmers.

Incidentally, it must be added that in some parts of the country where the Bon ceremony that, a bereaved family observes for the first time after the death of any of its family members, is called "Nii-bon" (New Bon); they have the customs that people concerned with the deceased gather together at the home, offer things to the Bon shelf and burn incense.

Furthermore, in many parts of Japan a memorial service called "Segaki-e" (mass for the dead) is customarily held during the Bon period. That is a Buddhist service held on the basis of the *Fo-shuo-[illegible]*, but it has no direct connection with the Bon cremony. In Japan, however, as the phrase "Urabon Segaki-e" goes, this memorial service is observed for the dead during that period, while among various special services held during the holidays is the "Segaki-e" for the repose of the deceased without any relatives who conduct religious services for themselves. Typical of the kind are the "Kawa-Segaki" and "Umi-Segaki" (both services for the repose of the drowned) and other services held in memory of those who were accidentally killed in natural calamities.

B.M.

BON BAKUNICHIRA–DATO–SHIKI (*Fan-fu- jih-lo-t'o-tu-ssu-chi, Taishō*, No. 2232, Vol. 61, pp. 590b–601b), a classical Chinese work in 1 fascicle complied in Japan. The literal meaning of the title is 'private note on *Vajra-dhātu*'. This is a work on the Diamond-world (*vajra-dhātu*) which is an aspect of esoteric teachings representing the wisdom (*prajñā*) of Mahāvairocana. The work was written by Shingō the founder of the Kojima-ryū or Tsubosaka-ryū, one of the 36 sub-schools of the Tōji esoteric-schools in Japan. According to the colophon of the text, it was completed at the Kōzan-ji (temple) on the 25th of February in the 5th year of Tengen (982 A.C.).

S.Mo.

BON-BUḤI GDOṄ–CAN–MAḤI SGRUB–THABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is presumably lost. See KHARAMUKHĪ–SĀDHANA.

BONDAGE. See SAṂYOJANA.

BONGAKU-SHINRYŌ (*Fa-hsüen-chin-liang,* a work compiled in Japan in classical Chinese, in about 1,000 fascicles. The literal meaning of 'bongaku' is 'Sanskrit studies', and that of 'shinryō' is 'bridge across a ferry' and, further, 'introduction' or 'initiation': the whole meaning of the title is thus 'initiation into Sanskrit studies'.

This work was compiled by Onkō Jiun (C. 107 1718-1804) with the assistance of his disciples Hōgo, Teiju and Gomyō as an exhaustive compilation of Sanskrit studies. Jiun belonged to the Shingon (esoteric) sect. He was not only an excellent esoteric priest, but also an expert in Sanskrit studies and in the Vinaya. As a Sanskrit scholar, he left his voluminous work to posterity, while as a *Vinaya-dhara*, he advocated a new Vinaya named *Shōbō-ritsu* (C. 108).

Although modern Sanskrit studies, which had been originated by Europeans, were introduced into Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 when Japan started her modernization, there had been in that country the traditional Sanskrit studies called "Siddhaṃ" (q. v). Siddhaṃ studies, which had begun in ancient China, based on Sanskrit studies introduced from ancient India together with Buddhism, were also brought to Japan, first in the 8th century, and developed later on.

Siddhaṃ studies before Jiun's days were somewhat partial: that is to say, they were mainly concerned with phonology, such as the exegetical explanation of the vocal sound of each character and the problem of how to write the Siddhaṃ script. A little before his period, however, there appeared a

new trend of studies which took a serious view of Sanskrit studies in general in order to make sure of the originals. This tendency was shown in such writings as the *Bonkan-taihon* of Jōgan, the *Bonbun-tairei* and the *Bongo-zōshū* of Donzō, the *Bongo-meiku- kō* of Daijaku and the *Kikitsu-yakudoshū* of Ekō.

Following the new drift, the *Bongaku-shinryō* appeared as a work of authority. There is no doubt that this work is most valuable and important in the history of the Siddhaṃ studies in Japan, for the following reasons:

(1) It contains entirely and exhaustively all the documents of this field available in Japan at the time of its compilation.

(2) As a comprehensive work, it includes even grammar and a dictionary.

(3) It went a step further from the previous narrow Siddhaṃ to a new research of the original texts.

The *Bongaku-shinryō* consists of the following 7 parts : Part I, *Honsen* : This is a collection of many old Sanskrit manuscripts such as the 42-fascicle-collection brought from China by Kōbō-daishi or Kūkai (774-835 A.C.), the founder of the Shingon (esoteric) sect in Japan ; the 86 works reproduced from the *Hakke-hiroku*[1]; the 9 sheets of the precious palm-leaf[2] preserved in the Hōryū-ji (temple), the Kairyū-ō-ji, the Seiryō-ji, the Zuisen-ji, the Kōki-ji, and the Raigō-ji ; and about 10 other works.

Part II, *Massen* : This consists of translations, commentaries, and explanations of the texts included in Part I. It contains various classical Chinese versions of 38 Sanskrit works ; comparative researches into them, and the commentaries and explanations of 34 other texts.

Part III, *Tsūsen* : This is a collection of Sanskrit grammars including 19 works, among which the *Hsi-t'an-tzū-chi* of Chih-kuang (*Taishō*, No. 2132) is the most important.

Part IV, *Bessen* : This is a collection of 29 works which comprehends almost all the essential writings in the history of Siddhaṃ studies in China and Japan. They are the *Fan-yü-ch'ien-tzū-wen* of I-ching (*Taishō*, No. 2133A), a different manuscript of the same title and author as above (*Taishō*, No. 2133B), the *Fan-yü-tsa-ming* of Li-yen (*Taishō*, No. 2135), the *Fan-fan-yü* of Pao-Ch'ang (*Taishō*, No. 2130), the *T'ien-chu-tzū-yuan* of Wei-ching, the *Fan-t'ang-yü* of Ch'uan-chen (same as the *T'ang-fan-wen-tzū*, *Taishō*, No. 2134), the *Fan-i-ming-i-chi*, the *Sittan-zo* of Annen (*Taishō*, No. 2702), the *Kikitzu-yakudoshū* of Ekō, and so on.

Part V, *Ryakusen* : This consists of 3 dictionaries, that is to say, the *Bongo-ji-i* in 104 fascicles, the *Bongo-shōyō* in 5, and the *Bongo-yōshō* in 5.

Part VI, *Kōsen* : This is also a kind of dictionary ; the vocabularies included in Part V are here classified with explanations into 16 items, such as the name of Budhhas, the grade of the wise and of saints, the spheres of existence (*gati*), the distinction of phenomena (*dharma*), the class of deities and demons, the names of hells, grasses, trees and so on.

Part VII, *Zōsen* : This is a supplement to the other parts and a compilation of some useful books which are not directly connected with Sanskrit studies. For example, they are the Mongolian script, the script used by the Dutch, the Tartar script, the *Fu-kuo-chi* of Fa-hsien (*Taishō*, No. 2085), the *Hsüan-tsang* (*Taishō*, No. 2087), the *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* of I-ching (*Taishō*, No. 2125), and so on. Moreover, some of Jiun's own writings are also included here.

The time of the completion of the *Bongaku-shinryō* is not exactly known. However, in the *Bongaku-shinryō-sō-mokuroku* (general index of this work, *Taishō*, No. 2711, Vol. 84, p. 812 c.), the following statement is found : " This was preached after the *Upavasatha* on the last day of July in the 3rd year of *Meiwa* (1766 A.C.) ". According to the above passage, therefore, by July of 1766, at least the substance of the work is supposed to have been completed.

The original manuscript of this text is now owned by the Kōki-ji (temple) in Kawachi (present Ōsaka Prefecture) in which Jiun himself stayed for some years from 1796, and which became the headquarters of his *Shōbō-ritsu* Vinaya school.

Among the fascicles of the work, the *Nanajūkyū-sharyaku* in the 7th part was independently published in 1772, and the 5-facsicle -*Nanajūkyū-ryakushō* in the 3rd part in 1800.

1 This is the comprehensive title of the writings of 8 famous Japanese monks of the Shingon and the Tendai sects in the 8th and 9th cent., who studied in China esoteric Buddhism and introdu ed it into their country. They are Dengyō-daishi Saichō, Kōbō-daishi Kūkai, Jikaku-daishi Ennin, Engyō of the Reigan-ji, Eun of the Anshō-ji, Ogurusu Jōgyō, Chishōdaishi Enchin, and Sōei of the Enkaku-ji.

2 Some of them are the oldest extant today. They are certainly presumed to belong to some earlier time than the 8th cent. (*The Bongo-butten no Shobunken* or *Documents of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts* by R. Yamada, p. 4

Although the *Jiun-sonja Zenshū* (C. 109), the complete works of Jiun in 19 volumes, was published from 1922 to 1926 by the Kōki-ji, the *Bongaku-shinryō* itself is not included there, but only its general index above-mentioned. This index in 1 fascicle is also brought out in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* (No. 2711, Vol. 84, p. 810c. ff.) which was published between 1924 and 34. (*Moc.* Vol. 5, pp. 4677c-4678a ; the *Shin-butten-kaidai-jiten* or *A New Explanatory Bibliography of Buddhist Text*, pp. 308 b-309a etc.).

S.Mo.

BONGAKU-SHINRYŌ-SŌMOKUROKU (*Fan-hsüeh-chin-liang-tsung-mu-lu*, C. 110 *Taishō*, No. 2711, Vol. 84, pp. 810c ff.), a work compiled in Japan in 1 fascicle in classical Chinese. It is the general index (*sōmokuroku*) of the *Bongaku-shinryō* or *Fan-hsüeh-ching-liang*, which is an authentic work in about 1,000 fascicles of the Siddhaṃ (traditional Sanskrit) studies in Japan, compiled by Onkō Jiun (1718-1804 A.C.) with the assistance of some of his disciples.

This index itself was also written by Jiun, perhaps in about 1776 A.C. It was included in the *Jiun-sonja Zenshū*, the complete works of Jiun in 19 volumes published from 1922 to 1926, and also in the *Taishō-Tripiṭaka*. See BONGAKU-SHINRYŌ ; SIDDHAM.

S. Mo.

BONJI-SHITTANJIBO-(HEI)-SHAKUGI (*Fan-tzŭ-hsi-t'an-tzŭ-mu-(ping)-shih-i*, C. 111 *Taishō*, No. 2701, Vol. 84, pp. 361-4, a classical Chinese work in one fascicle written in Japan. This is a text which shows the so-called "Siddhaṃ characters," the alphabet of a certain kind of ancient Indian scripts transmitted into Japan through China. It contains an introductory description, the pronounciation of the characters and some explanation of the esoteric meaning of each letter of the alphabet. This work was written by Kūkai Kōbō-daishi (774-835 A.C.), the founder of the Shingon esoteric sect in Japan. The present text in the *Taishō-Tripiṭaka* is composed of two manuscripts which are almost identical. See also SIDDHAM.

S. Mo.

BONZES, name given to Buddhist monks chiefly of Siam and Cambodia. Their origin may be traced as far back as the introduction of Buddhism into these two countries in 422 A.C. and the 7th century, respectively.

The corresponding Siamese terms for '*bonze*' are: *phra* meaning great, *chao thai*, lord, *phikhu* (Pali *bhikkhu*) and *phisu*(Skt. *bhikṣu*). The term 'bonze' or 'talapoins' were used by early European travellers. Counting more than 100,000 in number and dwelling in over 20,000 monasteries scattered throughout the country, the bonze, in his dull, faded garment presents a striking contrast to the large number of novices in their bright, golden raiment. For the latter is not a fully ordained monk and is at liberty to return to civil life at any moment, whereas the bonze devotes his entire life to meditation and learning of the Dhamma.

Every Siamese boy in his early teens enters the temple as an acolyte, and is instructed by the aged bonze in the languges. After twenty he receives ordination as a bhikṣu, the period varying from six to twelve months. This is a custom observed by one and all alike, and the king is no exception to it. It is during this period that the initiate is taught the Law and the sacred texts, including monastic rituals and observances. After this period of training the majority return to civil life, whilst those who develop a taste for monastic life remain permanently in the Order as bonzes.

The ecclesiastical Order in Siam, in which the bonzes occupy a prominent position, is founded on the absolute authority of the king who stands as the head of religion and as the supporter of the Doctrine and of monastic life. He appoints all ecclesiastical dignitaries who are governed by a particular ministry in matters pertaining to temporal affairs. First in order are the *Somdet Chao Rajagana* (Paramount monks) considered as heads of the assemblies of monks. From among these four dignitaries, is appointed the *Somdet Phra Sangaraja* or the *Sankharat* (Skt. *Saṅgharāja*) vested with ecclesiastical authority over the whole clergy. The kingdom is divided among these four dignitaries. Next in order are the four abbots or chief monks (*Somdet Chao*) of the royal monasteries, and next to them the four dignitaries. The *gurus* or teachers are also appointed as heads of temples. The bonzes, though constituting a lower rank officially, are nevertheless held in high respect by the entire public. The *men* or *some-men* (Pali, *sāmaṇera* novices), form the lowest in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Unlike the bonzes who follow 27 rules, the novices observe only light precepts. Bonzes adhere strictly to the rules of poverty, chastity, self restraint, etc. and lead a somewhat rigorous and virtuous life ; they also officiate in ceremonies, like shaving of the forelock etc.

The Cambodian bonzes are called *lokson* 'lords of the assembly' or saṅgha ; they are also known as *phik,* (Pali, *bhikkhu,* Skt.*bhikṣu,* 'mendicant' or 'monk'). The primary duty of a bonze is to teach the young, from six to eight years. At the age of twleve the pupil receives lower ordination as a *saṃne* (Pali *sāmaṇera*) and becomes a novice wearing the yellow robe.

Above the bonze, as in Siam, are the heads of monasteries or abbots, (*me vat*) who are elected either by *Somdac phrah Somghrac* (Skt. *Saṅgharāja*) or the *l'ok pra'h sokon.* 'Lord Bishop'. The latter nominates superiors for the monasteries on the 'left', whilst the former appoints superiors to monasteries on the 'right'. The Saṅgharāja resides at the monastery Unnalom, at Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. All monasteries under the authority of the Saṅgharāja constitute the *Maha Nikāya* as distinguished from the *Dhamma-yuttika Nikāya* which was introduced into Cambodia in 1864.

As in Siam, great privileges are enjoyed by the bonzes in Cambodia. They are exempted from public work, taxes, and all civic duties and social obligations. In cases of serious offences, the offenders are handed over to secular authorities.

Bonzes subsist on alms begged from the public and lead their lives in constant meditation and prayer, in addition to teaching the young. Like Siamese bonzes they take only two meals a day, one at sun-rise, the other at mid-day. They hold the same prominent position in religion as virtuous monks as do the bonzes in Siam. Distinguished from *baku* or *pram* (*brāhmaṇa*) who are descendants of ancient Brāhmanism which prevailed in Cambodia for a long time, the bonzes also perform religious ceremonies and officiate in various household observances and functions. See also LAOS, VIETNAM.

N. G.

BORDER-LAND (Hen-ji), a name for Amida's Transformed Land, in which are reborn those who practise *nembutsu* (q.v.) without faith but for the purpose of acquiring power. Here they have to pass a certain period of time without seeing the true Buddha or hearing the right Dhamma, until they finally repent the sin of doubt and advance to the true Land of Reward, or the Pure Land. Other spheres in this purgatory are the Land of Sloth and Pride (*keman*), the Castle of Doubt (*gijō*) and the Womb-palace (*taigu*).

Donran commenting on the term Henji, says in his *Ryakuroa Anraku Jōdo Gi* that those born in the Border-Land neither see nor hear the three Treasures for 500 years (*Shinshū Shōgyō Zensho,* I, p. 370, *Tanni Shō,* trsl. by R. Fujiwara, Kyoto, 1962, p. 95).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BORNEO, the second largest island in the world, situated in southeast Asia, between two other islands Sumatra and Celebes, and lying across the equator. It has an area of 290,000 square miles and a comparatively low population (Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo,* London, 1922 p. ix).

Borneo is one of the many islands in southeast Asia which came under Buddhist influence in the early centuries of the Christian era. This was the result of Indian emigrations to these regions as is evidenced by early Indian literature and stray epigraphical material.

It has been surmised that of the Indians who emigrated to these regions the earliest were traders whose main attraction was gold. Borneo served as a port of call in times of hostile winds in the sea journey from India via the straits of Malacca to China. These traders, it is surmised, were subsequently accompanied by scholars, priests and artisans, some of whom settled down in their homes. The emigrations seem to have occurred mainly from three centres at three different times, viz., first from the region around Amarāvatī in south-eastern India about the second century A.C., when Amarāvatī had become a great centre of Buddhist influence in the outside world, secondly, from the region around Bengal, about the fifth century A.C. whenthe Pāla rulers there had cultural relations with southeast Asia, and finally, from Kāñcipuram in south India about the 7th century A.C., where the Pallavas, as a dominant power spread their influence in southeast Asia (*The Indo-Asian Culture.* IV, 302 ff.; VIII, 140 ff. Cady, *Southeast Asia, Its History and Development,* U.S.A., 1964, p. 60 f.; *Art and Letters,* XXIII, p. 3 f. *See map on p. 356*).

The Indians, who thus settled down along the Mahakam river in east Borneo and the Kapuas river in west Borneo and founded trading centres, were evidently regarded by the natives as superior to themselves, which enabled them gradually to form separate areas of Indian rule. In these centres have been discovered a few sculptural and epigraphical remains which speak of the

Brahmanical and Buddhist religious and cultural influence in Borneo (R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1944, 25f.).

Buddhist influence in Borneo was felt indirectly, i.e., when the rulers of Borneo had to submit to the vigorous rule of the Indianized Śailendras of Java. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which these Śailendras professed and their architecture and sculpture began to show their influence in about the eighth century (*The Indo-Asian Culture*, III, 177).

It must be confessed, however, that the Buddhist finds in Borneo are comparatively meagre, probably indicating that Buddhism was not as widespread in Borneo as in neighbouring countries, like Java and Cambodia. The fact that no powerful dynasty, like those in Java and Cambodia, ever ruled in Borneo and that the Indian emigrants, too, abandoned Borneo in later times because of the distant, difficult sea-route were probably the main causes of that situation (cp. Cady, loc. cit.; H. G. Q. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, London, 1951, pp. 86 ff.).

No vestige of a temple or any other Buddhist sanctuary has so far come to light in Borneo. The Buddhist remains in this island are limited to a few sculptural fragments and a set of rock inscriptions (*JASB*. Third Series, I, p. 37).

Of the Buddhist sculptures discovered one of the earliest specimens was the beautiful bronze statue of the Buddha found at Kota Bangun in the district of Koti in southeast Borneo. This statue, which later perished in a fire at the Paris Exhibition in 1931, was in standing posture with the right knee slightly bent forward. The robe is transparent and is worn with the right shoulder bare. There is no *ūrṇa*, but the *uṣṇīṣa* is unusually high. There seems to have been an umbrella over the head. A monk's bowl is placed on the left palm and the right hand which is in the *vitarka-mudrā* has several signs engraved on its palm. The height of the statue is 25 inches. As a work of art this statue occupies a very significant place among southeast Asian sculptures for it displays an admirable expression of supernatural grace and pious benevolence. The figure is in Gupta style, and shows a close resemblance to the Buddha figures of Barabuḍur (R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*. Dacca, 1937 II, p. 336 f.; *Indian Art and Letters*. III, p. 98).

A number of stone images, found deep in a cave at Goenoeng Kombeng in east Borneo, belong to both Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. Most of the Buddhist images here, seated on stone pedestals, sculptured in the form of a lotus cushion, represent female deities whose identity has not yet been satisfactorily established. One of the male figures has been identified as representing Vajrapāṇi. Its right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and the left hand is holding a lotus surmounted by a *vajra*. Another four-armed male figure having a fly-whisk (*cāmara*), a disk (*cakra*) and a lotus stem in three of the four hands as its attributes and the other hand in *varada-mudrā*, and wearing armlets, bangles, necklaces, girdles, heavy ear ornaments, sacred cord, and seated on a double-lotus cushion, is said to represent a dhyāni bodhisattva.

Nearly all the Buddhist figures in this collection have four arms, carrying attributes in them. They wear stūpa-shaped tiaras. Many of the attributes connected with several of these figures are very much different from those of their counterparts in other countries. This has led to the surmise that either a new combination of forms evolved in Borneo, or that the sculptor has wrongly mixed them.

It has been presumed that the cave in which these images were found was not their original location, but that they were hidden there for safety from some calamity. This is suggested by the fact that many of them had pins under their pedestals in order to be fixed into niches. Originally these would have been placed in the niches of one or more temples, the exact sites of which have not yet been determined. The valley of the Mahakam river in east Borneo has been suggested as the probable site (R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 25).

The sculptures in the Kombeng cave seem to belong to different periods and different schools. The four-armed statues evidently belong to the Mahāyāna school. Many of them display a fairly high standard of art (R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, pp. 334 ff.; *JASB*. Third Series, I, p. 37 ff.).

In west Borneo, too, have been discovered among the collection of objects found at Sanbas, two standing figures of the Buddha in Gupta style (H. G. Q. Wales, op. cit., p. 86.)

The set of rock inscriptions mentioned before is incised on a rock in west Borneo, situated close to the springs of Soengei Tekarek at Batoe Pahat. The face of this rock is completely covered with sculptures of seven stūpas in low relief. A vertically raised band in the middle provides space for the main inscriptions. There are eight inscriptions in

all, and the other seven inscriptions are incised in the space in the body of each of the stūpas. Each of the seven epigraphs incised in the body of these stūpas contains a verse in Sanskrit. Really speaking, there are only two verses, one being repeated in four inscriptions and the other in three. The first is the well-known Buddhist stanza beginning with *Ye dharmā*. The other begins with *Ajñānāccīyate*. Within these verses are a few additional words which perhaps give the names of some devotees. The main inscription seems to be dated and makes the purport of the record clear, namely, the dedication of a well or a cistern (*udapāna*) to the Buddha, constructed, probably, by enclosing one of the natural springs close by, with stone slabs. The reference to some caityas in this record may be either to the carvings on the rock or to some other caityas that existed in the vicinity (B. Ch. Chhabra, *JASB*. Third Series, 1, p. 41 ff).

It is noteworthy that these two verses also appear in Buddhist epigraphs in the Malay peninsula and in other regions, in the Pallava Grantha characters of south India and are assigned, palaeographically, to the sixth century A. C. Inscriptions of the Brahmanical faith assigned to the fourth century A. C. have been discovered in east Borneo, indicating an earlier period of Brahmanical influence (B. Ch. Chhabra, op. cit. p. 38 ff. ; H. G. Q. Wales, loc. cit.).

It is not certain whether it was Brahmanism or Buddhism that reached Borneo first. Probably both religions began to show their influence simultaneously, and like in Kambuja and other countries in southeast Asia, Buddhism and Brahmanism in Borneo seem to have existed side by side (N. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 7). As regards the form of Buddhism, it has been suggested (cp. Ray, op. cit., p. 7f.) that just as in other countries of southeast Asia, in Borneo, too, it was probably the Sthaviravāda which first penetrated into the country and that this was later replaced by Sarvāstivāda and the Mahāyāna. The language of the inscriptions discussed above contains, according to Ray (loc. cit.), glimpses of the Sarvāstivāda form.

The Buddhist remains so far discovered in Borneo evidently are not sufficient to conclude that Buddhism was ever in a flourishing state in this island. But that Buddhism existed in both eastern and western Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era is established beyond doubt.

H. R. P.

BOROMADHĀTU. The oldest and most important Buddhist monastery in southern Thailand, its full name being Wat Pra Boromadhātu (Paramadhātu, "Supreme Relic"), at Nakon Śrī Dharmarāj. A city in this area, near the sea, was known to Indian traders, 1,400 years ago, as Tāmparlingam. Possibly this temple was established early in the period of the Śrīvijaya empire (757-1293 A.C.). (See *Ency B'sm.* II, Pl. LII)

There is a tradition that a prince, Phya Śrī Dharmasokarāj, founded the city at its present site and built Wat Mahādhātu. It is believed that the original stūpa was of the Mahāyāna style, common in Indonesia at that period. Later, it was altered to conform to the Theravāda style of Ceylon, having a square base, a broad circular portion shaped like an inverted bowl, and above that a square "throne" surmounted by a tapering spire. Theravāda monks, invited to Sukhodaya by king Rāmakamhêṅ, moved the Buddha Sihing (Ceylon) image from Śrī Dhamarāj to Sukhodaya. It is held to be of great sanctity, and is identified with a well-known image in Bangkok.

In the periods when Nakon Śrī Dharmarāj was wholly or partly autonomous, its king was the paramount ruler of twelve neighbouring principalities. Wat Pra Boromadhātu, then the chief or royal temple, received numerous gifts of gold and silver in the form of tribute-trees, and personal ornaments such as gold rings, bracelets and belts. These may be seen in the museum on the temple grounds.

After the destruction of the Thai capital of Ayudhyā by the Burmese army in 1767, king Taksin of Dhonburi sent envoys to Śrī Dharmarāj to ask for volumes of the Tripiṭaka in order to make copies for the depleted libraries at the new capital.

The dominant structure at Wat Pra Boromadhātu is the cetiya which is seventy-seven metres high and made of brick and stucco. For a height of nine metres the top of the spire is covered with gold, weighing 216 kilogrammes. Midway up the cetiya is a portico between whose columns appear the figures of eight of the Buddha's disciples: Aññākoṇḍañña, Kassapa, Sāriputta, Upāli, Ānanda, Gavampati, Moggallāna and Rāhula. They encircle the cetiya as if walking in single file, each with his right shoulder toward the centre.

In 1885 Nai Boonsakdi of Pak Panang had the base (or terrace) of the cetiya repaired, and to this he added an iron fence, bells and small stūpas. To reach the terrace the visitor must enter the Pra Mahā Phinekaṣakaramaṇ Vihāra ("Horse vihāra") and climb a flight of twenty-two steps. Figures of

nāgas, garuḍas and other creatures guard the stairway; bas-reliefs on the wall depict Siddhārtha leaving the palace on horseback and riding over the city walls. Tradition has it that this vihāra was built with funds from a king of Ceylon, a gift that arrived after the cetiya had been constructed. The money, therefore, was deposited in the building. (See Pl. XXXVI)

A legend, in variant forms, says that a tooth-relic of the Buddha was brought ashore here from a sinking vessel, carried in the hair (top-knot) of a woman survivor. A version of the legend was incorporated in the great cetiya. The relic is said to rest now in a golden bowl which floats on a square, stone-lined pool beneath the ceitya. The land here being but little above sea level, it is possible that such a pool would remain full of water.

The spacious monastery grounds lying between two converging roads contain a complex of buildings. The royal vihāra (which is an uposatha hall) dates from the 13th century, but has undergone numerous restorations. A cloister and a wall form a court around the main cetiya and the dozens of lesser stūpas that cluster about it. Other structures are the library, the museum, small vihāras containing images of the Buddha, ornate gateways and dwellings for monks. At the big festivals of Māgha Pūjā (q.v.) and Visākha Pūjā (q.v.) visitors come from as far as Malaya.

K.E.W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Wat Pra Boromadhātu* (in Thai) prepared by Nai Wichien Bamrungphol (for the Department of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Education.)

BOSATSU-ENDON-JUKAIKANJŌ-KI (*P'u-sayüan-tun-shou-chieh-kuan-ting-chi*, *Taishō*. No. 2383, Vol. 74, pp. 757a-798b), a work in one fascicle compiled in Japan in classical Chinese. This was written by a Pure Land priest, Yuiken of the Hōshō-ji (temple) who completed the precept called the *Hōshō-ji-ryū-enkai*. In this work, he describes his views on the precept of the bodhisattva for perfect and immediate Enlightenment (*Bosatsu-endonkai*), and explains how to perform the administration of the precept with the form of an abhiṣeka (*jukai-kanjō*). According to the colophon of the text, it was completed at the Endon-hōkai-ji (temple) in Sagami Province (present Kanagawa Prefecture) on the 21st of February in the 3rd year of Jōti (1364 A.C.).

S. Mo.

BOSATSUKAIHONSHŪYŌ-HOKŌBUNSHŪ (*P'u-sa-chieh-pên-tsung-yao-fu-hsing-wen-chi*; *Taishō*, No. 2356, Vol. 74, pp. 63c.-81a), a work in two fascicles compiled in Japan in classical Chinese. This is a commentary on certain selected passages of a Chinese classical work in one fascicle named the *Bosatsukaihonshūyō* or *P'u-sa-chieh-pên-tsung-yao* (*Taishō*, No. 1906) which was written by Taigen or T'ai-hsien in the 8th cent. of the Silla dynasty in Korea and which is a treatise on a Mahāyāna vinaya text, called the *Bosatsukai* or Precepts of a bodhisattva. The commentary itself was written by Eizon of Japan (1201-90 A.C.), who was a prominent exponent of the Vinaya in those days. According to the colophon of the text, he completed it on the 6th of February in the 8th year of Kōan (1285 A.C.).

S. Mo.

BOSATSUKAIHONSHŪYŌ-ZŌBUNSHŪ (*P'u-sa-chieh-pên-tsung-yao-tsa-wen-chi*, C. 114; *Taishō*, No. 2352, Vol. 74, pp. 40b-48a), a work of one fascicle in classical Chinese compiled in Japan. This is a commentary on certain selected passages of a Chinese classical work also in one fascicle, named the *Bosatsukaihonshūyō* or *P'u-sa-chieh-pên-tsung-yao* (*Taishō*, No. 1906) which was written by Taigen or T'ai-hsien in the 8th cent. of the Silla dynasty in Korea and which is a treatise on a Mahāyāna-vinaya text, called the *Bosatsukai* or Precepts of a bodhisattva. The commentary itself is one of the works of Kakujō (1194-1249 A.C.) concerning the Mahāyāna-vinaya. Kakujō of the Shōda-ji (temple) in Nara is considered to be the restorer of the Ritsu or Vinaya sect in Japan. According to the colophon of the text, the author completed it on the 21st of December in the 2nd year of Antei (1228 A.C.).

S. Mo.

BOSATSUKAI–KŌYŌSHŌ, *P'u-sa-chieh-kang-yao-ch'ao*, C. 115; *Taishō*, No. 2358B, Vol. 74, pp. 98*a*–107*b*), a classical Chinese work on the Vinaya in one fascicle written in Japan. Neither the author of this work nor the time and place of writing is known today. But, as it quotes a work of Gyōnen (1240–1320) of the Kegon sect, the work seems to have appeared posthumously, that is to say, after the early period of the 14th century (the *Bussho-Kaisetsu-daijiten* or Great Explanatory Dictionary of Buddhist Texts, Vol. 9, p. 388).

According to the contents of the work given in its first part, it is composed of the following ten chapters :—

(1) History of Buddhism (mainly of the Vinaya) in India, China and Japan; (2) General statement of the precepts; (3) Detailed explanation of the

precepts; (4) Mode of receiving the common and the respective commandments for the seven divisions of the Buddhist community; (5) On keeping all precepts; (6) On practising all virtuous deeds; (7) On granting mercy to all sentient beings; (8) Explanation of the respective precepts; (9) Mode of confession of one's transgressions against the common and the respective precepts; (10) Some questions and answers.

But out of these ten chapters, the present text in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* contains only the first two.

S. Mo.

BOSATSUKAIMONDŌ-TŌGISHŌ (*P'u-sa-chieh-wên-ta-tung-i-ch'co*, C. 116; *Taishō*, No. 2358A, Vol. 74, pp. 87a–98a), a classical Chinese work written in Japan in one fascicle, by a Vinaya priest named Eishin Nyokū, who belonged to the Saidai-ji (temple) in Nara. In this work the author states, in the form of questions and answers, his views on the bodhisattva precepts, based on those of Kakujō (1194–1249 A.C.) and Eizon (1201–1290 A.C.), each of whom is considered among the most eminent Vinaya priests in the Kamakura period of Japan. Nyokū also criticised, in the work, the contemporary views, on the same subject, of some other sects such as the Shingon esoteric, the Pure-land, the Tendai and the Zen.

According to the colophon of the text, it was completed in the 3rd year of Tokuji (1308 A.C.) at the Zenkō-ji (temple) in Esshū (present Hokuriku District).

S. Mo.

BOSATSUKAI-TSŪBETSU-NIJUSHŌ (*P'u-sa-chieh t'ung-pieh-erh-shou-ch'ao*, C. 117 *Taishō*, No. 2354, Vol. 74, pp. 53b–58c), a work in one fascicle compiled in Japan in classical Chinese. This is one of the writings of Kakujō (1194–1249 A.C.) on a Mahāyāna–vinaya text, named the *Bosatsukai* or Precepts of a bodhisattva. Kakujō of the Shōdai-ji (temple) in Nara is considered to be the restorer of the Ritsu of Vianaya-sect in Japan. In this work, the author insisted as follows: although the three ideals of a bodhisattva–(1) keeping all precepts, (2) practising all virtuous deeds, and (3) granting mercy to all sentient beings–should be observed by all the seven divisions of the Buddhist community as the concrete content of the first ideals, different commandments should be prescribed to each of the seven divisions. That is to say, as only the 10 principal and 48 minor commandments which are based on a text of the Mahāyāna–bodhisattva-vinaya, were usually observed even by the bhikṣus in his days in Japan, he opposed this practice. According to the colophon of the text, the writer completed it in September of the 4th year of Katei (1238 A.C.).

S. Mo

BOSATSUKAI-TSŪJU-KENGISHŌ (*P'u-sa-chieh-t'ung-shou-ch'hien-i-ch'ao*, C. 118 *Taishō*, No. 2353, Vol. 74, pp. 48a–53b), a work in one fascicle compiled in Japan in classical Chinese. This is one of the writings of Kakujō (1194–1249A.C.) on a Mahāyāna vinaya text named the *Bosatsukai* or Precepts of a bodhisattva. Kakujō of the Shōdai-ji (temple) in Nara is considered to be the restorer of the Ritsu or Vinaya-sect in Japan. In this work, the author raised objection to the common tendency in his days, that the bhikṣus did not usually observe the 250 commandments (the 348 for the bhikṣuṇīs), of the full *upasampadā*, but that they observed only the 10 principal and 48 minor commandments, based on a view of the Mahāyāna–bodhisattva–vinaya. According to the colophon of the text, it was completed on the 11th of November in the 4th year of Kangen (1246 A.C.).

S. Mo.

BOSATSUZŌTONKYŌ-ICHIJŌKAIGI-YŌKETSU *P'u-sa-ts'ang-tun-chiao-ch'êng-hai-i-yao-chüeh* C. 119 *Taishō*, No. 2631, Vol. 83, pp. 479a–488c), a classical Chinese work in one fascicle written in Japan. This is one of the writings of a Pure Land priest, Ken-i (1239–1304 A.C.). In this work, the author mentions his views on the Pure Land teachings. According to the colophon of the text, it was completed in March, 1268 A.C.

S. Mo.

BOT, in Thailand, a Buddhist temple architectural device, within the temple ensemble, Wat. It is generally accepted that the most important building within the compound Wat is the Bot, the sacred temple.

The Bot, which is always preceded by a porch, as a rule stands opposite the east entrance of the enclosure. The principal feature in the Bot is the great altar carrying a gilded statue of the Buddha which is always placed in the central aisle in the last bay but one (J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, edited by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, London, 1910, part II, p. 407 f).

The Bot is usually the first structure to be built within the Wat. It is rectangular in plan and is divided into central and side aisles by columns in stone, carrying open timber roofs covered with glazed tiles in bright colours (ibid. p. 406, Fig. 473 for a sectional illustration or the Bot of the Wat Jai at Sukhodaya). The roofs over the side aisles are at a lower level than that of the central aisle, leaving space for a clerestory, which consists of pierced terra-cotta slabs. Similar perforated screens are built in between the outer columns of the aisles. In important temples the Bot has double aisles on each side.[1] (See Pl. XXXVII).

The stone columns are sometimes crowned with capitals carved with lotus designs and the wooden beams of the roof above are tenoned into the columns.[2] The main beams and plates resting on the top of the capitals, the transverse beams across the aisles and the beams carrying the clerestory are tenoned into columns. The vihān (vihāra, Ceylon) and Kamburiens, other annexes in the complete Wat, are similar in design to the Bot but of smaller dimensions (see M. L. Fournereau, *Annals du Musée Guimet*, Tome XXVII, part I, tome, XXXI, part 2 ; and also *Le Siam Ancien*, 1905).

One of the largest examples of the Bot in Siam is at Phra-Prang temple in Ayuthia, measuring nearly 228 ft. by 49 ft. (Fergusson op. cit. p. 409). In the Wat–Phu-tai, also in Ayuthia, the Bot is transferred to the rear or the west side, with a western entrance. In Wat–na–Phra–That, at Lopburi, the ground plan being more complicated, the Bot is united to the main shrine by an outer and inner gallaried court (ibid, pl. XLVIII).

A. D. T. E. P.

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BOVORANIVES (Pavaraniveśa). This royal monastery, situated a short distance north-east of of the Royal Plaza (in Bangkok, Thailand), is the headquarters of the Dhammayuttika Nikāya (q.v.). Historically it has closely associated with the royal family. (See *Ency B'sm* II, Pl. LI)

It was founded about 1827 by prince Śakdi, (the " Prince of the Palace to the Front ") who was an uncle of king Rāma III. There is a tradition that the uposatha hall occupies the site of the cremation pyre of the mother of princess Dārāvadī, who was Śakdi's first wife and a niece of Rāma I. The first and largest image in the uposatha hall was brought (about 1825) from Wat Satapan in Pejburi. Four years later, Śakdi brought the Jinasīha Buddha, companion image of the Jinarāj Buddha, from Pisnulōk. The Jinasīha image, which is about four metres high, was so venerated that in 1838 it was seated in front of the larger image from Pejburi.

King Rāma III did not appoint another prince to this office upon the death of Śakdi in 1832. However, he bestowed patronage upon this temple (then known as the " New Wat ") and re-erected a three-storeyed residence, the 'Pra Panya, to which he moved from the Wang Na palace grounds. He then invited his half-brother, Pra Mahā Vajirañāṇa (prince Moṅkut, later to become king as Rāma IV) to preside over it. When Moṅkut arrived at New Wat (on 11th January, 1837) some of the buildings were unfinished ; only five monks were in residence. The king urged the new incumbent to take from Śakdi's palace whatever he wished for his monastic quarters. The monastery was then renamed Wat Bovoranives-vihāra (" Excellent Residence "), resembling in part the official name of the residence of the " Prince of the Palace to the Front ". All this suggests that the incumbent thera was to have the status, if not the title, of a " Prince of the Front Palace ".

Moṅkut was in the prime of life—studious, brilliant, energetic, and of higher birth than even the king. It was not long before he enhanced the prestige of the monastery, surrounding himself with a group of 150 monks who were known for their discipline, learning and ability for public speaking. He initiated a series of reforms in religious services and monastic rules. The monks in this and other templse who followed these reforms

1 A parallelism with the Burmese 'Thein' or the ordination hall (*uposatha-ghara*) has been conjectured by certain scholar's (J. Fergusson, op. cit. part II, p. 406, Footnote 1), which is not very unlikely. Bot has also some affinity to the 'Buduge (the Image house in Ceylon temples) and is very likely a structural remnant of the ancient Cetiyagharas (Dāge in Sinhalese) of which examples are found in the famous rock-cut apsidal cave temples in India, which were originally meant to house a stūpa and later the Buddha image. The Bot preserves most of the architectural and functional concepts of these cave-shrines which speak of structural prototypes. The apsidal cave temples are rectangular in form with a nave and two side aisles divided by a row of pillars, enshrining a stūpa or a Buddha image at the apse.

2 The tenoned or moticed capitals of the columns resemble the early Anuradhapura (Ceylon) monolithic pillars, round structural monuments like the 'Vaṭadāge' eg. Laṅkārāma, Thūpārāma, where the pillar capitals with tenons were meant to support the wooden beams which held the framework of the domical roof. Though structurally with less resemblance, the 'Vaṭadāge' (in Ceylon) could be functionally a prototype of the Bot (see S. Paranavitana. *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo 1946, pp. 75 ff, Fig. 11). The Vaṭadāge is also another version of the Rock-cut Cetiyagharas (see JUNNAR).

became known as the Dhammayuttika Nikāya ("Adherence to the Dharma" school). By its emphasis upon learning, this reform movement influenced the entire Saṅgha. Despite efforts to absorb them the strict adherents to the new rules remained, though, but a minority within the Saṅgha.[1]

The energetic head of Bovoranives, however, strove ceaselessly in a dedicated cause; his efforts were varied and achieved permanent success. For instance, in 1840 he sent five of his disciples to Ceylon to return the visit to Bovoranives of five monks from that country. The Thai monks returned in 1843 with forty volumes of the Tripiṭaka which they had borrowed. In the next year seven more disciples were despatched to return the borrowed books, but when they came back they had brought thirty other volumes. They were also accompanied by forty monks and laymen who were honoured guests at Bovoranives, where they shared the learning and the traditions of the high prelate.

During his fourteen years as head of the monastery he added to and improved many of the buildings. He erected the forty-eight metre cetiya behind the uposatha hall, as well as numerous pavilions and residences for monks. He re-consecrated the T-shaped uposatha hall and enlarged the sacred area around it. In 1838 he moved the bronze Jinasīha Buddha from the vihāra into the uposatha hall. Later, when king as Rāma IV, he removed, from Wat Sudasana to this monastery, the Pra Sāsdā image in order that it and the Jinasīha Buddha, which had both been cast in Pisnulōk, may again be together in one temple. In the vihāra he placed the Pra Sayya Buddha, a reclining stone image which came from Wat Pra Bai Luaṅ (Sukhodaya) and which he may have found in his travels in 1833. Just after the close of his reign (in 1868) a cutting from the Bodhi-tree at Buddha-Gayā (q.v.) was planted near the west wall of the monastery. In a pavilion beside this wall is a large flat stone bearing the Buddha's footprint. This dates from 1426 A. C. and had come from Sukhodaya.

In 1905, an adjoining monastery on the east, Wat Raṃsīsuddhāvāsa, was united to Wat Bovoranives. In 1914, a two-storeyed classroom building in Gothic style was erected on this newly acquired land. In 1956 a three-storeyed classroom building was erected on the south side of this property for Buddhist university classes. In 1912 a bell-tower just east of the uposatha hall was remodelled to shelter two ancient stone images of that Buddha. The standing image of the Dvāravatī period (5th to 10th centuries A.C.) came from Wat Phya Ok (Lopburi); the smaller image (also from Lopburi) is of the Buddha seated on a coiled serpent. A similar bell-tower, west of the hall, likewise contains two stone images, both seated, the one facing north being of the Śrīvijaya school.

Moṅkut left this monastery to ascend the throne in 1851. A. C. His successor at Wat Bovoranives was (prince) Riksa, who was better known by his later title of Somdeč Krom Phya Pavareś. He was a son of (second king) Mahāsenāmoraksa (1809–1817.A.C.) Pavareś adopted Moṅkut's reforms and until his death in 1892 continued to be in charge of this temple. During and after his lifetime most of the young princes served their novitiate in this monastery. Among these were prince (later, king) Chūlalongkorn and all of his sons, and two Cambodian princes (Norodom and Sisowat) who later ascended the throne of their country. Rāma VI (prince Vajiravudh in 1904), and Rāma VII (prince Prajādhipok in 1917), entered the Saṅgha for a period in Bovoranives.

During the latter years of prince Pavareś's long incumbency the leading position in the Dhammayuttika Nikāya passed to personalities residing in other monasteries. He himself, however, received increasing veneration and, during the last two years of his life (1891–1892, A. C.) occupied the highest post, that of "Prince Patriarch of the Monastic Order."

Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa, a son of Moṅkut, was the third head of Bovoranives (1892–1921. A.C.) Very quickly he restored to this temple the position it originally held in the Dhammayuttika group. He was made "Prince Patriarch" (5th November, 1910), with the rank of Somdeč Krom Phya.

In October 1893, a school of higher Buddhistic studies was founded in memory of king Moṅkut at Wat Bovoranives. Named Mahāmakuṭarāja Vidyālaya, it was given university status (1946) and undertook the task of training bhikkhus for teaching positions in monastic schools.

In 1916 a figure of prince Pavareś, the second incumbent, was placed at the foot of the Jinasīha Buddha, to the left; later, one of the third incumbent was also placed, to the right. In 1892 Vajirañāṇa, the third incumbent, ordained Momrājawongs ("Royal Prince") Chune in this monastery. Later, this bhikkhu was elevated to the rank and title of Krom Luaṅ Vajirañāṇavaṃsa and served as "Patriarch" (1945–1958). In October, 1956 he became the *upajjhāya* of king

[1] By 1959 they numbered 15,391 monks and novices, who together occupied 819 monasteries.

6—J 9924—2,500 (3/72)

Bhumibol Adulyadej, the present king, who resided in this monastery as a monk for two weeks in observance of the Buddha Jayanti, the Buddhist year 2.500.

K. E. W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: " History of Wat Pavaraniveca "by R. Lingat in *JSS.* XXVI, pt. 1.

BOWL. See PATTA-DHĀTU

BRAHĀCHATTA JĀTAKA (No. 336) preached by the Buddha at the Jetavana monastery with reference to a fraudulent (*kuhaka*) monk.

Once the bodhisatta was the minister and chaplain of Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī. Brahmadatta captured the kingdom of Kosala and, leaving a representative to rule the country, returned to Bārāṇasī taking with him all the wealth he could collect. This wealth was buried in a park. Chatta, the son of the king of Kosala, escaped, went to Takkasilā, learnt various arts and crafts, joined a band of ascetics and became himself the teacher of a group of pupils.

Reaching Bārāṇasī, later, he won over the king with his learning and deportment, and the king built houses for the ascetics in the royal park, where the plundered wealth of the king of Kosala was buried. Chatta knew a charm by which he could get at buried treasures and, knowing that his father's wealth was buried in that park, he dug the earth in the night and, removing the wealth from the pots, filled them with straw and escaped to Kosala where he subdued the representative of the king of Bārāṇasī and took possession of his father's kingdom.

When the king of Bārāṇasī came to know what had happened, he was struck with grief and ran about like a mad man, shouting ' grass ', ' grass '. Nobody could console him. When the bodhisatta came to know this, he consoled the king saying that the wealth had been taken away by its legitimate owner. Thenceforth the king ruled his kingdom righteously.

Chatta was identified with the fraudulent monk (*J.* III, pp. 115–8).

W. G. W.

BRAHMĀ. In Pre-Buddhistic Thought : The word Brahman (neuter) is met with as early as the *Ṛg-veda*, but it is there employed to mean (to use the words of Martin Haug) 'a magical force which is derived from the orderly co-operation of the hymns, the chants and the sacrificial gifts'. Brahman (masculine) is also found in the *Ṛg-veda* but it is used to denote a distinct caste or class, the caste or class of those who undertake one or other of the priestly offices. Brahmā (masculine) as a god is not known to the Vedic hymns and the masculine personal god, whose name has phonic connections with the word and who is referred to in these hymns, is Brahmaṇaspati (also called Bṛhaspati), the lord of Brāhman, of spell and prayer. Characterised as the paramount domestic priest of the gods, he is, in one *Ṛg-veda* passage,[1] referred to as *gaṇānām gaṇapati*—a god, in fact, of learning. He is, therefore, the teacher of the gods, a divine personification of the earthly teacher-class, the brāhmans (See Pl. XXXIX). Occurring most frequently with the god Indra (Sakka), especially in the myth of the release of the cows, he is also closely associated with Vāc (Speech), the designation Vācaspati being used as a synonym for him. In another passage of the *Ṛg-veda*,[2] he is exhorted as the golden-coloured one, the shining one, and, although luminosity was an attribute of all the gods, this particular passage seems to suggest it as a distinctive characteristic of this particular deity. It appears that some kind of magical power was also associated with him. Nowhere, however, is the Ṛgvedic Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati presented as a creator-god, the orgin of things being linked in the *Ṛg-veda* with the primeval giant of the celebrated *Puruṣa-sūkta*,[3] or with the god Prajāpati who, in the late hymns, is expressly referred to as the creator-god, 'the chief and father of the gods'[4], an epithet earlier applied to Brahmaṇaspati.

It is in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[5] that we come across the first identification of Bṛhaspati with Brahmā, and in the Sūtras we have the identification of Prajāpati, the Vedic creator-god, with Brahmā. Between the identification of Bṛhaspati first with Brahmā. and then, Prajāpati with Brahmā, a transitional period of fermentation obviously existed. A similar period of fermentation undoubtedly prevailed between the identification of Bṛhaspati-Brahmā with Prajāpati, and the final

1 *Ṛg.* ii, 23.1.
2 *Ṛg.* v, 43. 12.
3 *Ṛg.* x, 90.
4 e.g. *Ṛg.* ii, 27.3.
5 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xii, 8.29.

evolution of the well-defined single creator-god Brahmā. The Brahmā in early Buddhism is drawn, it appears, from the conceptions of this transitional stage. Apparently, by the time of the Buddha, the god Bṛhaspati had been forgotten' though, naturally, his characteristics persisted in the deity with whom he had been identified. In the early Buddhist texts, Bṛhaspati is nowhere mentioned. His name, on the other hand, survives in contemporaneous brāhmanical mythology as the designation of a sage and teacher of the gods.

Contemporaneous Brāhman Conception : Prajāpati and Brahmā, along with a number of other Vedic gods, are mentioned as being invoked by brāhmans as 'eternal',[6] but Prajāpati is not anywhere mentioned as creator, while it is quite clear that Brahmā was so considered. Frequently Prajāpati and Brahmā occur side by side ; in such instances Prajāpati practically always receives precedence.[7] Sometimes the two names occur with a few other Vedic gods, namely, Indra, Soma, Varuṇa and Iśāna. Seemingly, the epithets Brahmā and Prajāpati, as, perhaps, also those of a number of other Vedic gods, were for a long time being applied indiscriminately to each other as the occasion demanded—all these facts indicating that 'henotheistic' tendencies, of invoking alternately individual gods as the highest according to the need of the moment of invocation, had not completely died down in the stratum of thought from which the Brahmā in Buddhism was born. Indeed, strong traces of a current henotheism are evident in the Buddhist theology of this early period.

It is irrelevant here that Max Muller's theory of henotheism as a description of the phase of religious beliefs in the time of the *Ṛg-veda* is open to criticism on the ground that the Ṛgvedic hymns constitute exaggerative praise, and, therefore, unrepresentative of the general or popular belief of the period. The point of interest in our context is the connection the Buddhist conception of Brahmā bears to the preceding theology be it priestly or popular. There was undoubtable acquaintance on the part of the Buddhists with the general notions, if not the details, of the first three Vedas—a conclusion supported also by a tradition that the Buddha was Master of the three Vedas. We may, therefore, justly seek in the Vedic scriptures themselves the tendencies which influenced the Buddhist concept. The above criticism does not deny the henotheism of the Vedic scriptures. It only denies that it is fully representative of the thought of the time, and, it is quite conceivable that the exaggerated views regarding the gods contained in the *Ṛg-veda* influenced the theology of Buddhism, if not more than, at least as much as the popular belief of the time.

As much as we may conclude that the Ṛgvedic worshipper invoked each particular god at any one particular moment as the supreme deity, we may also infer that, as the various guardian deities of families and clans and various cults became integrated or mixed with the mixing up of the races, there came to exist gentes or gotras which invoked as the highest a particular deity whom they considered as their ancestor. It is obviously to such gotras that the Buddha refers in a recurring passage in the Nikāyas and Vinaya where he says "..... the brāhmans of today chant over again and repeat, intoning or reciting exactly as has been intoned or recited—to wit, Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi, Aṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa and Bhagu".[8]

It is clear from an examination of the *Ṛg-veda* that "Bhagu, Aṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Kassapa, Vessamitta, Vāmadeva and Vāseṭṭha" were ancient sages who had attained divine status among descendent gotras of these names. It is possible that semi-divine seers and sagely ancestors, the heroes of the Vedic and early Brāhmanical age, were after their death, and with the passage of time, elevated to the heavens when the idea of after-life and of rebirth began to weigh upon the Indian mind. In an age when Brahmā attained to pre-eminence, the practice probably existed among the gentes of elevating their ancestors to the heaven of Brahmā, the highest, to the company of Brahmā, the much-cherished Brahmaloka. As a result, probably the practice also prevailed of applying "Brahmā" as a laudatory epithet to the gods of the clan or tribe. Incidentally, it may be significant that the word "Brahma" is used in the early Buddhist literature in compounds, to mean "the highest" or 'the perfect' as in *Brahmajāla*[9] or *Brahmacakka*,[10] or *Brahmacariyā*. The heroes were eulogistically considered, no doubt, to have been born in the Brahma-world, become Brahmā, or en-

6 *M.* I, p. 2.
7 e.g. *D.* I, p. 244 ; *M.* I, p. 2 ; p. 327.
8 *D.* I, pp. 104 238 ; *M.* II, p. 170 ; *A.* III, p. 220 ; IV, p. 61 ; *Vin.* I, p. 245.
9 *D.* I, p. 46.
10 e.g. *M.* I, p. 70 ; *S.* II, p. 27.

tered the retinue of Brahmā. It is likely that the gods already had 'Brahmā' as an honorific epithet for their names and were now being considered as Brahmās or Brahmadevās. Hence, it may be surmised, the pre-eminence of the gods varied from region to region and from clan to clan as much as it varied from prayer to prayer of a single worshipper. The regional variablity of the pre-eminence of the gods assumes some importance by the fact that there is considerable evidence to show that the cradle of Buddhism was far removed from the home of the Vedic and Brāhmanical literature. The whole picture of deification of the sages and their posthumous elevation to the Brahma-world, as Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra is discussed below.

In Early Canonical Literature : In early Buddhism the word " Brahmā " is used to denote a member of a species of deities inhabiting one of the sixteen high heavens of the Rūpa world of the Buddhist cosmography. But it is also used to designate any one of their chiefs who are, however, usually referred to as Mahā Brahmās. Brahmās appear to live in groups or companies, and there are many Mahā Brahmās, though it is not quite clear whether the multiplicity of Mahā Brahmās was the earliest and original conception. Whatever may be the date of this conception, from that date, each was visualized, perhaps, as the chief of a group of Brahmās, the denizens of the Brahma-world. It is seen from the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* and *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* that there had been a belief among the Buddhists in a 'chief of all'[11] who is in the former[12] referred to as Brahmā, the great Brahmā or Mahā Brahmā, and in the latter[13] implied to be the highest of the gods. Nevertheless, there appears to be no consistent usage by which the 'chief of all' was referred to. More than one different Mahā Brahmā is described as 'the suzerain of the thousand world-system' (see below) or as 'lokādhipati', ruler of the world,[14] so that the chief of the world may not be distinguished at all, though that title is often and persistently mentioned as an attribute, illusorily claimed, by the creator-god Brahmā, as in the *Brahmajāla Sutta*,[15] or by the Brahmā whose company is aspired to by erring brāhmans of the day, as in the *Tevijja Sutta*.[16] It may be taken, therefore, that the Brahmā thereby designated is the same as the compound Bṛhaspati-Prajāpati-Brahmā of the post-vedic period, that is, the personal god recognised by contemporaneous Brāhmanism (see Pl. XXXVIII).

Though thus the compound, while still in the process of formation, was conveniently accepted, it would appear that the early Buddhists adopted a dual attitude to the two component elements. The element of the creator, Prajāpati, is decidedly and decisively rejected. The Bṛhaspati element, the teacher and the chief of the gods, is sympathetically and even respectfully accepted and transformed into an attendant and disciple of the Buddha, and, in the characteristic manner of early Buddhism, purified into a sagely being, possessed of the ideal virtues of Love, Pity, Joy and Equanimity, that is, the *brahma-vihāras* (q.v.), which most modern scholars consider to be exclusively Buddhist. Brahmā, in other words, is converted to Buddhism.

The then-current concept of the creator-god appears to have been fully explicit to the mind of those Buddhists who rejected it. References are frequent in the early Buddhist literature, mainly the *Dīgha*[17] and *Majjhima-nikāyas*[18], to Brahmā held as creator-god and Supreme Being by the Brāhman contemporaries of the Buddha, and, as remarked above, Brahmā is frequently mentioned along with Prajāpati, the creator-god, before the amalgamation. In the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, Brahmā is revealed as considering himself and being considered by other Brahmās and by brāhmans of the day as the " Great Brahmā, the Supreme One, the Mighty, the Great, All-Seeing, Ruler, the Lord of All, the Controller, the Creator, the Chief of All, the Ancient of Days, appointing to each his place, the father of all that are and are to be." This is a stock description[19] found in the repeated versions of the origin-story, but also found in other suttas (e.g., *Kevaḍḍha*). The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* lays special emphasis on one aspect of this description. It indicates that contemporaneous belief held Brahmā— and according to these early Buddhists, erroneously

11 See also *A*. V, p. 57.
12 *D*. II, p. 20.
13 *D*. I, p. 11.
14 *S*. I, p. 180 and Comy.
15 *D*. I, p. 1.
16 *D*. I, p. 13.
17 e.g. *D*. I, p. 1 ; *D*. I, p. 11 ; *D*. III, p. 24.
18 e.g. *M*. I, p. 328
19 *D*. I, p. 18 ; *D*. I, p. 222 ; *D*. III, pp. 29–30 ; *M*. I, p. 327 ; *A*. IV, p. 88 ; *It*. p. 15; see also *A*. II, p. 24 ; *A*. III, p. 201; [illegible] p. 15.

—as Eternal and Unchangeable[20], while the *Pāṭika Sutta* expressly asserts that "there are brāhmans who declare that Brahmā created the world, but when I (i.e., the Buddha) asked them, they could go no further than to admit that they declare so."[21]

There also appears to be enough evidence to show that the Brahmā who is the object of criticism in the *Aggañña Sutta*[22], is the same god to whom the brāhmans attributed the origin of the brāhman caste; and even the detail of the theory of the origin of the four castes from the mouth, feet, etc., of Brahmā's body appears to have been fully known to the Buddhists as being the prevalent belief of the brāhmans.[23] The Nikāyas constantly refer to the brāhmans as considering themselves to be "Brahmā-created, Brahmā-born, born from his mouth, heirs of Brahmā"[24]. The purpose of the *Aggañña Sutta* appears, in fact, to be the falsification of this view.

It may also be judged from the Nikāya literature that its authors were aware of a belief in the *Vedas* as having been inspired by Brahmā—at least the authors of the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*,[25] and probably, the *Tevijja Sutta*, if not the whole of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

Moreover, the *Tevijja Sutta*, as also the *Mahā-govinda Sutta*,[26] contains evidence that rebirth in or attainment to, the company of Brahmā, or to that of his retinue or his ministry, was considered by the brāhmans as one of their highest aspirations. It cannot be said with certainty whether this is a remote view of the Upaniṣadic theory of "union with," or "becoming one with," Brahman, or a misconception or Buddhist adaptation of it, or, as is quite likely, a view actually prevalent at the time, which later developed into the doctrine, of union with Brahman. Vague allusions, however, are found that the Buddha was "Brahma-become"[27]—(*brahmabhūto*), that a brāhman may become barhma-like,[28] that there were bhikkhus in the Order who had "attained to Brahmā".[29] The commentaries explain these allusions as references to the *brahma-vihāras*, or to excellence. Regardless of the correctness or otherwise of this explanation, neither the exalted aspiration of abiding in Brahmā, nor the etymology of the word "*brahma-vihāra*" provides sufficient evidence for such a conclusion, since "brahma-becoming", "brahma-abiding", etc., are, more often than not, the fruits of the after-life.

A mistranslation of the word "*brahmasaha-vyatā*" in the *Tevijja Sutta*, as "union with Brahma" once gave rise to the observation of a specious semblance to the Upaniṣadic doctrine, but the words as taken to mean "companionship with Brahmā" had enabled the rejection of this view, and made superfluous the suggested explanation of Rhys Davids that this Suttanta may have been deliberately inserted here as a Buddhist answer to the Upaniṣadic theory[30]. Neither textual evidence nor the opinion of scholars supports the interpretation that the *Tevijja Sutta* refers in any way to the Upaniṣadic doctrine. Scholars now hold that the neuter Brahman is never mentioned by the early Buddhists and that the Upaniṣadic doctrine of attaining to union with Brahman, or of becoming identified with Brahman, is not ever discussed by them.

The neuter Brahman and the relation of Buddhism with Brāhmanism will be found discussed elsewhere, but in the light of what was said above, we may conclude for our purpose here that it is not a plausible theory to regard the personal god Brahmā of the Buddhists as a hypostatized version of the neuter brahman of the old *Upaniṣads*. Rhys Davids' contention that the neuter Brahman is entirely unknown in the Nikāyas, and that "the Buddha's idea of Brahmā in the masculine differs widely"[31] may safely be assumed to be correct.

There is a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which represents the neuter Brahman as active creator, but the Buddhist texts unquestioningly assume that Brahmā is not in possession of wives,[32]

20 *M.* I, p. 1 ff.
21 *D.* III, p. 28.
22 *D* III, p. 80 f.
23 *M.* II, p. 84; see also *D.* I, p. 90 and *M.* I, p. 334; *S.* IV, p. 117.
24 e.g. *D.* III, p. 82; *M.* II, p. 148.
25 *D.* I, p. 3.
26 *D.* II, p. 19.
27 *D.* III, p. 84.
28 e.g. *A.* III, p. 223; *Sn.* v 508 (*brahma-sama*).
29 e.g. *A.* p. 183; see also *M.* I, p. 368, *M.* II, p. 76.
30 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 298.
31 loc. cit.
32 e.g. *D.* I, p. 247.

or, as in one instance, that he has wives.[33] Similies and metaphors actually refer to the body of Brahmā.[34] That he was believed to be corporeal and masculine is beyond doubt.

It is clear, therefore, that the Brahmā known to the Buddhists, as held by contemporaneous schools, was one who was considered to be Creator, Eternal, Primordial, Omniscient, Powerful, if not All-Mighty and Supreme. And the Buddhist reaction to this conception was a decided attempt to deny everyone of these attributes. The Buddhist attitude to the gods was similar to that of Epicurus—"The gods, are, indeed, but they are not as many believed them to be." There is no denial of the existence of Brahmā, and, as with many of the other Vedic gods, most of the assumptions of the preceeding age are tacitly admitted and often elaborated upon to make them consistent with the doctrinal viewpoint of these early Buddhists.

It is not surprising that the early Buddhists, who with such ruthless consistency with their doctrine of transiency, made Death itself mortal, (for e.g., the *Māratajjaniya Sutta*[35] speaks of the rebirth of Māra Dusin as Moggallāna) saw Brahmā, too, as mortal. In keeping with the doctrine that the source of wrong views is ignorance (*avijjā*), the psychogenetic cause of attributing eternity to the Brahmā-creator is shown in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* to be a hastily formed opinion based on an inaccurate, empirical observation. Now, with profound emphasis, the mortality of Brahmā is reasserted in the *Brahmanimantanika Sutta*[36] where the Buddha is represented as addressing Māra ". . . . whoever, all are in your grasp, all are in your power." Already in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the author of the *Mahāsamaya Sutta* has, with the hand of an artist, gathered all the gods together in a great concourse before the Buddha who declares :—

"To all of them thus hither come, these gods
Marshalled around the Lord and Great Brahmā,
The host of Māra cometh up......"[37]

The subjection to universal law thus declared, is echoed in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* : "Chief of those who have lordship is Māra !.[38] But not only in the matter of mortality is this subjection. For Brahmā too there is change and reverse,[39] and he, like other mortals, is by no means perfect, but susceptible to evil, to Māra. Māra creates self-deception in Brahmā. He says to his attendants regarding Brahmā and his following of gods :

"......................Come on,

And seize me these, let all be bound
By lust !".[40]

In the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, the Buddha is shown engaged in the refutation of the creator-role and omniscience of Brahmā, by a theory of origins which is fully discussed also in the *Aggañña Sutta* and less delicately in the *Pāṭika Sutta*. The great Brahmā is the first to be born after a new world-cycle, a view which is similar to that of Brahmā as *Prathamaja* (first-born) held in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. At the dissolution of the world, beings are reborn in the *Ābhassara deva-loka* (q.v.), but when this world-system begins to re-evolve, there is born from that world into the empty Palace of Brahmā, which has now appeared, a being who has exhausted his merit or his span of years there. Feeding on rapture, he exists for a long time but, being lonely, dissatisfaction and desire for company arise in him, and he wishes that there were other beings with him. Simultaneously with his wish, as also coincidentally, other beings who have exhausted their merit are reborn there. Mistaking this coincidence for the immediate fulfilment of his wishes, and working under the delusion that it was the mystical potency of his thought that brought these other beings into existence, he imagines himself to be god (Issara), the great Brahmā, the Creator of the other beings, the Vanquisher, the Overlord [41] etc. "I am Brahmā, the Great Brahmā" he thinks, just in the manner that brāhmans, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, declared him to be thinking—"I am Brahmā," (*aham Brahmā asmi*).[42] By virtue of his earlier birth, the first Brahmā is longer-lived, handsomer and more powerful than those beings born after him, a logic which is undertsandable only in terms

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33 *J.* IV, p. 378.

34 Whenever Brahmā appears before the Buddha he is shown as removing his robe from his shoulder, bending his knee and clasping his hands in worship. He is also described as beautiful in appearance.

35 *M.* I, p. 333.

36 *M.* I, p. 327.

37 *D.* II, p. 262.

38 *A.* II, p. 16.

39 *A.* V, p. 57.

40 *D.* II, p. 263.

41 loc. cit.

42 *Bṛhadāraṇayaka Upaniṣad,* 1, 4, 10.

of the atavistic belief of ancient times that the olden times were also the golden times, when men lived longer.

Brahmā's longevity gives rise to the illusion in the minds of the later Brahmās that the first is the Creator, the Supreme, the All-powerful and Eternal. The theory goes further to trace the origin of the belief in Brahmā by brāhmans. A being from the Brahma-world, being reborn, goes out into the life of a recluse, and engaged in meditation intuits his former birth, but being unable to recollect any further, comes to believe that the Being he knew, that mighty and powerful Being, is the first of beings, the Supreme Being.

The rejection of the Creator-Brahmā, is, thus, not attempted by a naive substitution of an alternate theory of origins. It is an attempt to work into already existent beliefs, regarding a God-Creator, the doctrinal principles of Buddhism. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*[43] and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[44] declared that "the One Being was not happy being alone, He wished for a second. He caused his own nature to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife. He approached her and thus were human beings produced." The Buddhists modified this on the lines of their own thought. This was a failure to see the continuity of life, they thought. This first recognition of a duality in the divine unity is the result of an inability to see the plurality and multiplicity inherent in changefulness. The belief in a First Cause is a dangerous illusion, they said. If the Buddhist theory of origins is a theory of the origins, it is a theory of the origin of a myth, an illusion, a hallucination. There is no attempt to trace the beginnings. Only an effort to show that the principle of becoming operates, but that a weakness in thought attempts deduction from insufficient empirical data. It is the want of memory of past births, of the continuity of life, that leads to error. It is an attempt to make use of the convenience of thinking in concrete, sizable concepts of a Beginning, and an eternal being, that a first-born Brahmā is conceived, when in actuality he had himself been born many times before.

Contradicting thus the conception of Brahmā as Eternal and as Creator, the Nikāyas represent it as an illusion on a par with many other illusions which it is possible to have, and which they thought their contemporaries had, such as the consideration of extension as extension, cohesion as cohesion, beings as beings, devas as devas, Pajāpati as Pajāpati, &c., &c.[45]

The Ṛgvedic gods, who had gained immortality by drinking the soma juice and had created the universe by sacrifice, were thus reduced to mere mortals whose idea of creation by mental exertion and psychical power were but pure hallucinations. The Baka Brahmā (q.v.) of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, and several other Mahā Brahmās in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*[46] are shown as having been subject to hallucinations in their own sphere, Mahā Brahmā in one instance thinking that no recluse or brāhman may come to his world, only to be shown that for the Buddha or his disciples, this is no difficult task.[47] This challange to the omniscience of Brahmā hinted at in the *Brahmajāla, Aggañña* and *Pāṭika Suttas* is, with subtle irony and sly humour, brought out in the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta*. There, a certain bhikkhu rises by psychical power (*iddhi*) from heaven to heaven of the Buddhist cosmos in search of an answer to the question on the fate of the elements, until he is finally directed by the believing followers of Brahmā, to the Great Brahmā himself, only to be told that he does not know, but that he would not have his followers become aware of his ignorance, and that the only competent person to answer the bhikkhu's question is the Buddha.

The mortality and transitoriness of Brahmā thus established by the assertion of the cyclic evolution of the universe brought with this subjection of "the Supreme One" to the power of Māra, a challenge also to his All—Powerfulness. Coupled with the motive of degrading its rivals' gods, Buddhism reasserted the limited character of the powers of Brahmā by showing him to be incapable of harming the Buddha. In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the Buddha tells Suciloma, the Yakkha, who has threatened to split his heart and derange his mind, that whether he be Māra or Brahmā, no one can do these things to him.[48] The superior power of the Buddha, even physically, is suggested in the Buddha's prohibition of Cunda's meal being of partaken of by anyone, including Brahmās. It was only digestible by one who had attained to the powers of a Buddha. Baka Brahmā, infatuated by his illusion of All-Mighty Power, is described as being spellbound, unable to carry out, in the presence of the Buddha's own

43 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x, 10, 4, 24, &c.

44 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, 3.

45 e.g. *M.* I, pp. 1-2.
46 *S.* I, p. 144; *S.* I, p. 146.
47 *S.* I, p. 144.
48 *S.* I, p. 206.

psychical powers, the feat he had challenged the Buddha to perform. Several other passages are found in the Nikāyas where the Buddha is represented as owning powers, psychically and morally superior to those of Mahā Brahmā.[49]

All-Mightiness is not the only concept associated with the current views regarding Brahmā that is dismissed by the theory of genesis of the *Brahmajāla* and other Suttas. The *Aggañña Sutta* goes further to develop a theory of social evolution to meet the "erroneous" view held by the brāhmans regarding the origin of the castes from Brahmā's body, and ultimately points to the observable fact of brāhmanees as disproof of the brāhman theory of divine origin.[50] To the Buddha the brāhman contentions appear to be an insult to the concept of Brahmā, a sheer travesty. There is no doubt that the early Buddhists considered the origin theory of the brāhmans as having been due to the pure ill-gotten conceit of that class. Later Buddhists expressed this cynically by stating that the conceited race of Dhānanjāni brāhmans were born, not from the mouth of Brahmā, but from his split head.[51]

In the Nikāyas, the argument against the Creator-God is based on the transitoriness of all beings (*aniccatā*). Kamma operates on him, and, like his fellow mortals, he is fallible and imperfect. The world's suffering as an argument if at all, is merely suggested. But the particular credit for making explicit the argument against the Creator-God inherent in the Buddha's principle of the disorder of the universe, its unsatisfactoriness, its *dukkha*, accrues to the author of the lines in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*:[52]—

"He who has eyes can see the sickening sight,
Why does not Brahmā set his creatures right ?
If his wide powers no limits can restrain,
Why is his hand so rarely spread to bless ?
Why are his creatures all condemned to pain ?
Why does he not to all give happiness ?
Why do fraud, lies and ignorance prevail ?
Why triumphs falsehood, truth and justice fail ?
I count you Brahmā one the unjust among,
Who made a world in which to shelter wrong."
(Trans. P.T.S.)

Later, Buddhaghosa, with remarkable philosophical insig, htlinks the argument against the Creator-God to the *Paṭicca-Samuppāda*. He takes the denial of his existence as the logical implication of "doerlessness" (*anattatā*); the world is without a "doer," a "soul", a "person". "The wheel of becoming is without known beginning, lacking both Maker (*kārako*) such as Brahmā...... and percipient (*vadako*). For, each consequent proceeds by reason of its antecedent."[53] The universe is merely a phase in the chain of the Dependent Origination of conditioned things.

The early Buddhist texts refer occasionally to the worship of Brahmā. A sutta in the *Dīgha-nikāya*[54] lists among a series of practices which are undesirable and fruitless, the worship of the Sun, Moon, Srī and the Great One. Buddhaghosa explains "Great One" as Mahā Brahmā, but Rhys Davids[55] doubts this on the ground that there was no ceremonial cult of Brahmā, and little or none of Brahmā, and that it is difficult to believe that the Buddhists put Brahmā worship into a list of sorceries. He considers, on the other hand, Burnouf's and Neuman's guesses on the phrase, unhappy, and suggests that the worship of Mother Earth may here be meant. If, however, Buddhaghosa's explanation is accepted, we may conclude that the Buddhists considered Brahmā-worship as a fruitless activity. In the *Brahmā Suttas* of the *Saṃyutta-nikaya*,[56] two brāhmans are seen performing fire-sacrifices, which, according to the commentary of Buddhaghosa, were to Mahā Brahmā[57], though less frequently than those to Agni.

Mrs. Rhys Davids explains the *Saṃyutta* commentarial references: "so obsolete was Agni worship in Buddhaghosa's day, or even in that of his authorities, that he sees only 'the Great Brahmā' as the object of these rites '[58]. This does not however explain the references in the Jātakas (which were obviously earlier than the commentaries) to both Brahmā-worship and Agni worship. The close association in the *Ṛg-veda* of Brahmaṇaspati with Agni may, however, provide a clue to an explanation.

49 e.g. *D.* II, p. 150 ; *S.* I, p. 138.
50 *D.* III, p. 82.
51 *S.* I, p. 160 and Comy.
52 *J.* No. 543,
53 *Vism.* §., vii.
54 *D.* I, pp. 1, 55.
55 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 24n.
56 *S.* I, p. 165.
57 e.g. *J.* I, p. 49 (No. 144).
58 *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 208. n.4.

That invocations to Brahmā existed as a part of the brāhman life of the times is beyond doubt. They are mentioned, as noted before, along with invocations to other Vedic gods like Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Īśāna. Brahmā also receives sacrifices, the oblation sometimes being rice-concoctions.[59] On the whole, the Buddhists do not seem to have an intimate knowledge of the sacrifice or the sacrificial ritual of the brāhmans. Yet, however imperfect their comprehension of the detail of the prevailing ritualism, the authors of the Buddhist texts were concerned, on principle, to protest against it as a fruitless activity, and against the practice of the austerities associated therewith. This they do, not by complete destruction, but by their own creed, metaphorically, by implanting their own values on the sacrificial altar. A brāhmanee, preparing a rice-sacrifice to Brahmā is advised by Brahmā, Sahampati (see below) to offer it rather to a bhikkhu, a seeker after virtue and truth.[60] True austerities are the practices of compassion, love, sympathy and equanimity. The 'straight path' to Brahmā was the practice of the *brahma-vihāras*. The Buddhist twist given to current doctrine is best exemplified in the *Tevijja Sutta* where the right way to companionship with Brahmā is the culture of the noble emotions known as the *brahma-vihāras*, the qualities that the brāhmans claimed Brahmā possessed. The Buddha looks at the whole search for fellowship with Brahmā from an empirical standpoint and sees it, not so much as a vain search, but as a misguided one. The brāhmans have not touched nor felt Brahmā, nor seen him face to face, but they only declared him to be possessed of perfect qualities. The Buddha claims that the correct way to companionship with Brahmā is to be like him whom they admire and invoke.

Brahmā having been denuded of Creator-attributes, the Buddhists converted the remaining personal god into a disciple of the Buddha. Here, indeed, there is no degradation of a god, and Brahmā is held in respect above all other ordinary beings, though it is not clear whether the Brahmā now spoken of was considered to be the same as appears in the *Brahmajāla*, *Tevijja*, *Kevaḍḍha*, *Aggañña* and *Pāṭika Suttas*.

Baka Brahmā : The only Brahmā, specifically named in Buddhism, who bears the characteristic of the Brahmā of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, etc., and who considers himself, or is considered by others, as the Eternal Creator is Baka Brahmā. In the *Majjhima-nikāya*[61] he is shown as an example of the Mahā Brahmā (or one of the Mahā Brahmās of an aeon) who in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* comes to hold the illusion of being Creator, Overlord, First-born, Eternal and Supreme. The Buddha is seen to admit him as exercising sway over the thousand world-system and as being of great splendour, majesty and psychical power. But, it is Māra, the Evil One, who tries to depict him as the Eternal Creator to his credulous following of Brahmās. Here Māra attempts to convince Buddha that Brahmā's word is to be respected and feared and that by challenging it he is courting the danger of being born in the lowest Hell. By praise and devotion to him and by belief in his eternity, one qualifies to be born in his company. The degradation, here, if at all, is carried out by placing self-knowledge, "knowledge of the passionate and dispassionate", higher in the scale of value than fame, splendour and psychical power. Further elaboration of the story of Baka-Brahmā's meeting with the Buddha is found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*[62] where he is made to confess—

"We seventy-two, Gotama, from our good works
Rule over the world, birth and old age transcending
This is our last Veda-won life as Brahmas,
Many the folk off'ring us prayers and praises."

(Trans. PTS).

The seventy-two referred to are obviously other chiefs or Mahā-Brahmās. Here, in the *Brahmā Suttas*, the theme is expanded and Buddha's knowledge of his former births is suggested. Mere hints given here appear to have caught the fancy of the authors of the *Jātakas* who worked out in detail the former births of Baka Brahmā and explained the merits which have earned him his place, (*J. No.* 405). In one instance[63] he is shown to have been born as Kesava and, by the merit of having been the teacher of the Bodhisatva in that birth, won his right to his present position.

It is interesting to note the close semblance of the word Baka in Buddhism to the name of the god of fortune, Bhaga, of the *Ṛg-veda*, who is there at times referred to as the supreme god.[64] Bhaga in the *Ṛg-veda* is noted for his affluence and influence, and

59 *S.* I, p. 139 ; p. 165, and Comy.
60 *S.* I, p. 139.
61 *M.* I, p. 230.
62 *S.* I, p. 142.
63 *J.* III, p. 141.
64 *Rg.* I, 62, 7.

it may be thought that the allusions to his splendour (*Mahiddika*), majesty (mahānubhāvo) and power (*mahesakko*) in the Buddhist works are references to these qualities.

Baka Brahmā says in the *Brahmā Suttas :* "Many the folk offering us prayers and praises" and equally casual allusions to invocation of Bhaga are found in the *Ṛg-veda*. The fact that these allusions are casual and not deliberate, gives strength to the possiblity of a connection between these two names. It may, therefore, be not too far stretched to suggest that the Buddhists are referring to Bhaga of the brāhmans, who, according to the henotheistic tendencies of the times, has assumed some importance in the region in which Buddhism had its early growth.

The two other Great Brahmās specifically named play an important role in the life of the Buddha.

Brahmā Sahampati : One of them is Brahmā Sahampati. In the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*[65] of the *Dīgha-nikāya* there is mention only of Mahā Brahmā who bids the Buddha not to withhold from preaching the Dhamma (see Pl. XXXVII). Rhys Davids[66] considers the name [67] "Sahampati" added in the *Vinaya* and *Majjhima* versions of the story, to be a later gloss. Chalmers notes that this is on the supposition that *Majjhima* and *Vinaya* versions were later than the *Dīgha*. The name Sahampati is, however, not absent elsewhere in the *Dīgha*. "Mahā Brahmā" of the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, who in the *Majjhima* and *Vinaya* versions and the later Nikāyas is called Brahmā Sahampati, appears when the Buddha proposes to refrain from preaching the doctrine : he appears before him in order to persuade him to do so because there are at least a few whose vision is but slightly covered with the dust of ignorance, and the world would perish if he did not teach. He is thus shown to be full of sympathy for worldlings, as though they were all in his care, an idea emphasised in the later versions of the story in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.[68]

Sahampati's invitation takes the form of poetry, a recognised form of ability in ancient India. This stanza of his is often repeated in the Buddhist texts.[69] Also, it is to Sahampati that the Buddha speaks his first words after Buddhahood, with which he makes the declaration :—" Open for ye are the doors of the Deathless, Ye who have ears, shake off your blind faith."[70] In the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, Brahmā also invites the Buddha to send forth his monks as missionaries, promising himself to appear for the *Pātimokkha*.[71] The part which Mahā Brahmā plays in the life of the Buddha is said to be something which took place in the life of each preceding Buddha, and this may explain the fact that the Great Brahmā of the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* is not specifically named, for this Sutta sets out to show the inevitable events in the life of any Buddha, beginning from Buddha Vipassī.

The other important event (according to the *Dīgha-nikāya*[72]) in which Brahmā Sahampati appears, is the occasion of the Buddha'a passing away. In the form of poetry,—the stanza again being often repeated[73]—four individuals make observations on his death, namely Brahmā Sahampati, Sakka, Anuruddha and Ānanda. It may be observed that the four are representative of the learned person, the powerful ruler, the arahant and the loyal disciple, respectively. The verse recited by Brahmā, in comparison with that recited by Sakka, is learned and philosophical in content. In fact, in a later Nikāya,[74] Brahmā is shown to correct Sakka on the manner in which the praises of the Buddhas should be sung.

We have already remarked on the absence of the name Sahampati in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, and on the occurrence of the name in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha* and elsewhere. If, however, as Rhys Davids suggests, the name Sahampati is a later addition, it is likely that it is a descriptive epithet ; but the etymology of the word is obscure, and no positive conclusion appears to be possible at present. The word *Sahassa* has been used to describe the Mahā Brahmā of the thousand world-systems, as in the *Majjhima*.[75] This agrees with

65 *D.* II p. 14.
66 *Further Dialogues*, p. 118n.
67 *Dialogue*, Part II, p. 30, n. 4.
68 *S.* I, p. 136, vi, 11.
69 *D.* II, p. 39, 7 ; *M.* I, p. 168f. *S.* I, pp. 136 ; 233.
70 *D.* II, p. 39.
71 *D.* II, p. 39.
72 *D* II, p. 157.
73 e. g. *S.* I, p. 154.
74 *S.* I, p. 233.
75 *M.* III, p. 101.

the suggestion that Brahmā, the chief of the preceding theology, is himself made to invite the Buddha to teach his doctrine in order to give prestige to Buddhism. The epithet *Sahati* may also be taken into consideration, as, occasionally, Brahmā is described as Overcomer, Conqueror ; the word also has the meaning of " enduring ". Another word of possible connexion is *Sahāya* which means, in the *Dīgha-nikāya,* " companion " or " friend ". Brahmā, by being drawn in to entreat the Buddha here, is in reality being called into alliance with Buddhism against the prevailing creed which had, as it was believed, the patronage of Brahmā.

It may be noted that Sakka is addressed as Sujampati (see SAKKA) from the name of his daughter, (or wife ?) Sujātā. A useful comparison may also be drawn from the word *Sanaṅkumāra,* i.e., the Ever Young, derived from the word *Sanātana,* and used to designate the Brahmā of that name.

If Sahampati is taken to be descriptive of this Mahā Brahmā's suzerainty over the thousand-world-system, then we have another Mahā Brahmā, who, besides Baka, is admitted to be " chief of all". Except for this possibility, there is no other reference in the early Nikāyas to Brahmā Sahampati as the suzerain of the thousand worlds. But there is a singular reference to him as the lord of the world in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and this in spite of the fact that in the later Nikāyas the occasions of his visits become more frequent and more varied[76]. In the *Cātumā Sutta*[77] of the *Majjhima,* he effects a reconciliation between Buddha and some bhikkhus who have offended him by their indiscipline, an event referred to also in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya.*[78] Again, the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta*[79] attributes to him the first use of the word " *Tathāgata* " in addressing the Buddha. The entreaty to preach is again and again referred to in the later Nikāyas and the first lines of the *Buddhavaṃsa* open with that story.

In the *Sutta-nipāta,* the *Saṃyutta* and *Aṅguttara-nikāyas,* Sahampati is also associated with the death of the Kokālikan bhikkhu and reports to the Buddha the place of birth of this monk who had made an accusation against the chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.[80] He, unlike Baka Brahmā, appears to have been able to see—

" the becoming thus, the becoming otherwise,
the coming and the going of beings ".

He is even able to see that the Kokālikan bhikkhu is reborn in the Paduma Hell. This recognition of a power in Brahmā Sahampati to see the place of rebirth of beings is accompanied by a recognition of a similar capacity to see previous births, which is an implication of the fact that he relates in the *Saṃayutta* [81] his previous birth as Sahaka.

Both contentions seem to be a development from the ascription to him of a capacity of seeing in his own mind the mind of the Buddha when the latter decides not to preach the Dhamma 'too difficult for men'. In the later Nikāyas, the event of his appearance to entreat the Buddha to preach is recaptured in different versions, with more elaborate description and details of time of day and place of meeting—the Ajapāla Nigrodha,[82] &c., Again, visiting him at Andhakavinda,[83] Brahmā Sahampati bids the Buddha live, serving the Dhamma, as there is no superior being to whom he can pay homage. On one occasion, he comments in verse on Devadatta,[84] and on another, he appears with Sakka to ask a question of the Buddha[85]. They both await the Buddha, leaning on the door-post—a position of servitude and humility in oriental tradition. He teaches Sakka the correct way to praise the Buddha, and discourses at Uruvela[86] on the five controlling faculties—an example of his learning as contrasted with Sakka.

Brahmā Sahampati remains throughout an anthropomorphic god, offering homage to the Buddha in traditional oriental manner, uncovering the robe from his shoulder before saluting the Buddha as a single-headed, two-armed, and therefore obviously, a corporeal deity.

Brāhma Sanaṅkumāra : The distinction between Brahmā Sahampati and Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra is quite clear-cut. But there are a few characteristics

76 *Bvu.* p. 1.
77 *M.* I, p. 456.
78 *S.* III, p. 90.
79 *M.* I, p. 168.
80 *S.* I, p. 149 ; *A.* V, p. 172 ; *Sn.* p. 122.
81 *S.* V, p. 232.
82 *S.* V, p. 167.
83 *S.* I, p. 153 ; see also *A.* II, p. 20 ; *S.* 1, p. 138.
84 *S.* I, p. 153.
85 *S.* I, p. 233.
86 *S.* V, p. 23.

common to both of them. Sahampati's power to read the thoughts of others is also found in Sanaṅkumāra. In one Sutta, the latter is shown to be reading the mind of another deity, Vessavana.[87] There is greater emphasis on the psychical powers of Sanaṅkumāra as he performs the miraculous act of rising up into the air and sitting cross-legged in the sky to the amazement and wonder even of the thirty-three Gods.[88]

Sanaṅkumāra, too, speaks poetry and performs the teacher-role. In the *Dīgha*[89], in fact, it is Sanaṅkumāra, and not Sahampati, whose function as teacher receives emphasis. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* and the *Aggañña Sutta* the Buddha quotes him as the author of a stanza (discussed below) in which the kṣatriya is declared to be superior to all the other castes, and the virtuous man to all beings. Later Nikāyas give an account of the occasion on which Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra appears before the Buddha to recite it.[90] In these Nikāyas the import of the stanza is brought out in various versions, in one instance the Buddha quoting the verse without any reference to the Brahmā [91].

Sanaṅkumarā is noted not only for his poetic abilities, but also for his voice, the Brahmā voice, which is " fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, resonant ", that is, eightfold in its characteristics.[92] This is the voice in which he preaches to the thirty-three gods, and it is to this voice that the various similies, such as the Buddha being Brahma-voiced, refer.[93]

A fact for note is that it is Sanaṅkumāra who conveys to the thirty-three gods the Buddha's declaration: " Open for ye are the doors of the Deathless "[94]—a stanza, which according to another sutta, was recited, as noted earlier, by the Buddha to Brahmā Sahampati immediately after Enlightenment.

Sanaṅkumāra is depicted as handsome and beautiful in appearance and may be the source of such literary metaphors and similies as " a body like that of Mahā Brahmā ", " like Brahmā divinely straight ", " Brahmā-colour ", etc., Brahmā was believed to be fair in complexion. " Brahmans are the brahma-colour," it is said, " the other colour is dark."[95]—Sanaṅkumāra's body was supposed to have been, normally, not sufficiently materialised for the vision even of the thirty-three gods, but he had a capacity to assume a more visible form[96]. His appearance when he reveals himself to Mahāgovinda, however, strikes awe in the mind of the latter.[97]

Mahāgovinda also speaks reverentially of " Brahmā's word." To Govinda it is associated with authority and finality, and he decides to go into the hermit-life because Brahmā himself has bidden him to do so.[98]

In the early Nikāyas, Sanaṅkumāra appears only on one occasion before the Buddha, there with the great concourse of gods. The verse which refers to this incident is ambiguous :—

" *Subrahmā Paramatto ca puttā iddhimato saha Sanaṅkumāro Tisso ca so p'āga samitim vanam Sahassa-Brahmalokānam Mahā-Brāhma 'bhitiṭṭhati, Upapanno jutīmanto bhīsmakāyo yasassi so. Das'ettha issarā āgu paccekavasavattino, Tesañ ca majjhato āga Hārito parivārito,*[99] " and it is

87 D. II, p. 219.
88 D. II, pp. 211. 230.
89 D. II, pp. 18, 19.
90 e.g. S. I, p. 150.
91 S. II, p. 284.
92 D. II, p. 211.
93 e.g. *Vimānavatthu* IV, 6 (44).
94 D. II, p. 217.
95 D. II, p. 81.
96 D. II, p. 210.
97 D. II, p. 240.
98 D. II, p. 261.
99 D. II, p. 261 (Trans. *Dialogues of theBuddha*, II).
* Then, Tissa, the Eternal Youth, and with
Him Paramatta and Subrahmā, sons
Of the Potent One, came to the congress-wood.
Great Brahmā, suzerain of the thousand worlds
In Brahma-heaven, has tither been reborn,
Mighty in power, and in shape awesome
And vast, of great renown. Ten of his lords.
Each regnant o'er a Brahma-world, are come,
And in their midst wit all his suite comes Harita.

not clear whether Sanaṅkumāra is identical with Tissa or with Mahā-Brahmā, or whether he is one of the sons of Mahā-Brahmā, the Potent One, just as Subrahmā is. If he is identical with Mahā Brahmā, he is the leader of the divine host who pay homage to the Buddha, and is also one of the Mahā Brahmā's referred to by proper name and considered suzerain of the thousand worlds. He is certainly presented as being held in awe and reverence by the thirty-three gods in the *Janavasabha Sutta*.[100] Sakka hails him in the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* as " Brahmā, the Great Brahmā "[101], and declares the portents of his manifestation as " a light that appeareth and a glory that shineth "[102].

If, on the other hand, Sanaṅkumāra is the son of Mahā Brahmā, he becomes the brother of Subrahmā and Paramatta and brings himself into a possible relation with the Kumāra creation (see below) which is referred to in the Brāhmanical texts. In the later Nikāyas[103], Tissa appears to have been taken as a different individual, and, along with Subrahmā, is recognised as a Pacceka Brahmā.

The stanza attributed by the Buddha to Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, already referred to, is a favourite one in the Nikayas. By quoting this verse, the independent authority of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, one of their own semi-divine sages, is brought by the Buddha on his side in the controversy regarding the superiority of the kṣatriyas over the brāhmans. With the increase of hostility between Buddhism and Brāhmanism, it is quite understandable that this stanza became popular among the Buddhist literati.

In recent times this stanza, for quite other reasons, has created an interest among the critical scholars of Buddhism. It has been noticed that the name Sanaṅkumāra appears in numerous Brāhmanical texts in connection with a similar context. The oldest reference to Sanaṅkumāra is in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[104] where he is accepted as a semi-divine sage who teaches a typical brāhman about the highest truth. Instructing Nārada, he declares, most obviously referring to the brāhman's Vedic learning, " all that you have studied is merely name." From the Buddhist texts, it is quite clear that the Buddha's own attitude was a protest against Vedic and Brāhmanical knowledge. The Buddha himself was a kṣatriya who had gone forth from home to the homeless life in search of the Truth, which he had failed to find in Vedic learning, and then revolt against the Brāhmanical creed. Besides, from the pre-Buddhistic *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Kauśītaki Upaniṣads* it is evident that the controversy regarding the right of the kṣatriyas to teach, and the problem of which of the two castes, the kṣatriyas or the brāhmans, as superior, was in the air. Numerous cases are found of kṣatriyas instructing brāhmans, and in most instances the right to teach is challenged by the brāhmans, or is asserted by the kṣatriyas. The most interesting of these is that where the leading text of the doctrine of the soul's transmigration (and which is extant in three different recensions) is propounded in the form of instruction given to Aruṇi, the brāhman, by the kṣatriya king Pravahana: " Because, as you have told me, O Gautama, this doctrine has never up to the present time been in circulation among the brāhmans, therefore, in all the worlds the government has remained in the hands of the warrior caste."[105] A passage of similar import is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[106]. There can be no doubt of the affinity to the same intellectual and political climate, of Sanatkumāra's stansza :—

" The khattiya is best among this folk
Who put their trust in lineage,
But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
Is best of all 'among spirits and men."[107]

There has undoubtedly been a tradition regarding the sage Sanatkumāra (Pāli : Sanaṅkumāra) as is evident from post-Buddhistic works. The Mahābhārata[108] has a legend according to which Sanatkumāra stands up for kṣatriya supremacy, declaring the king to be the best among men and equal unto the gods. In mediaeval literature, he is one of the four, five or seven, mind-born sons of Brahmā. H. H. Wilson in a note to his *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[109]

100 *D*. II, 18 ; see also *D*. II, p. 288.
101 *D*. II, p. 229.
102 *D*. II, p. 209 ; *D*. II, p. 225.
103 *A*. III, p. 329.
104 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 7, 1, 3.
105 Ibid. 5. 3. 7.
106 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6, 28, see also, *D*. I. p. 99 ; *S*. I, p. 153 ; II, p. 284.
107 *D*. I, p. 121; *M*. I, p. 358 ; *S*. I, p. 153.
108 *Mahābhārata* III, ch. 1, 85.
109 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1840), p. 38, note 14.

states, "The Kaumāra creation of Rudra or Nilohita, a form of Śiva by Brahmā, and of certain other mind-born sons of Brahmā, of whose birth the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives no further account. They are elsewhere termed Sanatkumāra, Sananda, Sanaka and Sanātana, with sometimes a fifth, Ribhu added. These, declining to create progeny, remained, as the name implies, ever-boys, Kaumāras, i.e., ever-pure and innocent; whence their creation is called the Kaumara creation...... And the *Liṅga* has 'Being ever as he was born, he is here called a youth and hence his name is well-known as Sanatkumāra.' This authority makes Sanatkumāra and Ribhu the first-born of all, while the text of the *Harivaṃsa*, limits the primogeniture to Sanatkumāra. Sanatkumāra and his brethren are always described in the *Śaiva Purāṇas* as 'Yogis who acquired entire exemption from passion' and the *Harivaṃsa* although rather Vaiṣṇava than Śaiva, observes that the "Yogis celebrate these six along with Kapila in the Yoga works."

On the supposition that the ambiguous verse of the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, referring to the sons of the Potent One, has taken Sanatkumāra also as one of those, there is reason to believe that the reference there is to the same person described in the Brāhmanical literature as a teacher of the *Yoga Śāstra* and as identical with Skanda. The names of the five, or the seven,[110] it will be noted, do not, however, tally with any of the names of the three others in the *Mahāsamaya Sutta*, namely, Subrahmā, Tissa, and Paramatta.

George Bühler[111] observes that the parallels show that the Buddha's approval of Brahmā Sanatkumāra is not unfounded. He notes that the sage's decision about the king holding the first place on earth, agrees with various passages of the *Smṛti* and the *Śruti*, "which contrary to the habitual self-exaltation of the brāhmans in their school literature, admit the facts as they existed in the normal Hindu states." He believes that the verse is not original and thinks it unlikely that a Buddhist forger would attribute his own sentiment to a not-very-prominent demi-god or sage like Sanatkumāra. He is inclined to conclude that an equivalent to the *gāthā* may actually have occurred in some recension of the legend known to the Founder or the early Buddhist authors, and that it is also possible to assume that the gāthā is a Buddhist composition which briefly summarises Brahmā Sanatkumāra's views. Chalmers,[112] too, has expressed the view that the verse can hardly be a concoction of the Buddhists. He believes that with the growing pretensions of the brāhmans such an utterance might have easily dropped out of the Brāhmanical texts.

Bühler[113] gives as reason for the legend in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*,[114] where Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra appeared to the Buddha on the bank of the Sappinī river to reveal the gāthā, that it was an attempt to veil the fact that it is a quotation from a Brāhmanical source. His explanation, however, overlooks a more likely alternative reason. In the embellishment and elaboration that is seen in the later Nikāyas, we observe numerous efforts to concretise events casually and vaguely referred to in the earlier Nikāyas, to introduce into them the flavour of realism by addition of detail, as seen, also in the case of Brahmā Sahampati's entreaty to the Buddha, where even the place and time of the event is given. It is very possible that this is a similar attempt at elaboration.

Pacceka Brahmās : In the later Nikāyas, the Brahmās who are mentioned by name increased and are sometimes differentiated from Mahā Brahmās by the designation Pacceka Brahmā. We hear in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* of the two Pacceka Brahmās, Subrahma and Suddhāvāsa,[115] and of Tudu who appears to the Kokālian bhikkhu.[116] A Brahmā by the name of Tissa is also mentioned[117] who is, actually a monk known by that name, and later reborn as a Brahmā by virtue of his deeds.

The general concept of Brahmā that emerges from all this is not widely different from the Brahmaṇaspati of the *Vedas*. The association of the Brahmā of the Buddhists with speech and poetry and that of Brahmaṇaspati with Vāc are as suggestive as is the teacher-role played by the various Brahmās, especially Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, who is also noted for iddhi or magical powers. The frequent occurrance in the Buddhist texts of Brahmā with Sakka, and that of Brahmaṇaspati with Indra is also noteworthy. So is the light that heralds the

110 Refer Garbe's *Samkhya-Philosophie*, p. 35.
111 *JRAS.* (1897) p. 585.
112 *JRAS.* (1894), p. 344.
113 *JRAS.* (1897) p. 588.
114 *S.* I, p. 150.
115 *S.* I, p. 146,
116 *S.* I, p. 148.
117 *A.* III, p. 329.

manifestation of Brahma in the Buddhist Suttas and the luminosity attached to Brahmaṇaspati, suggestive. There is no doubt that to the Buddhists the deity was a being of learning, a *gaṇānām gaṇapati*. It is as the concept develops and becomes more defined that a disparity emerges, and the history of this development is the history of the degradation of Brahmā until he comes to be trampled under the foot of the bodhisatta as depicted in Mahāyana Buddhist sculptures. The concept of Brahmā spread also into Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. Thus, in Japan he is called Bonten and given a minor place in the Buddhist pantheon (see Pl. XXXIX/a). Concurrent with and consequent to this degradation is the multiplication of Brahmā in order to reduce the importance of the single deity. This will be clear from the treatment of Brahmā in Buddhist commentarial literature and Art.

B. J.

BRAHMACARIYA. The term brahmacariya in Indian literature stands for the life of discipline ordained for the aspirant to spiritual awakening. The fact that the Buddha-aspirant (bodhisatta) himself chose to live the life of brahmacariya under Āḷāra Kālāma and other teachers implies its pre-Buddhist origin. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refers to brahmacarya as one of the 'three *dharma-skandhas*' each of which is regarded as capable of leading the adherent to a state of spiritual edification or a world of bliss—*puṇyaloka*.[1] This could be considered one of the earliest references to the institution of brahmacarya, perhaps as complete in itself or as a part of religious life in the brāhmanic tradition. However, it is still neither the religious initiation nor the stepping-stone to social upliftment among the brāhmans as it did happen at a later date.[2] This old brāhmanic institution of brahmacarya, which evidently was the choice of a select few, underwent a process of popularisation in the formulation of the *Catur Āśrama Dharma*, whereby, it was brought into the life of every brāhman or in fact of every member of the three principal castes as the first stage of the *Catur Āśrama Dharma*.

The *Manusmṛti* describes two different types o brahmacārins or followers of the way of brahmacarya, who are referred to as *naiṣthika* and *upakurvāṇa*.[3] The former is life-long studentship which was divorced from social obligations and had as its goal the attainment of Brahman, Thus, as a way of life, it could not be displaced completely with the inauguration of the *Āśrama Dharma*. The latter, *upakurvāṇa*, which shows more conformity with the *Āśrama Dharma* was a limited period of studenthisp whereby initiation into true brāhmanhood was effected through the mastery of the sacred learning. Buddhist texts refer to this Brāhmanic institution as *komārabrahmacariya*, and speak of it as extending over 48 years.[4] Herein the Buddhist tradition agrees with Baudhāyana who alone states that the term of studentship covers 48 years,[5] while Manu gives it as 36 years.

Some of the early Upaniṣads use brahmacarya as a vital part of religious life on to which are grafted moral and ethical considerations such as truth, austerity and correct knowledge as a means of reaching the Atman.[6] The importance of the observance of brahmacarya in the sphere of religious life has been very keenly recognised in the *Upaniṣads*. The *Chāndogya* says that only those who find the Brahma-world through brahmacarya possess the Brahma-world [7]. The Commentators simplify this idea of brahmacarya in the *Upaniṣads* by identifying it with the first stage of the *Catur Āśrama Dharma* They associate the following ideas with the institution of brahmacarya:

(*a*) That one lives the life of brahmacarya under a teacher for the purpose of religious education.[8] Śaṅkara reaffirms the importance of brahmacarya for the acquisition of sacred knowledge in his comment on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 5.2.1. where he points out that brahmacarya is the basis of studentship.

(*b*) That the practice of celibacy and the renunciation of all desire for women constitute the hall-mark of this institution of brahmacarya. Commenting on *Chāndogya* 8.4.3. Śaṅkara says that brahmacarya is the renunciation of desire for women. At *Muṇḍaka* 3.1.5. he defines brahmacarya

1 *Chānd. Up*. 2. 23. 1.
2 Śaṅkara on *Chānd.* 6. 1. 1.
3 *Medhātithi-Bhāṣya* on *Manu.* 3. 1.
4 *Sn. v.* 289.
5 *The Laws of Manu*, trs. G. Bühler, *SBE.* XXV, p. 74. See note on 111, 1.
6 *Mund. Up.* 3.1.5.
7 *Chānd Up* 8.4.3.
8 Ibid. 4. 4. 1.

as the negation of the enjoyment of the company of women. In the wake of this negative virtue comes the acquisition of instruction from one's teacher. Rāmānuja puts this effectively as instruction and guidance from the teacher is preceded by the life of brahmacarya, which in turn is characterised by the renunciation of desire for women.

(c) That brahmacarya is the initiation into true brāhmanhood through which every brāhman must pass. It is clearly brought out in Śaṅkara's comment on the *Chāndogya*, 6.3.

The pattern of brahmacarya in the *Upaniṣads* does not seem to be identifiable with that formulated in Buddhism. The life of brahmacarya is undertaken in Buddhism, as will be shown below, for the purpose of eliminating *rāga, dosa* and *moha* by a gradual process of development. Their elimination is given as the goal of brahmacarya[9]. The disciples of the Buddha are thus guided through brahmacarya towards this end.[10]

The *Atharva-veda* which lies outside the brāhmanic tradition of the three *Vedas*, presents to us at II.5. a very different character in the person of the brahmacārin. 'Here a brahma disciple–brahmacārin–in the full glory of his holy functions and monastic habits is treated as an incarnation of the brahmā; from him the brahmā springs, and in his holy life (*brahmaṇam*), the brahmā is glorified.'[11] According to this Atharvan hymn the brahmacārin is infinitely powerful and controls the universe and the gods therein. 'He hath established firmly earth and heaven..Stirring both worlds the brahmacāri moveth[12]'. He takes precedence over brahmā too, and all this power he derives through *tapas*. His power of *tapas* is repeatedly mentioned. He is the most potent factor in the universe. He is the source from which the highest brahmā sprang, and all the gods owe their origin to him. From him sprang the heavenly lore, the highest brahmā, and all the gods, with life that lasts for ever.[13] In him lay the ultimate guardianship of all. 'The brahmā that is stored within the brahmacārī guards them all'.[14] The contents of this hymn seems to indicate that the brahmacārin of the *Atharva-veda* belongs to a different tradition. Religiously, he may be regarded as being more primitive in character, deriving his power mainly through *tapas* and *yajña*. Nevertheless, it shows the wide acceptance and unchallenged importance which the institution of brahmacarya had acquired.

The term brahmacarya was also used by other contemporary religious organizations to mean the ideal life prescribed by each. The bodhisatta himself refers to the religious life he chose to live under Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta as brahmacariya.[15] The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to the religious life of the Jaṭilas, who were contemporaries of the Buddha, as brahmacariya.[16] It is also said that Sāriputta and Moggallāna, prior to their conversion to Buddhism, lived the life of brahmacariya of the Paribbājakas under the Paribbajāka chief, Sañjaya[17]. In the *Assalāyana Sutta*, it is associated with the seven brāhman sages of yore[18]. The *Sandaka Sutta* mentions eight such courses, which when judged by the criteria of the Buddhists, fall below standard. Hence they are termed *abrahmacariyavāsa*—no real abodes of brahmacariya—or *anassāsikabrahmacariya*—the rewardless life of brahmacariya.[19] Under the four *abrahmacariyavāsa* the doctrines of Ajita Kesakambalī, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhalī Gosāla and Pakudha Kaccāyana are critically examined and the verdict is given that no brahmacariya life could be lived under them. The four *anassāsikabrahmacariya* refer to the following and dismissed: (1) The teacher who claims omniscience. (2) The traditionalist. (3) The rationalist. (4) The sceptic.

In the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*, the Buddha himself tells the venerable Sāriputta of another form of brahmacariya which he is said to have practised

9 *S.* V, pp. 8, 16, 26.
10 *S.* IV, p. 195.
11 Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda, p.* 89.,
12 Griffith, *The Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* vol. II, XI, V, 1
13 Ibid. XI, V, 52.
14 Ibid, XI, V, 22.
15 *Vin.* I, p. 36.
16 Ibid. I, p. 39.
17 *M.* II, p. 155.
18 *M.* I, p. 514 f.
19 Ibid. p. 77.

as the bodhisatta, which also no doubt stand outside the pale of Buddhism. It was a form of severe asceticism characterised by the fourfold austerities such as abstemious partaking of food, seeking the solitude of forest retreats, etc.[20] Buddhaghosa gives us the following different applications of the term brahmacariya which, though not necessarily Buddhist, meant virtuous living. But the concept and magnitude of virtue apparently varied.

(1) *dāna*: charity, (2) *veyyāvacca*: rendering a service or dedication to cause, (3) *pañcasikkhāpadasīla*: observance of the five precepts, (4) *appamañña*: practice of brahmavihāras, (5) *methunavirati*: celibacy, (6) *sadārasantosa*: conjugal fidelity, (7) *viriya*: striving, (8) *uposathaṅga*. observance of the day of the fast, (9) *ariyamagga*: the noble path, (10) *sāsana*: the complete Buddhist way of life.[21]

In Buddhism, the life of brahmacariya has as its goal release from *dukkha* or ills of saṃsāric existence which, in other words, is expressed as the attainment of Nibbāna. The proclamation of this way of life is in fact regarded as the major mission of the Buddha's life [22] This is clear from the recurring statement in the texts which is ascribed to the Buddha: 'Come, O monk, live the life of brahmacariya in order that you may make an end of suffering'[23]. This new orientation in Buddhism is due to the fact that the bodhisatta's search for Enlightenment derived its urge from his anxiety to discover the root cause of the phenomenon of *dukkha* and the way to its extinction.[24] As Buddha he makes this point crystal clear in more than one place. 'One thing do I teach: suffering and the deliverance from suffering.'[25] At this stage it should be abundantly clear that Buddhism uses the term brahmacariya to refer to its ideal religious life without any reference to or associations with the concept of Brahman, personal or impersonal, as contemplated in the Brāhmanic tradition. Here the term *brahma*, as in *brahmavihāra* and *brahmabhūta*, means the highest, noble, worthy and virtuous.[26]

This higher religious life of brahmacariya is often identified with the life of religious mendicancy or *pabbajjā*. All those who chose to be disciples of the Buddha invariably declare that this perfect and pure religious life cannot easily be lived while leading the life of a householder.[27] Hence they go from household life to homelessness, with faith in the way of life laid down by the Buddha, for the purpose of perfecting this life of brahmacariya.[28] The *Pabbajjā Sutta* describes on very similar lines the motive which prompted the Bodhisatta to renounce the household life.[29] It is at this point of emphasis on complete renunciation that brahmacariya and the life of *pabbajjā* seem almost to converge.

The termination of the ills of existence being the primary motive for the practice of the life of brahmacariya, the following items also come to be included as motives for the same. In other words, brahmacariya is practised for the purpose of removing all the factors which contribute to the continuance of existence. They are: elimination of lust (*rāgavirāga*), removal of fetters of existence (*saṃyojanapahāna*), destruction of predispositions (*anusayasamugghāta*), extinction of defilements (*āsavānaṃ khaya*), realisasion of the fruits of release through wisdom (*vijjāvimutti-phalasacchikiriya*), realisation of knowledge and insight (*ñāṇadassana*), and complete liberation from the process of existence (*anupādā parinibbāna*.)[30] The *Mahā Assapura Sutta* states that the one concern of brahmacariya is the attainment to that poise and feedom of the mind which is Nibbāna[31]. Through the practice of brahmacariya, says the *Saṃyutta*, re-birth is ended and thereby one is freed from all consequent ills.[32] Every

20 Ibid. p. 163.
21 *DA*. I, p. 177.
22 *D*. I, p. 62; *M*. I, pp. 179, 297.
23 *Vin*. I, p. 12.
24 *S*. II, p. 10 f.
25 *S*. IV, p. 384; *M*. I, p. 140.
26 *M*. I, p. 111; III, pp. 195, 224; *S*. IV, p. 94.
27 Ibid. *M*. II, p. 55 f.
28 *M*. I, pp. 40, 127, 477.
29 *Sn*. *vv*. 405, 406.
30 *S*. V, pp. 27–30.
31 *M*. I, p. 197.
32 *S*. II, p. 24–25.

arhant, on the attainment of Enlightenment, claims that he will not be re-born and that he has perfected the life of brahmacariya.[33]

Brahmacariya, described as a mode of life which is perfect and wholly pure (*ekantaparipuṇṇam ekantaparisuddham saṅkhalikhitam*) admits of no compromises.[34] It is also a life-long institution (*yāvajīvam āpāṇakoṭikam*) and stands in marked contrast to the brahmacariya life of limited periods (*pariyantavatiṃ brahmacariyam*) practised by some of the contemporaries of the Buddha[35]. The *brahmacarya āśrama*, for example, would fall into this latter category. The Commentaries on the Buddhist texts say that there should be no erring even for a single day and that the life of brahmacariya is so called because it is the noblest way of life or the way of life of those who have reached the highest state of perfection.[36] The arhant is described as one who has perfected the life of brahmacariya (*brahmacariyassa kevalī*)[37] On the other hand, those disciples who miss the real goal of brahmacariya and rest content with the preliminary attainments, like *sīla*, *samādhi* and *ñāṇdassana*, are described as gathering the bark and soft wood of the tree of brahmacariya and missing its heart-wood (*tacaṃ aggahesi brahmacariyassa pheggum aggahesi brahmacariyassa*: *M.*I. pp. 192–197). As the complete way to salvation, it is also said to embrace all three phases of *sikkhā* of self-culture in Buddhism, namely morality, tranquility of mind and wisdom (*sīla, samādhi* and *paññā*).[38] As the way to arahantship brahmacariya is also identified with the Noble Path.[39] However, there also seems to be in the Buddhist texts a very narrow definition of the term brahmacariya which seems to equate it, more or less, to the vow of celibacy.[40] This identification of an aspect of *brahmacarya āśrama* of the brāhmans was discussed earleir. It should also be noted that the term brahmacāri is at times used in Buddhism with reference to white clad lay householders (*gihi odātavasanā brahmacārino*).[41] They are so-called to the extent that, while remaining in the household, they have eschewed the worldly plessures of the household. Thus, brahmacariya is undoubtedly the ideal religious life in Buddhism which is recommended and practised for the attainment of the final goal.

J. D. D.

33 *M.* I, pp. 23, 38; *S.* I 240.

34 *M.* II, p. 120.

35 Ibid.

36 *DA.* I, p. 179; *MA.* II, p. 204–205.

37 *A.* I, p. 162; *Thag. v.* 679.

38 *DA.* I, p. 179.

39 *S.* V, p. 26.

40 *D.* I, p. 63; *M.* II, p. 181; III, 33.

41 *M.* I, p. 492.

BRAHMACARIYA SUTTA. Three suttas occur under this title, one in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II, p. 26), and two in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V, p. 26). In the first of these the Buddha tells the monks that the purpose of leading the noble religious life (*brahmacariya*) is not to deceive the masses (*janakuhanatthaṃ*) and receive gain (*lābha*) honour, etc., but to discipline the self for detachment (*virāga*), for renunciation and for final liberation (*nirodha*). In the second and the third suttas the Buddha tells the monks that following the Noble Eight-fold Path (*ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*) is what is meant by leading the noble religious life (*brahmacariya*).

W.G.W.

BRAHMADAṆḌA (1), a kind of punishment involving a boycott, the highest penalty imposed on a monk.

Shortly before the Buddha's *parinibbāna*, he instructed Ānanda to impose *brahmadaṇḍa* on the monk Channa (q.v.). Ānanda was evidently not aware of such a punishment, for he asked the Buddha for details. " Let Channa say whatever he likes ", said the Buddha, " the monks should neither speak to him nor exhort him nor admonish him ". This penalty, virtually declaring a person a social out-caste, was afterwards inflicted upon Channa with the happy result that he felt remorse, mended his ways and before long attained arahantship (*D.* p. II, 154; *Mhps.* p. 284; *Vin.* II, p. 290; *DhpA.* II, p. 112).

U.K.

BRAHMADAṆḌA (2), name of a mountain mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

BRAHMADAṆḌA LOKESVARA, enumerated among the 108 forms of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. At the Macchandar Vahal (the temple of

matsyendranātha) in Kāṭhmāṇḍu in Nepal is found a painted icon of the bodhisattva on a wooden panel in colour with an inscription for the purpose of identification.

Avalokiteśvara is represented as one-faced and four-armed. Posing in the *lalita-mudrā* on a lotus seat he accompanies his *śakti*, who sits on his lap. According to B. Bhattacharryya (*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 397) his "two right hands show the Tridaṇḍi and the Varada pose, while the two left show the Ratnakalaśa (vessel containing jewels) and a mudrā with the index and the little fingers pointing onwards. The *śakti* displays the Varada pose in the right hand and the Abhaya in the left." (For a line drawing of the bodhisattva see ibid, p. 407, fig. 27).

C.S.R.

BRAHMADATTA (1), a Buddha belonging to the group of "Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession" (*Śikṣ*. p. 169). See AMOGHADARŚIN.

BRAHMADATTA (2), name of a pacceka-buddha. He renounced the world in the dispensation of Kassapa Buddha and, having lived as a forest-dwelling hermit (*araññaka*), passed away and was born among the *kāmāvacara devā* (gods of the sense-sphere). He was later born as son to the king of Bārāṇasī. At the age of sixteen he was appointed king under the name Brahmadatta. While performing his duties as king he practised meditation and developed the fivefold knowledge and won the eight attainments. One day he was very badly disturbed while listening to some dispute and, considering that such disturbances were harmful to spiritual attainment, he retired to the upper terrace of the palace to meditate in order to enjoy the bliss of spiritual attainments. But, he was not successful in his attempts. So he transferred the kingship to his chief minister and enjoyed the bliss of spiritual attainments by meditating in seclusion. The minister developed an intimacy with the chief queen, and when this was discovered he was banished, as the king did not want to mete out any worse punishment.

The minister went to another country and in time became chief minister there. One day he told the king there that Brahmadatta's wealth could be plundered easily as Brahmadatta was too pious to fight Having tested Brahmadatta's piety by sending various men to commit acts of plunder in his kingdom, the king demanded that a town be surrendered to him. This was done without any opposition. Encouraged by this he demanded the same from other provincial rulers and when they sought Brahmadatta's advice, he asked them to surrender their towns and settle down in his own capital. Ultimately, this king demanded that Brahmadatta should surrender his own capital, too. At this, the ministers discussed the situation and requested Brahmadatta to give his consent to fight the enemy. Brahmadatta consented with the greatest reluctance only when he was assured that the enemy would be captured alive without any bloodshed. This was done. The captured king was brought before Brahmadatta, and when he confessed his guilt saying that he was led to such action by the vicious counsel of the minister who was planning to avenge his punishment, Brahmadatta pardoned him.

Later, developing thoughts of loving kindness, Brahmadatta entered into a trance and with this as basis for further meditation, became a pacceka-buddha (*SnA*. I, pp. 58-63).

W.G.W.

BRAHMADATTA (3), an arahant. He was a son of the king of Kosala. One day he saw the majesty of the Buddha at Jetavana and, gaining great faith in him, renounced the world and before long realised arahantship. When he went on his alms-round one day, a brāhman abused him, but Brahmadatta was undisturbed. The brāhman abused him more and more, but Brahmadatta was unmoved and the people were greatly astonished at his behaviour. Brahmadatta then preached to the people assembled there the virtue of not getting angry (*akkodha*), and at the end of the sermon the brāhman was remorseful and begged for forgiveness. Later he renounced the world under Brahmadatta (*Thag*. *vv*. 441-6 ; *ThagA*. II, p. 185).

W. G. W.

BRAHMADATTA (4), 'given by Brahma'. This word is used as the personal name of several kings who are said to have lived in the distant past. The *Vinaya* (I, p. 342) and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (I, p. 56) contains descriptions of a king by this name of Kāsī who captured Kosala and murdered its king Dīghiti and his wife, but who later restored the kingdom of Kosala to Dīghāvu, son of Dīghiti, and gave his daugher as wife to Dīghāvu.

One of the friends of Reṇu, who was appointed king of the Assakas when Mahāgovinda divided Jambudīpa into seven equal portions for Reṇu

and his six friends, was also known by the name of Brahmadatta. Potana was the capital of his kingdom (D. II, p. 235f.).

The *Mahāvastu* refers to several kings of Kāśi who were known by this name. One of them was very fond of hunting and daily entered the forest for this sport, but later gave up hunting when the king of the herd undertook to send daily an animal to the royal kitchen to be slaughtered for the king's table. Later, the king declared as a sanctuary the forest where the deer lived, as he was greatly impressed by the conduct of the leader of the herd (*Mhvu.* I, p. 359). Another king by this name had no children though he had a big harem, and he brought up three birds who grew up to be extremely wise and virtuous and who could talk like human beings. These three birds advised the king on how to rule the kingdom righteously (*Mhvu.* I, p. 271). Brahmāyu served as the chaplain to another king of Kāśi by the name of Brahmadatta (*Mhvu.* II, p. 77). Apart from these, several other stories of the *Mahāvastu* and the *Jātaka* refer to kings of Kāsi by the name of Brahmadatta. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (III, *v.* 18) and the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (*MhvA.* p. 127) state that Brahmadatta was the first of the dynasty of thirty-six kings who ruled at Hatthipura. G. P. Malalasekera (*DPPN* II, p. 332) is of the opinion that Brahmadatta was the dynastic name of a series of kings who ruled at Bārāṇasī, probably basing his agrument on the references in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*.

The name Brahmadatta is mostly used in the *Jātakas*. In more than ninety-five per cent of the stories, the opening sentence reads: "In the distant past when Brahmadatta was ruling in Bārāṇasī, our Buddha aspirant was born as. . . . . ." etc. This statement has no bearing on the incidents under discussion in the Jātaka other than to indicate the period in which the incidents mentioned are supposed to have taken place in the very distant past. The statement was probably a conventional form of indicating a long forgotten past.

W. G. W.

BRAHMADATTA (5) a brāhman, father of Kassapa Buddha and the husband of Dhanavatī (*J.* I, p. 43 ; *Buv.* xxv, *v.* 34).

BRAHMADATTA JĀTAKA, (No. 323) preached by the Buddha with reference to a rule of discipline regarding the construction of cottages. It was brought to the notice of the Buddha that some monks of Āḷavi were pestering the people, asking for various materials to put up dwelling places. The Buddha censured them for their unseemly behaviour and related this story to show that a virtuous man would not ask for anything even when everything was offered to him.

Once when the king of Pañcāla was ruling in the Uttarapañcāla country, the bodhisatta was born in a brāhman family in a remote village. When he grew up he went to Takkasilā and later renounced the world as an ascetic and lived in the Himālayan country. Once he happened to come to the Uttarapañcāla town. Putting up for the night in the royal park, he went to the royal household in search of alms the following morning. The king was greatly pleased with his manners and deportment and, having fed him with the choicest food, took an assurance from him that he would live in the royal park. At the end of the rainy season the ascetic decided to go back to the Himālayas, but he did not have the sandals and the umbrella, the minimum needs for such a journey, and he thought of asking the king for them. Again he thought it was not proper to make such a request in public and decided to do it privately.

When the king came the following day, he called the king to a side but he could not make his request through modesty, and in this way twelve years passed. The king was surprised at the behaviour of the ascetic and thought that the ascetic was in need of something, but did not speak because of fear. The king, thereupon, requested the ascetic to ask for anything whatsoever, even the kingdom. The ascetic asked the king for only a pair of straw sandals and a leaf-umbrella.

The ascetic was identified with the Buddha (*J.* III, pp. 78-81).

W. G. W.

BRAHMADATTA-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (var. *Ārya-br°*), the title of a work of unknown authorship, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo* (*sūtra*) section of the *Kanyur* under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshaṅs-pas-byin-gyis shus-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo.* The colophon mentions the names Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarma, and Ye-śes-sde as those of the translators (*TT.* Vol. 33, No. 826).

The text contains a sermon preached by the Buddha to king Brahmadatta to explain a certain incident narrated in the preamble of the text.

The Buddha was at Jetavana, in Śrāvastī, in the monastery donated by Anāthapiṇḍada, in the company of a large retinue of monks and bodhisattvas. A bodhisattva called *Mthoṅ-ba don yod*

(*Amoghadarśana*) came with five hundred others and paid respect to the Buddha. Brahmadatta, full of delight on hearing that the bodhisattva had arrived in his kingdom, went to him with his retinue, worshipped him and sat on a side. The bodhisattva explained to him the five qualities which lend distinction to a king and discoursed on their beneficial effects culminating in the attainment of Enlightenment. On hearing him, the king and a large number present there, took upon themselves the bodhisattva vow. Further, the king invited the bodhisattva and his following to spend the rainy season in his kingdom. The bodhisattva agreed.

At that time, there lived in that kingdom sixty monks, proud, arrogant, and unassiduous in leading a religious life. They spoke ill of the bodhisattva saying that he did not lead a righteous life. A brāhman spread this false report among the citizens. An unpleasant situation thus arose. However, the bodhisattva did not inform the king of this turn of events, and spent the rainy season, though not too happily. At the end of the season, he went to Śrāvastī, to the Anāthapiṇḍadārāma at Jetavana, to worship the Buddha. In the meantime, Brahmadatta, having heard that the bodhisattva had departed on account of the displeasure caused to him by the monks, also went to the Buddha and informed him of the sudden departure of the bodhisattva. This gave the occasion for the Buddha to preach the long sermon set out in the text.

The Buddha said that his disciples do not delight in residing in places where people are malicious, full of envy and irreligious. He enumerated ten causes for lack of diligence, and explained each of them. Further, he listed twenty-five reasons on account of which the Path of Enlightenment is impaired. He spoke of virtues which the sixty monks in Brahmadatta's kingdom had not cultivated, to the detriment of themselves and others. Further, the Buddha predicted that these monks would be born in evil states, for a very long period, under unfortunate circumstances which are detailed in the text. Thereafter, they would be born in Sukhāvatī heaven. But, though they would hear the doctrine preached by the Buddha there, they would not understand it; they would see the lustre of the Buddha but not see him in person; they would continually fall at the feet of bodhisattvas, who assemble there three times during the day and three times at night, with the hope of attaining purification; they would confess their sins and then they would at last see the Buddha and understand his doctrine.

Continuing the sermon the Buddha spoke of four pitfalls (Tib. [illegible], Skt. *prapāta*) which stand in the way of a monk, viz., disrespect of Buddhas, rejecting the holy doctrine, being hostile to those who preach the doctrine and lack of endeavour. At the end of the sermon a large number of those assembled took upon themselves the bodhisattva vow. The king became an *anāgāmin* and many others benefited in various ways.

The Buddha then smiled, whereupon a lustre arose. This lustre spread through the world-systems and reached brahmaloka. The bodhisattva Amoghadarśana asked the Buddha the reason for his smile. The Buddha then predicted the certainty of Brahmadatta attaining Enlightenment. Being extremely happy, the king fell at the feet of the bodhisattva and asked that he be forgiven for what happened in his kingdom. The bodhisattva did so readily.

R. H.

BRAHMADEVA (1), name of a bodhisattva. Māyā tells Sudhana that she was once the mother of this bodhisattva (*Gaṇḍ.* p. 443).

BRAHMADEVA (2), one of the two chief disciples of Buddha Revata, the other being Varuṇa (*Buv.* p. 26; *J.* I, p. 35).

BRAHMADEVA (3), one of the two chief disciples of Tissa Buddha, the other being Udaya (*Buv.* p.49). Brahmadeva was the son of the king of Haṃsavatī. Tissa Buddha preached to him his first sermon at the deer park in the town Yasavatī. At the end of the discourse Brahmadeva was converted and joined the Order. Subsequently, he became one of the two chief disciples of Tissa Buddha.

W.G.W.

BRAHMADEVA (4), one of the two chief disciples of the future Buddha Metteyya, the other being Asoka (*Anāgv. v.* 97).

BRAHMADEVA (5) the son of a brāhman woman of Sāvatthi. He left household life and became an arahant. One day while going on his alms-round he came to the house of his mother. She was busy tending the sacred fire. Brahmā Sahampati saw this incident, and in order to reveal the futility of that practice and the advantages of treating a virtuous man such as Brahmadeva, made his appearance in the brāhman woman's house and convinced her of the futility of tending the sacred fire. The

brāhman woman was pleased at the end of the conversation and bestowed the delicacies prepared for the oblation on her son (*S.* I, p. 140).

W.G.W.

BRAHMADEVA SUTTA occurs in the first chapter of the *Brahma Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (I, p. 140). It records the story of Brahmadeva thera and his mother.

BRAHMADHVAJA, one of the two Buddhas (the other being Indradhvaja) who live in the south-western region and preach the doctrine to innumerable bodhisattvas and disciples. (*Sdmp.* p. 164).

BRAHMADHVAṂSADEVA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni, while residing in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139).

BRAHMAGHOṢA (1), name of two Buddhas, appearing in a list of former Buddhas (*Svyū.* p. 5).

BRAHMAGHOṢA (2), name of a Buddha occurring in a list of Buddhas who live in the highest quarter of the universe (*upariṣṭhāyām diśi : Svyū.* p. 94).

BRAHMAGHOṢA (3), a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3).

BRAHMAGUPTA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas, under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while residing in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 137).

BRAHMAJĀLA-SŪTRA, The title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo-sna-tshogs* section of the *Kanjur* in the Tibetan Tripitaka, under the title *Tshans-pahi dra-bahi mdo* (*TT* Vol. 40, No. 1021). The content of this sūtra appears to be the same as that of the *Brahmajāla sutta* (*q. v.*)

R. H.

BRAHMAJĀLA SUTTA. This, the first sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* I, p. 1) was preached by the Buddha at Ambalaṭṭhikā to the monks of his Order when they were discussing a conversation between Suppiya, a follower of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Suppiya's pupil, Brahmadatta. Suppiya had been speaking in dispraise of the Buddha while Brahmadatta had spoken well of him, and this had given rise to some discussion among the monks.

The Buddha begins his discourse by advising the monks that in the face of both praise and blame they should respond with equanimity, lest emotion should hinder their own self understanding. He then adds that 'the unconverted man, when praising the Buddha, praises him solely for the possession of mere morality', and lists thereafter various practices by certain contemporaneous recluses and brāhmans, from which the Buddha refrained. This list is divided into three sections: *cūla* (minor), *majjhima* (medium) and *mahā* (higher). These practices begin from the taking of life and range up to the practice of medicine as a means of livelihood. Having concluded this enormous list, he says :

'There are, brethern, other things, profound, difficult to realise, hard to understand, tranquillising, sweet, not to be grasped by mere logic, subtle, comprehensible only by the wise. These things the Tathāgata, having himself realised them, and seen them face to face, hath set forth, and it is of them that they who would rightly praise the Tathāgata in accordance with the truth, should speak".

A large amount of information is then given, in polemic fashion, of the various heretical philosophies prevalent, of which speculations the Buddha claims to be free, and by virtue of which freedom he considers himself worthy to be praised. 'Now, of these (speculations),' he says, 'the Tathāgata knows that these speculations thus arrived at, thus insisted on, will have such and such a result, such and such an effect on the future condition of those who trust in them. That does he know, and he knows also other things far beyond (far better than these speculations), and having that knowledge, he is not puffed up, and thus untarnished, he has in his own heart realised the way of escape from them, has understood, as they really are, the a rising up and passing away of sensations, their sweet taste, their danger, how they cannot be relied on ; and not grasping after any (of those things men are eager for) he, the Tathāgata is quite set free. There, brethren, are those other things, profound etc, by which the Tathāgata, qualifies for the praise of the wise.'

There is a great deal of detail and discussion of the numerous current schools of teaching which are classified into sixty two in all. "There are none besides", the Buddha says. (See MICCHĀ-DIṬṬHI). He then goes on to explain : 'that opinion of theirs is based only on the personal sensation, on the worry and writhing consequent thereon, of those venerable recluses and brāhmans, who

know not, neither perceive, and are subject to all kinds of craving. Those opinions of theirs are, therefore, based upon contact (through the senses). That they should experience these sensations without contact, such a condition of things could not be '.

'They, all of them (i.e., these heretical thinkers), receive these sensations through continual contact in the spheres of touch. To them, on account of sensations, arises craving, on account of craving arises the fuel (i.e. the necessary condition, the food, the basis of future lives), from the fuel results becoming, from the tendency to become arises rebirth, and from rebirth come death and grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow and despair. '

Thus, the Buddha analyses the causes of these sixty-two 'false views' in which he considers these speculators entrapped as in a net. Whence the name of this sutta. At the end of the discourse, asked by Ānanda by what name this sutta should be remembered, he says it should be remembered as the Net of Advantage (*Atthijāla*), the Net of Truth (*Dhammajāla*), the Supreme Net (*Brahmajāla*) or the Net of Theories(*Diṭṭhijāla*) or Glory in Battle (*Saṅgrāma-vijaya*).

The sutta reports that at the end of its delivery the thousand fold world-system shook.

B.J.

BRAHMA JĀTAKA. In the past the bodhisattva was born in the Brahma-world by constant practice of meditation (*dhyāna*). In spite of enjoying bliss there, he was in the habit of surveying the world to benefit others for he had always practised compassion in his former existences.

Once, as he surveyed the regions of sensuality (*kāmadhātu*), he saw Aṅgadinna, king of Videha, erring in the wilderness of unbelief, partly due to his association with evil friends and partly in consequence of his misconceptions.

Out of compassion for him the bodhisattva visited the king in a lonely arbour, and revealed to him that he was a sage of the celestial class (*devarṣi*), who had been born in the Brahma-world by overcoming love and hatred.

The king then inquired how he had obtained his supernatural powers (*ṛddhi*). The bodhisattva explained that it was the outcome of meditation, good conduct (*śīla*) and restraint of the senses (*indriya-saṃvara*). The king asked him whether there exists another world after death, to which the bodhisattva answered in the affirmative. The king, nevertheless, was reluctant to believe him. Thereupon, the bodhisattva related at length various proofs (*pramāṇa*) to substantiate his revelation (cf. *Jm*. p. 193 f.).

Despite all his attempts, the bodhisattva could not convince the king. The king challenged the bodhisattva, that if the latter wanted him to believe in the next world, to lend him five hundred *niṣkas* (gold coins), so that he would return him a thousand in his next existence. The bodhisattva retorted that since a loan given to a wicked person would only lead to his ruin no one would lend money to such a person. On the contrary, a loan given to a virtuous person would certainly be augmented. The bodhisattva then described in a graphic way, the torments suffered by sinners in diverse hells (cf. ibid. pp. 195–98).

The king became alarmed, gave up his wrong beliefs and accepted the view concerning the existence of the world after death. Afterwards he confessed his sins to the bodhisattva and beseeched him for guidance. The bodhisattva admonished him to tread the path followed by previous kings, who displayed their charity, self-restraint, etc., and also practiced compassion for their subjects. He further exhorted the king to consider his body to be a chariot (*yāna*), self-retraint and charity as its two wheels, etc., and to strive for the benefit of others (*parātmārtham*),[1] so that he would never be born in a hell. The king, thenceforth, reigned righteously.

This Jātaka which occurs in the *Jātakamālā* (*Jm*. pp. 192–200), does not appear in the Pali recension or in other texts of the Northern Buddhists. It is interesting to note the example set by the bodhisattva in his endeavour to benefit others by placing them above his own self, the emphasis laid on the importance of faith (*śraddhā*) in the path of one's deliverence, and the use of the simile *yāna* (chariot), etc., occurring in this Jātaka thus manifesting Mahāyāna tendencies.

C. S. R.

1 Speyer (trsl. *Jātakamālā*, *SBB*. Vol. I, p. 230) has rendered the term *parātmārtha* (probably confusing it with *paramātmā*) as the 'Highest Ātman'. Marie Musaeus Higgins (trsl. ibid. Colombo, 1914, p. 92) who based her translation on Speyer's, has rendered it as the 'Highest Goal'. But both these readings seem incorrect, for *parātmārtha* connotes neither the meaning of the 'Highest Ātman' nor the 'Highest Goal'. (Speyer's reading, in fact, suggests an Upaniṣadic ideal; the correct rendering of *parātmārtha* (*para—ātma—artha*= 'for the benefit of others' suggests the Mahāyāna tenet, which agrees with the context.

BRAHMAJYOTIRVIKRĪḌITĀBHIJÑA, a Buddha who belongs to the group of "Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession" (*Śikṣ.* p. 169). See AMOGHA-DARŚIN.

BRAHMA-KĀYIKĀ DEVĀ, literally meaning 'deities bearing Brahma-bodies', a group of celestial beings inhabiting the Brahmaloka. The term is used as a generic name in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (I, p. 210) where it is mentioned seventh in a list of eight classes of deities who are called to mind by the Ariyan disciple in observing the uposatha, the others being, in ascending order: (1) Cātummahārājikā, (2) Tāvatiṃsā, (3) Yāmā, (4) Tusitā, (5) Nimmānarati (6) Paranimmita-vasavattī, and (8) those beyond or superior to the Brahmakāyikā. The result of calling those devās to mind is that the mind of him who does so is calmed, delight arises in him, and the defilement of his mind is abandoned. Thus, one of their generic characteristics seems to be their high ethical quality. This is confirmed by the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary (*BuvA.* p. 10) definition of the word 'brahmā' as *brūhito tehi tehi guṇavisesāhi,* i.e., possessed of special qualities as virtues.

Another generic characteristic seems to be the long duration of life they enjoy. An example is the Mahābrahmā of the *Samantapāsādikā* (1. p. 131) who lives for 1600 kappas.

These devas seem also to have been considered as possessing great beauty and many of them are described as coming down to earth "shedding radiance with their effulgent beauty" and "standing in the air".

Several Brahmakāyikā-devā are mentioned in literature. Some of them are Mahābrahmās. Nārada of the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka* (*J.* VI, 220) is mentioned as a brahmā who came down to earth and frightened Aṅgāti by revealing to him the horrors of hell. Ghaṭīkāra is also known as a Mahābrahmā who, originally a potter, was reborn in the Avihā Brahma-loka and, in that existence, visited the Buddha. Ghaṭīkāra mentions, on this visit, the names of seven others of his own status who had been born and dwell in the Avīhā Brahma-loka, namely Upaka, Phalagaṇḍa, Pukkusāti, Bhaddiya, Khaṇḍadeva, Bāhuraggi and Piṅgiya. Sanaṅkumāra and Sahampati, (of whom further under BRAHMĀ) also are Mahābrahmās who came down to earth and figured in important events in the Buddha's life. Baka (see s.v. BRAHMĀ) is also a Mahābrahmā and is depicted as being infatuated with the idea that he was the supreme creator of the world.

The other class of Brahmakāyikā-devā are the Pacceka-brahmās, such as Tudu, who appeared to the Kokālikan bhikkhu and Subrahma and Suddhavāsa who visited the Buddha, but finding him in noon-day meditation, went to a brahmā who was infatuated with his own importance (probably Baka is meant) and enlightened him as to the greater power and goodness of the Buddha.

The brahmās thus named are all born as Brahma-kāyikā-devā by reason of virtues practised in their previous lives, and, in some cases, such as that of Ghaṭikāra, their previous life is retold in the manner of the Jātakas.

B. J.

BRAHMAKETU (1), name of a former Buddha mentioned in a list of Buddhas in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (p. 6).

BRAHMAKETU (2), a bodhisattva, mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas, residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3).

BRAHMAKĪRTI, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas, under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 136).

BRAHMAKṢETRA, "Buddha-land', a name for a Buddhist monastery, i.e., a place of purity (*DCBT.* p. 353, s.v.).

BRAHMĀLI, an arahant thera. During Vipassī Buddha's time he was born in a noble family. One day he saw the Buddha doing his alms-round, and offered him a vāra fruit. As a result he was born among gods and men and, during the present Buddha-period, he was born in a brāhman household in Kosala and was named Brahmāli. Later, he renounced the world and, meditating intensively, developed the six-fold higher knowledge (*Thag.* *vv.* 205-6; *ThagA.* II pp. 71-2). He is probably identical with the Paraphaliya-dāyaka thera of the *Apadāna.*

W.G.W.

BRAHMALOKA, the highest of the celestial worlds in the Buddhist cosmic system, the abode of the brahmās whose generic name seems to be Brahma-kāyikā-devā (*A.* I, p. 210; IV, p. 76 f.). It is constituted of nine ordinary Brahma worlds, five Suddhāvāsa (q.v.) the Asaññasatta (q.v.) and Vehapphala (q.v.) worlds, (all belonging to the broader division of Rūpaloka) and four Arūpaloka (q.v.), these subdivisions totalling twenty in all.

All the Nikāyas refer frequently (e.g., *D.* I, p. 220; *M.* I, p. 326; *A.* I, p. 227; IV, p. 76; *S.* V, p. 282) to the Brahma world. The *Kevaḍḍha Suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya,* however, gives us the clearest early picture of the place given by the Buddhists. This sutta gives the location which it was supposed to have in the hierarchy of Buddhist heavens, quite precisely. Kevaḍḍha, ascending to the upper worlds, passes from the lowest realm of the Cātum-mahārājika devā, through Tāvatiṃsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati to the Paranimmita-vasavatti deva-loka before he finally arrives in Brahmaloka. It is evident that the Brahmaloka was assumed to be horizontally above the devaloka. This sutta however, does not give any subdivisions of the Brahmaloka, but, on the other hand, states that the way to this world was made clear to Kevaḍḍha after he had become absorbed in self-concentration, a fact reaffirmed in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, p. 194 f.), which states that attainment to the association with Brahmā is possible only by cultivation of the virtues possessed by him.

The *Dīgha-nikāya* (e.g., I, p. 17) refers to one of the Brahma worlds, Ābhassara, as the original abode of the inhabitants of the earth. Details of this genesis story are given in the *Aggañña Suttanta* and the *Pāṭika Suttanta* which are further fully discussed under CREATION.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, p. 326) refers to the Brahma world as being visited by the Buddha and his disciples. The *Brahmanimantaṇika Sutta* (*M.* I, p. 326) mentions one of these visits, where the Buddha meets the conceited Baka who ruled over one of the Brahma worlds. According to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* V, 282 f.) the Buddha could go there bodily in a form created by concentration of mind.

The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (I, p. 35.) also mentions the Brahma world as an abode where those anāgāmins, who die before their attainment of arahanthood, attain their final release. This Brahma world is known as the Suddhāvāsa (q.v.).

The Jātakas, too, are frequent in their reference to the Brahma world in which the heroes of these tales, the bodhisattas, are reborn as a result of their meritorious deeds. There is, however, a shade of difference between these statements of the Jātakas and those of the early Nikāyas, where merit is rewarded with birth in the company of Brahmā.

Information on the Brahma world is, in fact, scanty even in the commentarial literature where elaboration may be expected. More detail, however, is found of the Brahma-kāyikā-devā (q.v.), several of whom are mentioned by their names. information as to the nature of the Brahma world may perhaps be gleaned from the descriptions of the powers and characteristics of these individual brahmas.

See further AGGAÑÑA SUTTA, BRAHMĀ, BRAHMA-KĀYIKĀ-DEVĀ, COSMOLOGY.

B.J.

BRAHMAMATI, name of a son of Māra, mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 313; *BHS.* s.v.). He was unfavourably disposed towards the Buddha.

BRAHMAN (1), a Buddha who belongs to the group of "Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession" (*Śikṣ.* p. 169). See AMOGHADARŚIN.

BRAHMAN (2), name of a nāga king, referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (246. *BHS.* s.v.).

BRĀHMAṆA, a term denoting a member of the brāhmaṇa[1] caste, and in Buddhist terminology also used for a man leading a pure, virtuous life and often even synonymous with arahant.

The earliest recorded evidence about the origin of the brāhmaṇa class is found in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the *Ṛg-veda* wherein is described how the fourfold order sprang from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Primordial Man (*Puruṣa*: *Ṛg-veda,* X, 90). In the time of the Buddha, i.e. in the 6th entury B.C., Indian society was divided into four broad divisions, namely, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra. It is, perhaps, not wrong to assume that the fourfold division was not as rigidly fixed in the social organization of eastern India, where Buddhism arose, as it was in the western regions where Brāhmanism (q.v.) helds way. Whatever the degree of rigidity might have been, the existence of this fourfold division, during the time of the Buddha, is very clear from Buddhist textual references. Numerous brāhmaṇas of varied social standing are referred to in Buddhist texts. These records are proof of the high social esteem in which the brāhmaṇs were held at the time. The Buddha's selection of the term brāhmaṇa as a title of honour for the best of men is also proof of the fact that the term conveyed to the mind of the Buddhist an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect.

From very early times, it came to be accepted that there were specific hereditary occupations (*karma*) suitable for people born into different social grades, and since they needed special aptitudes (*guṇa*) it was the specifiec duty (*svadharma*) and obligation of the members of these social grades

to perform their assigned occupation and no other. The *Bhagavadgītā* says: The fourfold order was created by me (i.e. God) according to the divisions of quality and work (*The Bhagavadgītā*, London, 1948, ed. Radhakrishnan, p. 160). According to this acceptance, the brāhmaṇa was assigned the task of attending to religious affairs such as the performance of sacrifice.

With the development of the sacrificial cult the position of the brāhmaṇas was consolidated and their social status rose far above those of the other divisions. The brāhmaṇas were considered to be gods in human form and even kings were obliged to place themselves at their service. " The gods " says the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* do not eat the food offered by a king who has no house-priest (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, trsl. by M. Haug, Bombay, 1863, II, p. 528f.) It was accepted that there are two kinds of gods, the devas and the brāhmaṇas, the latter being deities among men (*ERE.* VI, p. 692). The *Manusmṛti* states that ' by his birth alone a brāhmaṇa is a deity even for the gods, and his teaching is authoritative for men because the *Veda* is the foundation for that, (*Manusmṛti*, xi, 85). Again, it is said that a brāhmaṇa, whether he is ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth or not carried forth, is a great divinity (ibid, ix, 317). The brāhmaṇas were regarded with so much of veneration that they were considered not liable for any sort of punishment even if they happened to commit the gravest of crimes (J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India : Its' Nature, Function and Origins*, Cambbridge Univ. Press. 1946, p. 81.)

Though the brāhmaṇas derived their power from the efficacy of the sacrifice, in the time of the Buddha all brāhmaṇas were not necessarily sacrificial priests, for they seem to have followed all sorts of occupations. But, the basic qualification to be a brāhmaṇa appears to have been his birth. The *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 111 ff) gives a list of the essential characteristics of a brāhmaṇa as it was accepted at that time. Thus : 'a brāhmaṇa is well born on both sides, on the mother's side and on the father's side, of pure descent back through seven generations, with no slur put upon him, and no reproach, in respect of birth ; he is a preacher of the sacred words, knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who has mastered the three *Vedas*, with indices, the ritual, the phonology, the exegesis and the legends, learned in phrases and grammar, versed in Lokāyata sophistry, and in the signs on the body of a great man ; he is handsome, pleasant to look upon, inspiring trust, gifted with great beauty of complexion, fair in colour, fine in presence and stately to behold ; he is virtuous, increased in virtue, gifted with virtue ; he is learned and wise, the first or it may be the second, among those who hold out the ladle'. This appears to be an elaboration of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* account which gives the old conception of what constitutes a brāhmaṇa. Therein are laid down the four duties to be accomplished by a true brāhmaṇa. He should safeguard the purity of the lineage (*brāhmaṇye*), perform appropriate tasks (*pratirūpa-caryā*) strive to gain reputation (*yaśa*) and accomplish wordly reward (*loka-pakti*; cp. also *Sn. vv.* 284 ff. *SnA.* p. 312 ff). Most of these are obviously only ideal qualities whereas the purity of birth, which is given pride of place in the lists, was the most essential quality.

The life of an orthodox brāhmaṇa was divided into four stages (*āśramas*). The first stage was that of the student (*brahmacārin*); when a brāhmaṇa child reached the age of eight he received initiation (*upanayana*) and learned the *Veda* under a brāhmaṇa teacher. After completing his studentship he entered into the second stage namely, the stage of a householder (*gṛhastha*). This was an important stage in life (*jyesthāśramo gṛhī*) where he had to perform all the duties of a householder such as performance of the five great sacrifices and accumulation of wealth, bringing up of children and leading a virtuous, charitable life. When the householder saw wrinkles on his skin, greyness in his hair and also when he had grandsons, he entered the stage of a forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*). His duty to the world at this stage was to help it by prayer and sacrifice. This simple ascetic life lead to the next stage where he resigned all worldly affairs and became a *sannyāsin*. He no longer offered sacrifices but completely devoted his life to meditation.

Because of their supposed high birth, and the virtuous, systematic and well-disciplined life they were expected to lead, brāhmaṇas claimed special prerogatives not only in religious affairs but also in affairs of day to day life. This claim was already being attacked within by a section of the brāhmaṇas themselves. This vein of criticism is seen in the story of Asita Devala detailed in the *Assālāyana Sutta* (*M.* II, p. 156 ff). Asita Devala, himself a well-known brāhmaṇa priest, but scorned because of his dark complexion by the other priests, examines, and cross-questions them about their pretensions regarding their lineage, thus forcing them to give up their claims to superiority. By such

criticisms, the brāhmaṇas' claim to superiority was gradually being weakened. This process was expedited by the rational arguments put forward by the Buddha.

At the outset the Buddha attempted to refute the brāhmaṇas' claim to divine origin. The brāhmaṇa Assalāyana appraoches the Buddha and says: "... only brāhmaṇas are sons of Brahmā, born of his mouth, born of Brahmā, formed by Brahmā, heirs to Brahmā. What does the good Gotama say about this?". To this the Buddha answers, "But, Assalāyana, brāhmaṇa wives of brāhmaṇas are knwon to have their seasons and to conceive and to give birth and to give suck. Yet those brāhmaṇas, born of woman like everyone else, speak thus: '... only brāhmaṇas form the best caste ... heirs to Brahmā" (*M*. II, p. 148f.).

The supremacy of the brāhmaṇas was also combined with the dogma of the efficacy of sacrifice. So the Buddha also directed his attack on the brāhmanical sacrificial cult and gives the Buddhist view of what a right sacrifice should be. Similarly, austere ascetic practices carried out by the brāhmaṇas, too, were completely ridiculed and denounced (*M*. I, p. 387 ff; *D*. III, p. 6 f; p. 44 f. *S*. IV, p. 338). Brāhmaṇas believed that their sins could be washed away by bathing themselves with water. The sarcastic remark of Puṇṇā therī, shows the Buddhist attitude to such futile purificatory rites. She says:

"Nay now, who ignorant to the ignorant,
Hath told thee this: that water-baptism
From evil karma can avail to free?
Why then the fishes and the tortoises
The frogs, the water snakes, the crocodiles
And all that haunt the water straight to heaven
Will go ...." (*Thīg*. *vv*. 240-241).

The Buddha stressed the fact that biologically man is of one species. On this ground, too, he rejected the brāhmaṇa claim to superiority and special privileges. The Buddha pointed out that, whereas in the case of the plants and animal kingdoms there were many species and marks by whch they could be distinguished, in the case of man there were no such species and no such marks (*M*. II, p. 196 f; *Sn*. *vv*. 600 ff.). As Chalmers says: "Herein Gotama was in accord with the conclusion of the modern biologists, that the *anthropidae* are represented by the single genus and species, Man" (*JRAS*. 1994, p. 396). According to the Buddha the apparent divisions among men are not due to basic biological factors but are only convenonal (*sāmañña*).

Again, in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* the Buddha exposes the myth of the purity of brāhmaṇas by tracing their lineage to an offspring of one of the slave girls of a Sākyan (*D*. I, p. 88 ff.). On another accasion the Buddha gives an evolutionary account of society and shows that the fourfold order arose from the division of functions in society (*D*. III, p. 80 ff.). According to the Buddha the brāhmaṇas' claim to superiority is a mere propagandist cry (*ghosa*: *M*. I, p. 89). The Buddha also pointed out that superiority often depended not on one's high birth but on the wealth that one possessed. A śūdra who could afford to spend enough money could have a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya as his servant (*M*. II, p. 85). With a deep tinge of irony, the Buddha pointed out the fallacy of the brāhmaṇas' view that members of the fourfold order are obliged to perform specific tasks assigned to them (*M*. II, p. 151, 152).

The brāhmaṇa even regarded salvation as their prerogative. But, the Buddha pointed out the error of this claim and stated that all alike had the capacity to attain salvation, and that there was no difference in regard to the quality of salvation attained (*M*. II, pp. 129, 130, 147).

As mentioned earlier, the Buddha upheld the fact that man belongs to a single species. These arguments against the brāhmaṇas' claim to superiority were however not meant to place the kṣatriyas above brāhmaṇas, but to establish the fact that all men are on an equal footing (*samasama*) with regard to their capabilities. The Buddha equally denounced the kṣatriya and vaiśya claims for superiority. The Buddha emphatically pointed out the fact that it is not one's birth, but one's actions and conduct that make one a brāhmaṇa or a śūdra (*Sn*. *vv*. 116-142; cp. also *J*. IV, p. 301 ff.).

In contrast to the old brāhmanic conception of what constitutes a brāhmaṇa, the Buddha lays down the two qualities, virtue (*sīla*) and wisdom (*paññā*), as understood by the Buddhist, to be the most important characteristics of a true brāhmaṇa (*Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, *D*. I, p. 124f.). In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, too, the Buddha says that he who is perfect in wisdom and virtue is the best among gods and men (*D*. I, p. 99).

The equality of all men is stressed also by the later Buddhist philosophers. Thus, Aśvaghoṣa in his *Vajrasūci* says, "All that I have said about brāhmaṇas is applicable to kṣatriyas; the doctrine of the fourfold order is altogether false. All men are of one grade. (On Asvaghosa's observations see H. H. Wilson, *Indian Caste*, London, 1877, p. 202 ff.).

In spite of the Buddha's denunciation of brāhmanic claims, many of his eminent brāhmaṇa contemporaries became his disciples or ardent supporters. Assalāyana, Kūṭadanta, Soṇadaṇḍa are a few of such converts. In later centuries, too, among those who helped in the propagation of Buddhism were great brāhmaṇa scholars such as Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Āryasūra and Śāntideva. See also CASTE, JĀTI.

E. K.; R. Nk.; S. K. N.

BRĀHMAṆADHAMMIKA SUTTA (var. Brāhmaṇadhammiya). Once many wealthy old brāhmans from Kosala visited the Buddha at Jetavana and asked him whether the brāhmans of their own time observed the practices of the brāhmans of old. The Buddha's reply was in the negative. At their request the Buddha describes in detail the virtuous life the ancient brāhmans led. In several verses he sings their praises. Theirs was a life of austerity. They owned no gold or cattle. Their wealth was the sacred lore. The rich bestowed offerings on these holy men. They lived a life of celibacy for forty-eight years. (The commentary adds that the reason why they took a wife therafter was because they believed that if they died without progeny through whom their lineage could be maintained, they would be reborn in purgatory—*SnA*. I, p. 317). For their sacrifices they asked for rice, ghee and oil, but never cattle. However, gradually corruption set in when they became attracted by the king's splendour, gaily adorned women and numerous worldly possessions. It was in the time of king Okkāka that animal sacrifices began. The brāhmans requested Okkāka to make sacrifices of horses, human beings and cows and they themselves received from him various costly gifts. And thus hundreds of harmless cows came to be slaughtered for the sacrifice. While mankind fared well when there was righteousness, with corruption there came disease and discord.

Those aged and wealthy brāhmans were so impressed with the Buddha's discourse that they all became his disciples (*Sn*. pp. 50–5; *SnA*. I, p. 312 ff.).

L.R.G.

BRĀHMAṆAGRĀMAVAṂSA. The family (*grāma* or *vaṃsa*) to which the Mahāthera Vedcha, the great scholar monk from Sabargamuwa (Ceylon) belonged (Vedeha was the author of three treatises, the *Rasavāhinī* (q.v.) the *Samantakūṭannanā* (q.v.) and the *Siṃhala Sabdalakṣaṇaya*, a treatise on Sinhala grammar).

Brāhmaṇagrāmavaṃsa could be traced back to very early times and could probably have been an important family or *kula* (caste) in the social order in ancient Ceylon. (See *Rasavāhinī*, ed. Kiriälle Gñānavimala thera, in Sinhala script, Colombo, 1961, Introduction, p. VI. f.).

Members of this particular *vaṃsa* could be traced back to the earliest times of society in Ceylon. They were especially connected with such activities as imparting knowledge, regarding various sciences, to the princes and the members of the royal family, acting as the officiating priests during the coronation ceremony of the kings; and being the chief advisers, (*purohita*) to the king. The brāhman Paṇḍula of the Paṇḍukābhaya (q.v.) legend in the *Mahāvaṃsa* could be an early representative of this family in Ceylon.

Several erudite scholars have hailed from this family. One was Sāriputta Mahāthera (q.v.) who lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu I, and was given the honorary title *Sāgaramati* on account of his great scholarship. Anavamadarśi Saṅgharāja (Pāli Anomadassī) was yet another, famous also for his Sanskrit learning, (ibid.).

A.D.T.E.P.

BRĀHMAṆA JĀTAKA. Once the bodhisattva was born in a brāhman family. When he grew up he was sent to a celebrated brāhman teacher to study the *Veda*.

Since the bodhisattva was exceptionally clever and obedient, the teacher derived great pleasure in teaching him and became quite attached to him.

To test the morals of his students, sometimes the teacher used to complain to them about his poverty. The faithful students tried to relieve him by bringing him food from their daily begging round. Yet they could not satisfy their teacher who complained that poverty's pain could be relieved only by wealth. The pupils became helpless for they could not devise any means to obtain wealth. Thereupon, the brāhman propmted them that there were still other means of obtaining wealth.

He disclosed that even theft is approved in times of distress (*āpaddharme*) in the law-precepts. It was no sin since the brāhmans are the owners of the whole world. But old age and debility prevented him from putting such a mode into practice. Further, he exhorted them that it would not be wrong if they stole secretly.

Although the students were rather surprised, all of them, except the bodhisattva, accepted the suggestion as a duty and departed in search of wealth. The bodhisattva remained silent and the teacher, wishing to test him asked him if he was not able to undertake that pledge like the other students, or was his love for him less than that of the others. Thereupon, the bodhisattva bowed low and declared there was no lonely spot where one could commit an evil action secretly, for at least one's own self (conscience) would witness it. It would be better, therefore, to be satisfied with the offerings of the people than to transgress righteousness, even if one attained the lordship of the devas (*surendratā*).

The teacher was overwhelmed with joy, embraced his pupil affectionately and praised him for comprehending fully the sacred texts (*śrutaṃ*) and following them faithfully.

In the colophon of the Jātaka its motif is thus emphasized: 'It is the very sense of shame of the self (*ātmalajjayā*) within their hearts that prevents the virtuous from transgressing good behaviour.' This Jātaka occurs in the *Jātakamālā* (*Jm.* pp. 77–80). Although the Pali recension does not contain a Jātaka by that name, the *Sīlavīmaṃsana Jātaka* (*J.* III, pp. 18-20), embodies the same motif. It should be noted that the teacher's trial of his disciples is better illustrated in the Pali Jātaka than in its parallel in the *Jātakamālā*. Speyer observes that the *Brāhmaṇa Jātaka* 'has the appearance of being the clumsy invention of some monk engaged in giving lessons of morality and in want of some story to illustrate the sinfulness of theft.' He is of opinion that this Jātaka is not from the old stock of traditional tales and folklore (cf. *Jātakamālā*, trsl. London, 1895, p. 114). See further, SĪLAVĪMAṂSANA JĀTAKA.

C. S. R.

BRAHMĀNANA, name of two former Buddhas quoted in the same list (lines 11 and 23) in the *Samādhirāja Sūtra* (p. 57; *BHS.* s.v.).

BRĀHMAṆĀRĀMA, an unidentified ancient monastery in Ceylon, where a man named Sumana entered the Order under the name of Tambasumana thera during the time of the Brāhmaṇatissa famine and became an arahant. A deity dwelt on a tree near the monastery and atteneded upon the monk (*Rasv.* chp. VI, p. 128; *Ssvu.* p. 41).

H. R. P.

BRĀHMAṆA-SAṂYUTTA, a group of twenty-two discourses delivered by the Buddha, when he was residing in places like Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Kosala and Magadha (*S.* I, 160-84). This *Saṃyutta* is divided into two vaggas the *Arahanta Vagga* and the *Upāsaka Vagga*. While the former consists of the first ten suttas, the rest of the suttas belong to the latter. Except for the eighth and the eleventh sutta of the *Upāsaka Vagga* all the other suttas are named after various brāhmans.

The first sutta of the *Arahanta Vagga* was preached to the leader of the Bhāradvāja clan who had no faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The Buddha was able to convert him by answering his question as to what one should destroy in order to lead a happy life. When the Buddha said that one should put an end to anger, in order to attain that happy state, he became very pleased and attained arahantship. The next three suttas are devoted to explaining the method by which the Buddha was successful in converting the three Bhāradvāja brāhmans who abused and rebuked him for converting their leader. The fifth sutta was addressed to the brāhman Ahiṃsaka, to whom the Buddha explained the significance of his name. In the next sutta the Buddha tells the brāhman Jaṭā-Bhāradvāja, that virtuous people, the bhikkhus who are wise and full of endeavour, and the arahants are the only people who are able to unravel the tangles of life. Although there is variation in detail, the next three suttas, addressed to the brāhmans Suddhika, Aggika and Sundarika, emphasise the fact that a person can be regarded a brāhman not because of his birth, nor because he could utter multitudes of runes, but according to his action. In the last sutta of this vagga, the Buddha made the brāhman Bahudhīti understand that the best way to attain happiness is to be detached from worldly things.

The first sutta of the *Upāsaka Vagga*, is addressed to the brāhman Kāsi, who asks the Buddha whether the Buddha himself had done any kind of sowing and harvesting. The Buddha said that what he did sow was the seed of faith and that his ploughshare was mindfulness. The next sutta shows the brāhman Udaya that there is rebirth till such time as one gains insight. In the third sutta, the Buddha tells the brāhman Devahita that, if one's offering is to be made fruitful, it should be given to a sage who is endowed with intuitive wisdom (*abhiññā*), who could remember his past existences and who could see heaven and hell. The next sutta is addressed to brāhman Mahāsāla who was ill-treated by his sons. The Buddha

taught him some verses to be recited in their presence, after listening to which they all started to treat him well.

In the *Mānatthaddha Sutta*, the Buddha subdues the pride of the brāhman Mānatthaddha, and says that one should show respect to one's own parents, eldest brother and one's teachers. In the sutta preached to the brāhman Paccanīka who visited the Buddha to argue with him, the Buddha refuses to preach the Dhamma to him, saying that he would do so only to those who could give up enmity and who could appreciate what was soundly spoken. The next sutta reports that when the brāhman Navakammika asked the Buddha what pleasure he had found in his contemplations, the Buddha said that he had found freedom. In the eighth sutta the Buddha tells the pupils of the Bhāradvāja brāhmans, who had come to gather firewood, that he had attained Enlightenment after putting an end to all desires. The Buddha devoted the next sutta to tell the brāhman Mātuposaka that he who maintains his parents in righteousness would be praised in this world and would be reborn in heaven after death. In the next sutta the Buddha explains to the brāhman Bhikkhaka the qualities of a mendicant. The eleventh sutta is addressed to the brāhman Saṅgārava who believed in purification by water. The Buddha told him that one could purify himself by practising the virtues. The last sutta of this *Vagga* records the Buddha's visit to Khomadussa where the brāhmans had gathered on some business. The Buddha told them that it was no "council" because there were no good men, and because they did not observe the rules of debate.

I. K.

BRĀHMAṆA SŪTRA, name of a sūtra quoted in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* (p. 155.) which cites an extract from it, *agro'ham hi brāhmaṇa śreṣṭho loke* (verily, brāhman, I am the foremost and the best in the world). S. Lévi identifies this with the *Verañja (–brāhmaṇa) Sutta* (*A*. IV, p. 172 ff.), which contains a similar line, *aham hi brāhmaṇa jeṭṭho seṭṭho lokassa* (ibid. p. 176 ; see also *BHS*. s.v.).

S.K.N.

BRĀHMAṆA SUTTA. There are seven suttas by this name : four in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, two in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and one in the *Itivuttaka*.

In one of these Ānanda, the personal attendant of the Buddha, sees Jānussoṇi's white chariot drawn by four white mares and the people crowding round it, describing it as the best and most beautiful of chariots. He goes to the Buddha and, after reporting the matter, asks him if one can point out the best of "chariots" in the dispensation of the Buddha. The Buddha says that the Noble Eightfold Path can be described as the best of "chariots," because if cultivated, it puts an end to lust, malice and delusion (*S*. V, pp. 4-6).

In the second sutta, a brāhman visits the Buddha at Jetavana and asks the circumstances under which the doctrine of the Buddha would not last long, and those under which it would last long, after the passing away of the Buddha. It is owing to not cultivating the four bases of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) that the doctrine would not last long, says the Buddha, and it is owing to their cultivation that the reverse would happen (*S*. V, p. 174).

The third sutta describes a visit by the brāhman Uṇṇābha to Ānanda at the Ghositārāma and his question about why the higher life is lived under the Buddha. The life of a recluse has for its object the abandonment of desire, says Ānanda, and that is brought about by the cultivation of the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipādā*). That would be a task without end, interrupts Uṇṇābha ; Ānanda says that once the purpose is accomplished, there remains nothing more to do. Uṇṇābha accepts Ānanda as his teacher (*S*. V, pp. 271-3).

In another sutta by this name the Buddha explains to monks how the teachings of brāhmans differ from his on the practice leading to prosperity, the difference being that the teachings of the brāhmans are not conducive to Nibbāna, whereas the teaching of the Buddha is. The brāhmans instruct their disciples to rise up early and go facing east, not avoiding a village-pool or cess-pit till they meet with their death whereby they will be reborn in heaven. The Buddha's teaching is the practice of unwavering faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*S*. V, pp. 361-362).

The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* has a sutta by this name where the Buddha, in answer to a question by a brāhman, says that by giving up lust, malice and delusion, one does not plan for one's own destruction or that of others and does not undergo mental suffering and dejection. To this extent, the Dhamma is seen in this life (*sandiṭṭhiko*), it is a thing not involving time (*akāliko*), inviting one to come and see (*ehipassiko*), leading onwards (*opanayiko*), to be realised for themselves, individually, by the wise (*paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*). The brāhman, pleased with the explanation, expresses his faith in the Buddha (*A*. I, pp. 156-7).

Another sutta in the same Nikāya describes how two brāhmans visited the Buddha and had a discussion with him. They said: "According to Pūraṇa Kassapa, the world is finite while according to Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, it is infinite, but both teachers claim omniscience. How can one know which teaching is true?" The Buddha dismisses their question and teaches them that the five sense-desires are the world and the end of this could be reached not by walking, but by understanding the five sense-desires, and attaining to the nine Jhānas (*A.* IV, p. 428 f).

In each sutta by this name, a brāhman is involved, hence the name.

In the seventh sutta, the Buddha calls himself a brāhmaṇa, hence the name of the sutta. He is the incomparable physician and surgeon; he bears his last body, is ever clean-handed, and one from whom to ask a favour. The monks are his sons, born of his mouth, born of the Dhamma, created by Dhamma -- his spiritual heirs, not carnal heirs.

Of the two gifts, the carnal and the spiritual, the spiritual is pre-eminent; of the two kinds of sharing together, the carnal and the spiritual, the latter is pre-eminent; of the two acts of kindness, the carnal and the spiritual, the latter is pre-eminent, and of the two sacrifices, the carnal and the spiritual, the latter is pre-eminent.

He who has made the spiritual offering is the best of devas and men; all beings honour him as one who has transcended becoming (*It.* pp. 101-2).

U.K.

BRĀHMAṆA-TISSA, (var. *Brāhmaṇa-tīya*: Sinhala Bāmiṇitiyā), a young brāhman of Nakulanagara [1] in Rohaṇa in the southern part of Ceylon, who became a rebel against king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (q.v.) in the fifth month of his reign before his exile in 103 B.C. He one day heard the prophesy of another brāhman who announced that if any one were to act under a certain combination of planets he would be able to defeat the king and become ruler himself. Accordingly, Brāhmaṇa Tissa gathered an army and sent a message to the king asking him to hand over the kingdom. At the same time seven Damilas (Tamils) landed at Mahātittha with their troops and sent the same message to the king. In reply to the message of Brāhmaṇa Tissa the king informed him that he could have the kingdom if he conquered the seven Damilas (*Mhv. v.* xxxiii, 37ff.; *MhvA.* p. 613). The king probably wanted to weaken the two enemies by allowing them to fight between themselves.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* xxxiii, *v.* 41), Brāhmaṇa Tissa was conquered by the seven Damilas, five of whom ruled subsequently for fourteen years. But the Pali commentaries (e.g., *VbhA.* p. 445), which were written sometime before the *Mahāvaṃsa*, say that Tissa held sway over the country for fourteen years before the accession of king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, which period they characterise as one of great misery to the land and most disastrous to the religion. Taking both these records into account S. Paranavitana (University of Ceylon: *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Ceylon, Univ. Press, 1960 p. 167) concludes that Tissa (*Tīya*) could probably have been accepted by the Damila invaders as the titular ruler while they themselves actually weilded authority.

The fact that Tissa had probably been very powerful is seen from the king's reluctance to meet him in open battle (*Mhv.* xxxiii, *v.* 40f.). According to the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*VbhA.* p.445), when Tissa was plundering the districts, the monks discussed the matter and sent eight monks to Sakka, the king of the gods, requesting him to ward off the rebel. Even Sakka was unable to do so. He advised the monks to go abroad promising to protect them while on the sea. The monks looked upon Tissa with such contempt that they even named him Caṇḍāla [2] Tissa (*AA.* I, p. 92).

All the commentarial literature as well as non-commentarial works, like the *Sīhalavatthu*, *Sahassavatthu* and the *Rasavāhinī*, make mention of a great fear (*bhaya*) called the *Brāhmaṇa-tissa* (*tīya*)-*cora-bhaya* in their references to the rebel. The *Sahassavatthu* (*Ssvu.* p. 33), in addition, elaborates upon it, saying that there was a fourfold fear, namely, fear of bringands (*cora*), weapons (*āvudha*), pestilence (*roga*) and hunger (*chātaka*), which were caused by the inhabitants of the city of Brāhmaṇa Tissa. Almost all the references emphasise the fact that there was a severe famine (*dubbhikkha*) at this time, while according to the *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* I,p,92) and the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*VbhA.* p. 445) there was no rain either. It is, therefore, thought that the misery to the land and destruction to the religion caused by the activities of Brāhmaṇa

1 Geiger, (*Mhv.* trsl. I, p. 231, n. 5) calls this Kulanagara and identifies it with Mahāgāma. But S. Paranavitana (University of Ceylon: *History of Ceylon.* I, 165) calls it Nakulanagara which C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS.* 1959, Special Number, p. 52) identifies with the area extending over the hilly region northward of Vällavāya(Wellawaya).

2 A caṇḍāla is a man of the lowest caste. It is a great dishonour for a brāhman to be called so, for the brāhmans are considered to belong to the highest caste.

Tissa were intensified by natural calamities, which brought about a severe famine for twelve long years (University of Ceylon: *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. [illegible]; E. W. Adikāram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953 p. 74.). This famine itself was called *Brāhmaṇa-tissa-dubbhikkha*.

During the time the *Brāhmaṇa-tissa-cora-bhaya* prevailed, monks from all parts of the island assembled at Jambukola-paṭṭana in Nāgadīpa to cross over to India (*VbhA*. p. 446; *Ssvu*. p. 41). The monks who remained behind were compelled to subsist on lotus-stalks, fruit-rinds, leaves of trees and the like. They sometimes had to starve for weeks. Thousands of monks living at the Cittalapabbata-vihāra and the Tissa-mahā-vihāra left the two vihāras, either party hoping to go to the other to obtain food, but meeting on the way and hearing that all the crops in their barns were eaten by rats, all of them went to a forest and died there. Thousands of monks died of starvation in this manner. The Mahavihāra at Anuradhapura was deserted and castor plants had grown in the courtyard of the Mahācetiya. There were bushes all around it and the cetiya itself was covered with moss (*VbhA*. p.446 ff.). Most of the laymen left their homes and went to the hill-country (*Sīlahavatthu*, pp. 166f.). The famine had at one time grown so acute that the people even ate human flesh. An aged monk who was travelling with his pupil from place to place living on most scanty food fell a prey to some people who were maddened by hunger (*VhbA*. 449–451). As a result of starvation, people lost even their sexual desires, and the birth of a child was such a rare occurrence that the whole country rejoiced over such an event (*SA*. II, p. 111).

During the famine the monks guarded the doctrine with great difficulty (*VinA*. I,p. 263; III, p.695). Even though they had to live without food, most monks kept the precepts and were reluctant to break the rules of the Vinaya (*Sīhalavatthu*, loc. cit.).

When Brāhmaṇa-Tissa died and the famine came to an end, Vaṭṭagāmiṇī, who had been in hiding all these years, ascended the throne again in 89 B.C. and things took a better turn for the country and the religion (*VbhA*. p. 448). The monks who had gone to India and the hill-country returned to their monasteries. They compared the texts which were in their possession and, it is said, that the versions of the two parties agreed word for word (*AA*. I, p. 92). Many bhikkhunīs also recited the Vinaya (*Dpv*. xviii, vv. 27–35).

As a result of the activities of Brāhmaṇa-Tissa and the hardships caused by the famine, some of the texts of the canon were in danger of being lost. The *Mahāniddesa* which was known only by one monk at that time was one such text (*VinA*. III, p. 65).

The political, social and religious unrest of the time when Brāhmaṇa-Tissa was in power is considered to be among the causes that led to one of the most momentous events in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon when Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya regained power, namely, the committing of the Texts to writing (E. W. Adikaram: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 79; W. Rahula: *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956 p. 82.).

H. R. P.

BRĀHMAṆA VAGGA, two groups of suttas in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, the sixth chapter of the *Tika Nipāta* (I, pp. 155–173) and the twentieth chapter the *Pañcaka Nipāta* (*A*. III, pp. 221–46). Each group contains ten suttas.

The *Brāhmaṇa Vagga* of the *Tika Nipāta* has no *uddāna* at the end of the chapter and hence the names of the suttas are not found in the text. But Malalasekara (*DPPN*.) names them as follows. 1 and 2, *Jiṇṇa*; 3, *Brāhmaṇa*; 4, *Paribbājaka*; 5, *Nibbāna*; 6, *Mahāsalā*; 7, *Vacchagotta*; 8, *Tikaṇṇa*; 9, *Jānussoni* and 10, *Saṅgārava*. The chapter is named *Brāhmaṇa Vagga* probably because all the ten suttas therein are preached to brāhmans who are said to have visited the Buddha and questioned him on some points of doctrinal importance. Each sutta contains an explanatory answer to the question. The *Brāhmaṇa Vagga* of the *Pañcaka Nipāta* consists of the following ten suttas, as named in the *uddāna* at the end of the chapter. 1, *Soṇa*; 2, *Doṇa*; 3, *Saṅgārava*; 4, *Kāraṇapāli*, 5, *Piṅgiyānī*; 6, *Supina*; 7, *Vassa*; 8, *Vācā*; 9, *Kula* and 10, *Nissaraṇiya*. Of these ten, only the first five have direct reference to brāhmans, and of these only the second and the third suttas are preached to them. The sixth has only an indirect reference to them, while the last four have no reference at all. The chapter is named *Brāhmaṇa Vagga* probably owing to the reference to the brāhmans in its first five suttas.

The tength section of the *Majjhima-nikayā* (II, p. 133 ff.) containing ten suttas, nos. 91–100 is also called *Brāhmaṇa Vagga*. The ten suttas are named as follows:—*Brahmāyu Sutta, Sela S°, Assalāyana S°, Ghoṭamukha S°, Caṅki S°, Esukāri S°, Dhānañjāni S°, Vāseṭṭha S°, Subha S°*. They will be dealt with separately.

There is another *Brāhmaṇa Vagga*, the 26th section of the *Dhammapada* (p. 55 ff.). It contains forty-one stanzas, uttered by the Buddha on forty-one different occasions. The stanzas are about

brāhmans, hence the title. The *Dhammapada* commentary (IV, p. 138 ff.) contains the stories and explanatory notes in connection with the stanzas of the Vagga.

BRĀHMAṆĪDAKṢIṆĀMBĀYAI — DUḤKHA VIŚEṢA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Lho za-mo tashaṅs-dbyaṅs-la sdug-bsṅal-gyi bye-brag bstan-pa shes-bya-ba,* incorporated in the *Spriṅ-yig* (*lekha*) section of the Tibetan *Tengyur* (*TM.* No. 4193). The authorship of the work is attributed to Kamalaśīla. This is not included in the Peking edition of the *Tibetan Tripiṭaka.*

I. K.

BRAHMANIMANTANIKA SUTTA, the forty-ninth sutta of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, pp. 326-31). The three chief characters in the sutta are the Buddha, Baka Brahmā and Māra, the Evil One. The concluding sentence of the sutta explains its title by saying that it contains an invitation (*nimantana*) to Brahmā and a conversation with Māra. The purport of the sutta seems to be to refute the idea of a creator and a creation, and also to prove that a Buddha is much superior to a Brahmā in point of knowledge and power.

The Buddha says that once he visited Baka Brahmā to dispel a wrong notion he had about his own position and splendour. Baka Brahmā harboured the notion that he was without a beginning or an end and that all his might and splendour was eternal and unchallenged. The Buddha shows that these conclusions were because of limited observations by the Brahmā and that the Brahmā had forgotten his origin as his span of life had been quite a long one. The change that had come over him had been so gradual and spread over such a long period, that the Brahmā had concluded that he was changeless and eternal. The Buddha also gives, as another reason, that the Brahmā did not have the power of knowing his past births. The Buddha tells him how he had been born among various gods before his present birth, and how he fell away from those realms of the higher deities. The Buddha thus convincingly proves the falsity of the Brahmā's views and makes him realise that he was also subject to birth, decay and death, like all other beings. Though the Brahmā accepts this position he yet maintained his claim to superiority by saying that he was unique with regard to psychic power. The Buddha challenges this too, and ultimately proves himself superior to the Brahmā in that respect, performing a feat beyond the power of the Brahmā.

Māra plays the role of the eternal friend and champion of untruth in the world. He is introduced into the picture several times and is made to do his best to prevent the Buddha from dispelling wrong views that had taken position in the Brahmā's mind. Māra pleads with the Buddha to accept the superiority of the Brahmā, saying that formerly too, there were recluses who behaved in the manner of the Buddha and suffered evil consequences.

W.G.W.

BRĀHMANISM, Definition and Scope : The word Brāhmanism is used by different scholars with varied connotations. It seems originally to have been used, and popularly still to be understood, to denote the religion of those inhabitants of India who adored Brahmā as their supreme God in contradistinction to those who professed Buddhism, and, in more recent times, Muhamedanism.[1] Some use this word as a synonym for Hinduism.[2] In this article the word is used to denote the religion, customs, rites and practices which were prevalent in India during the time of the Buddha and which were based on the teachings promulgated mainly in the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas.*[3] Here the word is also somewhat extended to include the more philosophically bent views reflected in the *Upaniṣads.* When taken in this wider sense, Brāhmanism could be described as the religion whose main characteristics were the acknowledgement of the *Vedas* as highly sacrosanct and divine revelation, and the acceptance of the pre-eminence of the sacrifice as the most effective means of gaining happiness and prosperity in this life and, perhaps, in the next. At a later stage of development, Brāhmanism accepted also asceticism as an effective means of attaining salvation. But, this later form of Brāhmanism did not become as popular as the earlier which stressed ritualism and sacerdotalism.

Origin and Development. The origin and development of Brāhmanism spread over a long period of time and took place in different stages. It could, therefore, be categorised as early and later as well as popular and intellectual, the early

[1] See *ERE.* Vol. II, s.v. BRĀHMANISM.

[2] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism,* Philosophical Library, New York, p. 3; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy,* London & New York, Vol. I, p. 608.

[3] This religion which was practised and preached by brāhmans was also professed by kṣatriyas and the vaiśyas.

Brāhmanism, being the religion reflected in the latter portion of the *Ṛg-veda* and the other two *Vedas* namely *Yajur-veda* and *Sāma-veda*, and the later form being that which is promulgated in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and to some extent in the *Upaniṣads*. Popular Brāhmanism has ritualism and sacerdotalism as its main features while its more intellectual counterpart, *the other form* emphasised inner purification through asceticism.

Perhaps, the earliest traces of the origin of Brāhmanism are to be found in the systematic arrangement of the hymns of the *Ṛg-veda*. A further development is seen in the appearance of the two other *Vedas*. The *Ṛg-veda*, which is recognised as the oldest of the *Vedas*, is a collection of metrical hymns which are mainly invocations of gods, and often meant to accompany the simple fire sacrifice in which *Soma* juice and melted butter were used as oblations. But, the other two *Vedas* are solely meant for sacrificial purposes. In the *Yajur-veda*, material from the *Ṛg-veda* is freely adapted without regard to its original purpose and order of composition. It reflects the exceeding growth of ritualism. The earlier object of devotion to gods gives place to sacrifice and the spirit of the simple religion reflected in the *Ṛg-veda* recedes to the background. The simple *Soma*-sacrifice assumed an elaborate and complicated form in the *Sāma-veda*, which is also composed of hymns borrowed from the *Ṛg-veda*. Simultaneously with these developments the brāhmaṇs or priests, too, gained in importance. They in turn formulated still more elaborate rituals in which abstraction and symbolism played a very important role. These developments are clearly reflected in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which are text-books intended to guide priests, through the complicated details of sacrificial ceremonies.[4] Besides laying emphasis on the importance of the sacrifice and the sanctity of the *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas* also reflect some important changes in social and religious evolution. The observance of the rigid caste system and the promulgation of the institution of the *Āśrama-dharma* (stages of life) are two of the salient innovations of this period. A development in mythology is also seen during this period. Divinities, who were not important in earlier periods, shot into prominence, eg. Viṣṇu, Rudra and Brahmaṇaspati. Agni, too, rose in importance. The simple religion of worship of deified physical phenomena, as reflected in earlier periods, became purely formal in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The simple, poetic hymns meant to praise and appease the gods gave place to mutterings of mantras or sacred formulae. The words became artificial, meaningless sounds, credited with occult power. Only the priests were able to understand the mysterios of all this, and consequently their position became more and more consolidated. Sacrifice rose to pre-eminence and came to be regarded as the only means of attaining one's desired objects and ends, whether they be wordly happiness or happiness here-after, a state of existence which is not clearly defined in the *Brāhmaṇas*. All were said to be subject to the influence of sacrifice. Without sacrifice the sun would not rise; the rain would not fall and the world would cease to be. Martin Haug sums up the sacrifice promulgated in the *Brāhmaṇas* thus: "The sacrifice is regarded as the means for obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures. He who knows its proper applications, and has it duly performed, is in fact looked upon as the real master of the world; for any desire he may entertain, if it be even the most ambitious, can be gratified; any object he has in view can be obtained by means of it. The *yajña* (sacrifice) taken as a whole is conceived to be a kind of machinery, in which every piece must tally with the other, or a sort of great chain in which no link is allowed to be wanting; or a staircase, by which one may ascend to heaven; or as a personage endowed with all the characteristics of a human body. It exists from eternity and proceeded from the Supreme Being (Prajāpati or Brahmā) along with the *Traividyā*, i.e., the three-fold sacred science (the *Ṛik* verses, the *Sāmans*, or chants, and the *Yajus* or sacrificial formulas). The creation of the world itself was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being. The *Yajña* exists as an invisible thing at all times; it is like the latent power of electricity in an electric machine requiring only the operation of a suitable apparatus in order to be elicited. It is supposed to extend, when unrolled, from the *Ahavanīya*, or sacrificial fire, into which all oblations are thrown, to heaven, forming thus a bridge or ladder, by means of which the sacrificer can communicate with the world of gods and spirits, and even ascend alive to their abodes. The term for beginning the sacrificial operations is "to spread the sacrifice"; this means that the invisible thing, representing the ideal sacrifice which was lying dormant, as it were, is set in

[4] Two of the most important *Brāhmaṇas* in this connection are the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha*.

motion, in consequence of which its several parts or limbs unfold themselves, and thus the whole becomes extended. This ideal sacrifice stands in the closest relationship with all the sacrificial implements, the sacrificial place, and all the sacred verses and words spoken during its actual performance. The sacrifice being often represented as a kind of being with a body like that of men, certain ceremonies form his head, others his neck, others his eyes, etc. The most important element in a sacrifice is that all its several parts should tally, and that consequently there should be nothing in excess, and nothing deficient in it. This harmony of the several parts of the sacrifice constitutes its *rūpa*, i.e. form. The proper form is obtained, when the *mantras* which are repeated are in strictest accordance with the ceremony for which they are repeated, or (if the sacrifice lasts for several or many days) when they have the characteristics of the respective days. If the form be vitiated, the whole sacrifice is lost. Mistakes being unavoidable on account of the extremely complicated ritual, the sacrificer was to be attended by a physician in the person of the Brahma priest. Each mistake must be made good by a *prāyaśchitta*, i.e. penance, or propitiatory offering" (Martin Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Bombay, 1863, p. 73f.). Though the sacrifice was also regarded as the means of gaining happiness in the next life, the sacrificer's main intention was to obtain earthly gain.

As the sacrifice rose in importance, the gods receded into the background and they themselves were made subject to the influence of sacrifice. Even Indra himself could be deposed from his throne in heaven if one were to perform a hundred Horse--sacrifices (*Aśvamedha*). The complicated nature of various sacrifices demanded special training for those who conducted them. Since the preservation of the *Vedas*, which were regarded as divine revelation (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 9), was accepted as being of tho utmost importance, there came into being a hereditary, professional priestly class. They became the accredited intermediaries between gods and men and also dispensers of divine grace. They were gods on earth (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 2, 2, 6 ; 4, 3, 14). Once they became firmly established as the highest among men, they promulgated and rigidly observed a caste-system with themselves at the head, followed by kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras in order of precedence (See also BRĀHMAṆA and CASTE). To this innovation they themselves gave divine sanction. Along with this division came into being another institution called the *Varnāśrama-dharma* or *Āśrama-dharma* (see below) which divided an individual's life into four stages. Consequently, numerous rites, rituals, that are to be performed at different stages in life came into being.

It is evident from the above account how the simple religion of the early phase of Brāhmanism consisting of faith in gods was displaced by elaborate rituals and sacerdotalism. A further step is seen in the attempts made at moralising the early religion without disturbing its form. As already pointed out, the Brāhmanism reflected in the *Brāhmaṇas* was concerned with searching for those cosmical, physical and psychical phenomena and forces which, it was thought, were symbolized in the rites and appurtenances of the sacrifice. This was taken a step further in the early *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*. Several attempts at systematic arrangement of these items are seen in these texts. Items were arranged according to their dependence on one another till what is supposed to be the ultimate source of everything is reached. Thus, there are indentifications such as speech = fire ; eyes = sun ; breath = wind (*vāyu*) ; ear = the quarters etc. The thinkers of this period searched further for a subtle principle which they ultimately postulated and called Brahman.[5] This Brahman, the cosmic principle, was regarded as being infinite, unchangeable, eternal, absolute reality on which all that exists depends. A further development in this respect is seen in the shifting of the centre from the outer to the inner world, almost a protest against the externalism of the religious beliefs promulgated in the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. This shifting of the centre from extroversion into introversion resulted in the appearance of the Ātman, the psychical principle, the counter-part of Brahman which is the cosmic principle. These two principles mark the greatest height reached by the religious speculation of pre-Buddhistic times.

[5] *Brahman* is a very complex principle, beyond verbal description. Modern scholars have made numerous attempts to trace its origin and development. Some hold that it means prayer and that it is derived from the root *bṛh* to swell, to grow. According to Roth, *Brahman* is the first force of will directed to the gods, then it came to mean a sacred formula and then the Absolute. Oldenberg thinks that in Vedic times when the world was peopled with many gods and mysterious forces capable of producing happiness and misery, the most powerful man was the medicine man, who weilded the magic spell and produced whatever effects was desired. Then *Brahman* meant a magic spell. During the time of the *Brāhmaṇas* it referred to the sacred hymns used in the sacrifices. Perhaps some of these hymns were used as spells for producing magical effects. The word was gradually transferred to the central energy which produces the world (ref. S. Radhakrishnan, op. cit. p. 163, foot note 1; see also ERE. Vol II, s.v. BRAHMAN).

These developments brought about a change in the ideal for which people strove. Earlier, the main aim was to obtain earthly gain, though in a few Brāhmanical passages one finds references to the higher ideal of the perfection of self. But such attempts were rare. In the *Upaniṣads* the ideal postulated is the realisation of the absolute identity between Brahman and Ātman. To achieve this, asceticism, denoted by such terms as *yoga* and *tapas*, was stated to be the best means. The religion postulated in the *Upaniṣads* insists on a transformation of the whole nature of man, and suggests three stages of development namely, *śravaṇa* (listening), *manana* (reflecting) and *nidhiddhyāsana* (contemplative meditation) which help to bring about this transformation. Though during the time of the Buddha these teachings were fast gaining ground, yet they were not as widely prevalent as popular Brāhmanism in which ritualism and sacerdotalism were pre-eminent.

Mythology : The mythology of Brāhmanism is not the same as that found in the *Ṛg-veda*. Some of the deities who played important roles in the *Ṛg-veda* were forgotten, and many of those who were retained generally lost much of their former glory. Only a few retained their old positions and fewer still were raised to higher pedestals. In addition, a fair number of new deities and super-human beings made their appearance. Deities like Mitra, Uṣas, Mātariśvan, Apām-napāt were gradually forgotten. Varuṇa, a very important Vedic deity, though retained, lost much of his former glory and became a mere ocean-god. The Aśvins, the famous twin-gods, too, lost their former importance and appeared under new names as Nāsatya and Dasra, which were originally mere epithets applied to them. Bṛhaspati is made the celestial teacher (*guru*), while Agni, the household priest (*purohita*) of gods, gains in prominence. He is called the leader of the gods, the omniscient god, the representative of brāhmanhood. Yama, too, remains and is made the dreaded ruler of the nether world. He is also called Mṛtyu, Kāla, Kṛtānta and Antaka. Indra, who in Buddhist mythology becomes Śakra (Pali Sakka), assumes the role of the ruler of heaven, and represents the kṣatriya class. Sūrya, the sun-god, becomes a popular deity generally worshipped by the masses. Among the new gods are Kumāra, the war-god (also called Skanda, Kārttikeya), Kubera or Vaiśvāṇara, the lord of treasures, Lakṣmī or Śrī, the goddess of properity and also Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. They are the gods of the people and become closely connected with their day to day life through numerous rites and ceremonies.

The three supreme gods of later Hinduism were already fast gaining popularity and importance. Brahmā, also known as Prajāpati, Pitāmaha, and Hiraṇyagarbha, was held in very high esteem as the creator of the world. The unimportant Vedic god Viṣṇu gradually comes into prominence. In the *Brāhmaṇas* he is identified with the sacrifice itself, an honour he shares with Brahmā-Prajāpati. In fact, Viṣṇu was already usurping the place of Brahmā-Prajāpati by acquiring some of the traits of the latter. Rudra, to whom no distinct cosmical function is attributed in the *Ṛg-veda*, rises into prominence. As Rudra-Śiva he becomes the object of love as well as of fear. Sometimes he is even referred to as the highest god (*Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* iii, 4).

Besides these there are other supernatural beings such as the Asuras, Daityas and Dānavas who are generally regarded as enemies of the gods. There are still others who rank even below Asuras. Nāgas or the serpent-gods are a class of such beings. (See NĀGA(5)). The Gandharvas, the celestial musicians, and their consorts the Apsarasas, though not worshipped, are popular characters in mythology. Yakṣas, Guhyakas, Kinnaras and Vidyādharas are super-human beings who are harmful to human beings, and, therefore, had to be propitiated by various offerings and rituals. Rākṣasas are very malicious in character. So were the Pretas, Vetālas Piśācas, generally, and people dreaded them and performed ceremonies to appease them and ward off any harm that may come from them. Some of the ancient ṛṣis, too, were deified and included in mythology. Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Vaśiṣṭha are examples of such ṛṣis. They, too, were considered to be super-human and at times considered as being even superior to gods.

Cosmology and Cosmogony : The cosmological and cosmogonical theories found in Brāhmanism are those found in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*. Speculations regarding the structure and the evolution of the world occupied the minds of Indians from very early times. The *Ṛg-veda* itself contains numerous and, often conflicting, theories regarding the origin and the structure of the world. The world was regarded as consisting of earth, air and sky. The idea of 'universe' was generally expressed by the term 'heaven and earth' which were regarded as the parents of gods or as the creations of the gods themselves. The act of creation was metaphorically expressed as building, sacrificing or weaving,

The most widely prevalent belief was that the world was created by the gods. Occasional attempts were made to give a philosophical interpretation to this act of creation. One such theory regards water as the primary source and says that the highest god originated in the primeval waters as the Golden Germ (*Hiraṇya-garbha*: *Ṛg-veda*, x, 190). The *Nāsadīya-Sūkta* (*Ṛg-veda*, x, 129), giving a more complicated interpretation perhaps, suggests that absolute reality which is at the root of everything cannot be called either existent or non-existent.

During the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* the idea of divine creation gained ground and generally Prajāpati was regarded as the Supreme Creator. Again, in the *Upaniṣads* a fresh attempt was made to give a philosophical interpretation to this, and to recognise Brahman or Ātman as the first principle from which everything else originated.

Eschatology : The *Ṛg-veda* had no developed doctrine about life after death. It accepted that departed ones dwelt in heaven with Yama. The joys of heaven are the same as those found on earth, but in a more elaborate form. Heaven was for the good, while evil-doers were cast into a deep, dark, abyss from which they never returned.

Though there are faint traces which border upon the idea of rebirth, there is nothing to prove that there was any clear-cut notion about it. The *Brāhmaṇas*, too, do not give any one specific view regarding life after death. They discuss about two paths taken by the dead, one being the way of the fathers (*pitṛ-yāna*) and the other the way of the gods (*deva-yāṇa* : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 1, 4, 10). Those who went along the *pitṛ-yāna* ultimately returned to earth, while those who followed the *deva-yāna* enjoyed eternal heavenly bliss. The greatest aspiration was to attain immortality and this was possible only through sacrifice. Those who rightly understood and performed sacrifice obtained immortality or, at least, longevity, while those who did not, departed before their time to the next world where their lives were weighed in a balance and received good and evil retribution according to their own deeds.

Though the *Brāhmaṇas* contain suggestions leading to a theory of rebirth it was really in the *Upaniṣads* that this theory developed. While the *Brāhmaṇas* seem to assume birth and death only in the next world, the *Upaniṣads* quite explicitly state rebirth in this world itself (*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, v, 3, 10 ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, vi, 2). The Upaniṣadic ideal was to become one with Brahman and this was regarded as the highest kind of immortality. Beings are said to be born again and again till this union is achieved. The kind of birth one gets is in accordance with one's actions. Those whose conduct has been good will attain some good birth, as either a brāhman, kṣatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been bad will certainly attain an evil birth as a hog, dog, or a caṇḍāla (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, v, 10. 7.). This idea of rebirth by the migration of the soul into animal bodies came into prominence in the *Upaniṣads* (see also *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, iii, 2, 13). Besides the generally accepted two paths above mentioned, a third path is also mentioned which leads evil-doers into the joyless region (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, i, 3 ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, iv, 11).

Sacrifice : As noted above, sacrifice (*yajña, karma*) is the most salient feature in Brāhmanism. One's whole life is regarded as a sacrifice. Besides numerous elaborate and complicated sacrifices such as *Aśvamedha*, *Rājasūya*, *Vājapeya*, which were performed by kings and nobles on special occasions, there are five important sacrifices, namely i. *Brahma-yajña* or *Veda-yajña* ; ii. *Deva-yajña* ; iii. *Pitṛ-yajña* ; iv. *Bhūta-yajña* and v. *Manuṣya-yajña*. These are to be performed daily by every householder. The *Brahma-yajña* or *Veda-yajña* is the study and teaching of the *Vedas*. Every householder was expected to devote some time every day for this purpose. *Deva-yajña* is the *homa*-sacrifice in which clarified butter is poured into the fire (*Agni*) and offered to the gods. The *pitṛs* are manes and in *Pitṛ-yajña* oblations such as sweetmeats and water are offered to them. The *bhūtas* or spirits, too, are offered food in a specific sacrifice meant for them called *Bhūta-yajña*. The *Manuṣya-yajña* means the feeding of guests and those worthy of respect. Besides these there seem to have been numerous other minor sarifices, such as the seven *pāka-yajña*, seven *havir-yajña* and seven *soma-yajña* which became widely prevalent in later times.

Worship : Besides sacrifice there were various forms of religious worship generally known by the term *pūjā*. Popular Brāhmanism gives an important place to this type of religious observance. Deities, sacred objects, trees, holy places, serpents (*nāgas*) and numerous other suprenatural beings were worshipped by the masses. Often images representing numerous deities were used as objects of veneration. Flowers, incense and even food formed the items used in *pūjā* performed in their honour. Buddhist literature itself alludes to the prevalence of this type of worship (*J.* I, pp. 53, 127,

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253, 311; IV 282). There were also shrines dedicated to the deities at which the people performed religious rites (*Lal.* p. 83f.)

Yoga and Bhakti: With the development of eschatological doctrines and the shifting of interest from extroversion into introversion it came to be accepted that the outer sacrifice of wealth was of less significance than the inner sacrifice of virtues. The ideal for which men strove shifted its centre from acquisition of wealth and enjoyment of pleasures of life (*artha* and *kāma*) to attainment of release (*mokṣa*) through the realisation of the identity of Brahman and Ātman. Instead of sacrifice (*yajña* or *karma*) *yoga* and *tapas* came to be regarded as more fruitful means of attaining this end. Thus came into being various austere ascetic practices which were considered as being capable of bringing about self purification (see also ASCETICISM and ASCETIC PRACTICES). Devotional faith or *bhakti* is not so marked at this stage. Though hymns addressed to Varuṇa in the *Ṛg-veda* abound in ideas akin to *bhakti* it did not come into prominence in Brāhmanism of this period, though it became very important in Hinduism (Varuṇa, Vasiṣṭha, and Bhakti (by R. N. Dandekar in *Añjali, O. H. De A. Wijesekera Felicitation Volume*, Colombo, 1970, p. 77f.).

Ethics: It is generally considered that ethics and morality do not find an important place in Brāhmanism. However, a careful scrutiny shows that this is not so. The significance attached to ethics and morality is seen from the importance of such concepts as *ṛta* and Varuṇa, the cosmic order and its guardian, respectively. These two symbolise the ideal standard of morality and conduct. Consistency is the key-note of the good life and consistent conduct was called *vrata*. Varuṇa, the upholder of consistent conduct, is thus called Dhṛtavrata. Gambling, seduction, sorcery, witch-craft were all denounced. Disobedience to law is also denounced. Charity was highly praised (*Ṛg-veda* i, 2, 6; v, 85, 7; vii, 104, 8 ff; viii, 6, 5). It is a fact that with the rise of a professional priestly class and with sacrifice coming to be regarded as the most effective means of attaining one's desires and wishes, standards of ethics and morality declined. Varuṇa and *ṛta* lost their significance. Varuṇa was reduced to the level of an ocean-god while *ṛta* became a synonym for sacrifice. Unscrupulous priests, disregarding ethics and morality, evolved various devices to fulfil their own aims and to establish their supremacy. Yet, there is no evidence to prove that ethics and morality were disregarded and overlooked completely. The ostentations and hypocrisy of unscrupulous priests were not condoned by all. A good brāhman was expected to shun all worldly desires. A brāhman unlearned in the *Vedas* is extinguished in an instant like dry grass on fire. Even the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* teaches the sacrifice of all things (*sarva-medha*) as a means to the attainment of spiritual freedom (vii. 7. 1. 1). Adultery is condemned and confession is supposed to reduce the gravity of guilt (ibid. ii. 5. 2. 20). By the time of the *Upaniṣads* the standard of ethics and morality rose to unprecedented heights. The ideal set forth in the *Upaniṣads* is inner purification, and to obtain this ideal one had to overcome the obstacles of lust, passion, desires, ambition and such other depravities. Outer conformity to rites etc. was displaced by inner purity. Good conduct was greatly emphasised and much importance was attached to the motive of conduct. Conduct was evaluated on the amount of sacrifice involved and the motive behind it. Selfishness was completely denounced. Emphasis was on detachment from self and attachment to God. Virtuous qualities such as restraint, liberality, compassion, non-injury to life, meditation were regarded as very essential for the purification of self.

Caste (varṇa) and the Four Stages in Life (varṇāśrama-dharma): The institutions of caste and the four stages in life helped to maintain and raise the standard of ethics and morality. The caste system was most probably an innovation of the brāhmans themselves and the first reference to it is found in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* of the *Ṛg-veda* (x, 90). Later, this was regarded as a creation of Brahmā himself. When it came to be accepted that there are specific hereditary occupations suitable for members of each caste, this institution became more stratified and a code of ethics and conduct became fixed. The brāhmans attained supremacy, and behind them were placed kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in order of precedence. Brāhmans were the priests, the intermediaries between men and gods, the dispensers of divine grace. The kṣatriyas were the rulers while vaiśyas consisted of farmers and traders. The śūdras were the outcastes and they had to perform all menial work and were deprived of all privileges and rights enjoyed by the rest of society (see BRĀHMAṆA and CASTE). However, it is evident that there was a strong vein of criticism against the caste system, especially against the supremacy of the brāhmans. The episode connected with Satyakāma Jābāla amply proves

this (*Chāndogya*, iv, 4, 1, 4). It came to be regarded that brāhmanhood does not depend on birth but on one's character. The *Upaniṣads* clearly show a softening of the early, very rigid attitude towards the caste system.

The *Varṇāśrama-dharma* is an essential feature of Brāhmanism. It greatly helped to raise the standard of ethics and morality and to bring about order and consistency into the daily life of the individual. The life-span was divided into four stages (*āśrama*); the first stage is that of the student (*brahmacārin*). A child at the age of eight years had to commence the study of the *Veda* under a teacher and during this period of study he had to observe strict celibacy. After completing his studentship he enters the stage of a householder (*gṛhastha*) where he has to perform all the duties of a householder such as bringing up children, performing the five daily sacrifices, accumulation of wealth and so on. When he becomes old he enters the stage of the forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*) and devotes his life to prayer and sacrifice. This leads to the *sannyāsin* stage in which he makes himself detached from all worldly things and fully devotes himself to a life of meditation.

Customs and Rites: These two institutions necessitated the practice of numerous customs and rites on different occasions and stages in life. Brāhmanism promulgated numerous such rites which were closely connected with the day to day life of the individual. Some of these rites were called *saṃskāras* or purificatory-rites, since they were regarded as being capable of purifying one from the taints of sin contracted in the womb. There were twelve such important *saṃskāras*[6] very commanly practised. They are i, *Garbhādhāna*, impregnation-rite, a ceremony performed before conception or after menstruation to ensure conception; ii, *Puṃsavana*, male-production-rite, a ceremony performed in the third month of gestation; iii, *Sīmantonnayana*, the parting of the mother's hair, a kind of protective rite performed in the fourth, sixth or eighth months of pregnancy; iv, *Jātakarman*, birth-ceremony, performed to welcome the child and wish it longevity, wisdom and other kinds of prosperity; v, *Nāmakaraṇa*, naming-ceremony, at which an appropriate name is given to the child; vi, *Niṣkramaṇa* ceremony performed when taking the child for the first time out of the house; vii, *Annaprāsana*, ceremony of first feeding; viii, *Cūḍākarman*, ceremony of tonsure; ix, *Upanayana*, the ceremony of the investiture of the sacred thread x, *Keśānta*, cutting of the hair at the age of sixteen years; xi, *Samāvartana* the ceremony performed when a student returns from his teacher's place. and xii, Vivāha, the marriage ceremony. There were other customary minior ceremonies performed on behalf of the departed ones. These are generally called *Śrāddha* and were performed for the benefit of the dead. This is more or less an act of reverential homage to them and is supposed to provide them with nutriment for their sustenance.

There were numerous other rites and rituals that were performed in order to purify oneself, to absolve oneself of sins accrued by evil deeds. Bathing at holy places, sprinkling oneself with sacred water and such other rites were considered to be capable of washing away guilt.

Brāhmanism and Buddhism: Brāhmanism was the major form of religion prevalent in India at the time of the rise of Buddhism, and Buddhism seems to be more or less a counter-movement against certain important doctrines of Brāhmanism. In some aspects Buddhism differed completely from Brāhmanism and even went to the extent of refuting and denouncing several of its major tenets.

As already pointed out, the pre-eminence of the authority of the *Veda* and the power of sacrifice were two of the cardinal doctrines of Brāhmanism. Buddhism criticised and denounced both these doctrines and showed them to be of no value. Buddhism also condemned the elaborate sacrifices of the time as wasteful and immoral, since they involved waste of effort and valuable resources as well as injury to life. The *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 129 ff.) clearly shows the Buddhist attitude to Brāhmanic sacrifice and points out what the ideal sacrifice should be. The Buddha describes the sacrifices held in the days of yore, wherein no living thing is injured: all labour is voluntary and the sacrifice is offered, not only on behalf of the king, but on behalf of all. The Buddha then proceeds to explain other forms of sacrifices more potent than the gift of material things. Buddhism clearly discarded outward and cruel forms of sacrifice and also widened its sphere by changing its participants, its objcts as well as the means and ways of offering it.

The doctrine of *ahiṃsā* (q.v.), too, was in direct opposition to sacrifice. Though this doctrine of *ahiṃsā* is known to the *Upaniṣads*, therein it had its own limitations. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*

6 The number of *saṃskāras* increased and some later texts enumerate fifty two of them.

[illegible] as a part of the gift (dakṣiṇā) to be given to the teacher (iii, 17, of ERE. I, p. 230). It also declares that *ahiṃsā* towards all beings should be observed at places other than sacred spots (*anyatrā tīrthebhyaḥ*), thus sanctioning killing of animals at sacrifices (ibid, viii, 15; cf. R. C. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, 2nd ed. Oup., 1958, p. 274, note 1). The Buddhist doctrine of *ahiṃsā* made no such exceptions. It implied a positive notion of loving kindness (*karuṇā, muditā*) towards all living beings. The *Jātakas* are full of passages referring to the ineffectiveness and cruelty of Brāhmanic sacrifices (*J.* III, p. 518 ff.; VI. p. 211 f). Buddhism interpreted sacrifice (*yañña*) to mean the highest religious life (*Sn. v.* 307ff. *D.* I, pp. 142, 143, 147). However, Buddhism seems to have approved simple sacrifices wherein no killing of animals was involved (*Sn. v.* 245; *A.* II, p. 43; *S.* I, p. 76).

To deny the sacrifice was to deny the authority of the *Veda* itself. In fact, the Buddha criticised, both directly and indirectly, the brāhmans' claim that the *Vedas* are divine revelations and that they are the final authority. The *Tevijja Sutta* contains an indirect criticism of this claim. There, it is said that none of the teachers of the Vedic traditions have had direct knowledge or vision of Brahmā who is said to be the revealer of the *Vedas*. The Buddha says: Vāseṭṭha, just as when a string of blind men clinging to one another, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle see, nor can the hindermost see; just so is the talk of brāhmans mere blind talk (*D.* I, p. 238 ff.). The *Caṅkī Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, p. 164ff) contains a more direct criticism of this claim. To a brāhman who wished to know the Buddha's views on the claim of the brāhmans who came to the conclusion that what is sanctioned by ancient scriptural statements (*porāṇam mantapadam*) is true and all else is false, the Buddha points out that none of those brāhmans who hold such a view claim direct, personal knowledge of the truth of their statements saying, 'I know this; I see this; this alone is true; all else is false, and as such it was just blind tradition (*andhaveṇu*) to hold the *Vedas* as the only true authority.

Buddhism ridiculed numerous purificatory rites which the brāhmans considered capable of washing away sins. The Brāhmans believed that their sins could be got rid of by bathing themselves in the water of sacred rivers. The pungent remark of Puṇṇā therī, who says that if water had such purificatory powers, the fishes, frogs, tortoises, crocodiles, water-snakes and all such acquatic animals would go straight to heaven, completely shatters this brāhmanic belief (*Thig. vv.* 240 241; see also PURIFICATION).

Cosmological theories found in Brāhmanism, too, were questioned, and new theories were put forward. Buddhism directly opposed the idea of a Creator God. It explained away Brahmā, the supposed creator, as an individual who appeared first at the beginning of a new cycle and imagined that he had created the rest who came after. Besides, Buddhism invented a creation legend of its own which depicts the whole process as a mere re-evolution. The universe is shown to be a nebulous mass, ready to appear in a liquid state from which earth emerges. Then the earth is visited with life from the Ābhassara (q.v.) world. After this, as the result of various gradual processes, numerous other things such as edible earth, the sun, the moon, vegetation, and bisexuality appear. Consequently greed, violence, sex, customs and rites, too, come into being (*D.* I, p. 17f; III, p. 27ff; 80 ff. See AGGAÑÑA SUTTA, COSMOLOGY).

A clear doctrine of life after death was enunciated by further develoing the Upaniṣadic doctrine of re-birth. Five possible forms of existence for those who pass away (*peta*) were expounded. Buddhism teaches that the state of a being born after death is determined by the death-consiciousness (*cuti-citta*) of a dying person. Consequently, the doctrine of karma came to the forefront. This doctrine, too was a modification of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of karma. Buddhism taught that the ethical character of an action depended upon the thought behind it and not upon mere external performance. This teaching, too, went against the Brāhmanic teaching of the pre-eminence of the sacrifice. The correlation between good character in this lilfe and a happy state after death, and a bad character in this life and an unhappy state after death was highly emphasised. This resulted in the rise of ethical and moral standards.

The doctrine of *Ātman*, the cardinal teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, was also refuted. In the first place the Buddha takes various aspects of the personality and argues that none of these can be identified with the *Ātman* as promulgated in the *Upaniṣads*. He also points out that the belief in a permanent soul would negate the usefulness of the moral life. According to Buddhism a belief in a permanent soul is a form of grasping, a hindrance to final liberation (*D.* III, p. 230). The Buddha categorically denounced the clinging to either of the two extremes of belief i.e. that everything is, and nothing is, and taught the middle way (*S.* II, p. 77; See ANATTĀ).

The Buddhist ideal was the attainment of tranquillity (*upasama*), the deathless (*amata*) state of peace (*santi*) and supreme bliss (*parama-sukha*) by the extinction of defilement (*āsava*) such as desire, ignorance, craving. Early Brāhmanism aimed at obtaining material gain through sacrifice while the Upaniṣadic doctrine aimed at the attainment of liberation through the realisation

of the identity of *Ātman* and *Brahman*. Asceticism was considered to be of great importance to attain this ideal. Thus, the *Upaniṣads* taught severe forms of asceticism. But, Buddhism did not place much importance on this. Asceticism was adopted with modifications. Severe ascetic practices were declared to be of no value. In his very first sermon, the Buddha pointed out that the two extremes, of self-indulgence (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*), are ignoble and not conducive to good. However, the Buddha did not denounce all forms of asceticism. Instead here, too, he adopted the middle path (*S.* IV, p. 330 ff. See ASCETIC, ASCETIC PRACTICES, DHUTAṄGA).

Buddhism denied the brāhmans' claim to superiority over the rest. The Buddha at the very outset emphatically refuted their claim to divine origin (*M.* II, p. 148 ff; *D.* I, p. 80 ff. III p. 80 ff.). As their claim to superiority was combined with the dogma of the efficacy of sacrifice all the attacks directed against sacrifice were also attacks against brāhmans' claim to superiority (*D.* I, p. 127 ff.). The Buddha stressed the fact that, biologically, man is of one species, and on this ground, too, he rejected the brāhmans' claim (*M.* II, p. 196 ff; *Sn. v.* 600 ff).

Buddhism adopted certain features from the mythology of Brāhmanism, and also some of its popular rites and customs. Many of the gods and superhuman beings were given a place in the Buddhist pantheon. For example, Indra attained prominence in the form of Sakka. Viṣṇu was was presented in a Buddhist garb. Brahmās, too, were incorporated and brought into association with numerous epidodes of the Buddha's life. Popular deities, such as Śrī, Sūrya, too, were given Buddhist forms and incorporated in the Buddhist pantheon. Yama became the ruler of the world of departed beings. Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Asuras were also given a place in the mythology of Buddhism. Nāgas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and such other supernatural beings, too, were incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon. The worship of trees, deities, shrines and images became an important feature in popular Buddhism.

Numerous rites and customs prevalent among brāhmans, too, were adopted by the Buddhists by modifying them to suit the teachings of their religion. Thus, in place of numerous sacrifices, offered to the departed, there came into being such rites as *anumodanā* (q.v.), alms-giving to monks (*dāna*) etc.. Popular rites performed at various stages in one's life were adopted after suitably modifying them to conform to the ideals of Buddhism. See also HINDUISM.

S.K.N.

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BRAHMAÑÑA SUTTA. There are three suttas by this name, all in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. One sutta explains the highest life (*brahmañña*) as the Noble Eightfold Path and the fruits thereof (*brahmañña-phalāni*) as the four stages of holiness, i.e. the fruit of stream-winning, of once-returning, of not-returning and of arahantship (*S.* V, pp. 25–6). The other sutta also explains the highest life as the Noble Eightfold Path, but the aim thereof (*brahmaññattha*) is the destruction of lust, malice and delusion (*S.* V, p. 26). The last sutta says that few are those who reverence brāhmans (*brahmañña*) and numerous those who reverence non-brāhmans (*abrahmañña*; *S.* V, p. 468).

U. K.

BRAHMAPARIPṚCCHĀ - NĀMA - MAHĀYĀNA - SŪTRA (var. *Ārya-br°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo* (sūtra) section of the *Kangyur*, under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshaṅs-pas shus-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The Tibetan translation is attributed to Jinamitra and Ye-śes-sde (*TT.* Vol. 33, No. 825).

The text contains a sermon preached by the Buddha in response to a question asked by Brahmā.

The Buddha was once residing in Vaiśālī, in the Kūṭāgāra in the Great Grove, with a multitude of monks and bodhisattvas. Once, in the hour of midnight, the Buddha sat cross-legged, engaged in meditation. Then, as he looked for someone whom he could discipline by preaching a sermon, a clear and distinct light appeared. Brahmā Sahampati saw this light and the Buddha resplendent with the thirty-two characteristic marks of the super-man. Then he left the Brahma world, and knelt in front of the Buddha. Appreciating the fact that opportunities to approach the Buddha were rare,

and realising that it was inopportune to disturb him by making sounds such as clearing one's throat etc., he saluted the Buddha and sang his praises instead.

Thus aroused from his meditation, the Buddha gave Brahmā permission to ask any question. Thereupon Brahmā asked the Buddha what qualities (*dharma*) a bodhisattva should possess for attaining supreme Enlightenment. In reply, the Buddha said that one single quality would suffice for a bodhisattva to attain Buddhahood. This quality, he said, was mindfulness regarding the body (*BHS. kāyagatānusmṛti*, or Pali *kāyagatā sati*).

The Buddha further said that in practising this quality, a bodhisattva should look upon his body as something filthy, fickle, impermanent, illusory, liable to change and decay, devoid of substance and so forth. Realising the frailties of the body, he should give up desire for life. Having no regard for life, he would give up desires for all worldly possessions.

Having this view of the body, a bodhisattva should avoid sinful deeds like killing, theft, misconduct and practice good deeds. He should be generous in order to overcome avarice; he should practise *śīla* to discipline his mind; he should not commit sins of body, speech or mind; he should not praise his own conduct and look down upon that of others; he should practise meditation and acquire supreme wisdom.

The Buddha summed up the sermon by reciting some stanzas. Delighted with the sermon, Brahmā offered divine mandārava flowers to the Buddha, circumambulated him three times and left for the Brahma world.

At daybreak, the Buddha went to the assembly of monks and related the incident of Brahma's visit. He also repeated his sermon. Ānanda praised the sermon and asked for a name with which to remember it. The Buddha suggested *Brahmaparipṛcchā* as one of the names by which it could be called. And thus has it been named.

R. H.

BRAHMAPRABHA (1), a Buddha mentioned among many others as being propitiated by the night-goddess Samantasattva-trāṇojaḥśri while she was striving to gain the bodhisattva-salvation (*Bodhisattva-vimokṣa*), called Sarvalokābhimukha-jagadvinayanidarśana (*Gvyū.* 285).

T. R.

BRAHMAPRABHA (2), a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni. Born in a bhāhman family, Brahmaprabha renounced the world when he was young and practised austerities (*tapas*) in a forest. Seeing a tigress trying, out of hunger, to eat her own two cubs, he threw himself as prey to her. But she hesitated to touch him because of his noble qualities. Then he cut off his head and fell in front of her, aspiring to win Enlightenment in the future (*Divy.* pp. 476–481). See RŪPĀVATĪ AVADĀNA.

U. K.

BRAHMAPRABHA (3), meaning 'the lustre of Brahma,' is a name of a kalpa, an aeon, mentioned in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gvyū.* p. 256), in the legend of Sudhana Śreṣṭhiputra, (Sudhana, the millionaire's son). The legend enumerates the names of several Buddhas, preceded by Ratnameru, who were said to be born in this kalpa, and to have expounded to Sudhana the Mahāyāna doctrines pertinent to bodhisattva discipline (*bodhisattvacaryā*). The entire legend is given the finest touch of Indian mythopoetry, and the direct influence of the Sanskrit mythologists may be perceived, especially in the description and enumeration of the kalpas and the multiplication of the names of Buddhas, in which respect it bears much resemblance to the Purāṇic legends, wherein the mytho-poetic description of kalpas is one of the favorite topics.

W. S. Kt.

BRAHMAPUROHITA, a class of gods mentioned in the Pali texts as inhabiting the plane of the first trance (*jhāna*) in the *rūpadhātu* heavens. Literally, their name means 'ministers of Brahmā.' They were apparently considered to be attendant on the Mahā Brahmas or subordinate to them. They were held to be superior to the Brahmaparisajjā. See also BRAHMALOKA, COSMOLOGY.

B. J.

BRAHMAPUTRĪ-SARASVATYĀḤ — STOTREṆA SIDDHI-VĀK-PRABHĀ-ṆĀMA, (var. *Brahmapurtrī-sarasvatī-stotra-siddhivākya-prabhā-nāma*, vide *TM.* No. 3698), the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur*. The authorship of the work is ascribed to Phur-bu. The translator is known as Dar-ma Yon-tan (*TT.* Vol. 81, No. 4521; *TM.* No. 3698).

The text contains stanzas in praise of the goddess Brahmaputrī Sarasvatī, who is described as a single-faced, two-armed deity, emanating a white lustre. She wears a garland of white flowers on her plaited hair, and a necklace round her throat. Her hands and feet are decked with garlands of jewels. She has a smiling countenance. The author praises this deity and solicits her favour.

R. H.

BRAHMARAGIRI (var. Bhramaragiri) referred to by Hsüan-tsang as Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li in Chinese, a monestary built by king Sadvaha for Nāgārjuna on the mountain known by the same name, three hundred li south-west of Kosala. According to Hsüan-tsang this monastey had long corridors with eaves for walking under and also high towers. The storeyed building reached to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls and vihāras enclosed. In each vihāra was a life-size statue of the Buddha, cast in gold, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned and specially ornamented with gold and precious stones. Streamlets descending from the high peak of the mountain flowed through the different storeys, like small cascades, winding round the side galleries. Scattered light-holes illuminated the inner chambers.

It is said that when king Sadvaha was constructing this monastery he finished all his wealth before the work was complete and the king was deeply distressed. Nāgārjuna consoled him and, because of the king's sincerity and by the power of Nāgārjuna, large blocks of stone turned into gold which the king used for the work. A thousand monks dwelt there and a vast collection of sacred books was placed in it. Brāhmans occupied one storey.

After some time the Buddhist monks raised a quarrel over some question regarding words and the brāhmans, taking advantage of it, destroyed the monastery and kept the monks out. From that time no Buddhist monks dwelt there (Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 418 f.; *DCBT*. 391).

Beal (op. cit. p. 419, n. 82) comments that Hsüan-tsang's description of the rock-monastery is quite similar to that of Fa-hsien (pp. 139, 140, Beal's ed.) and that neither Fa-hsien nor Hsüan-tsang personally visited the spot. It seems to have been utterly deserted even in Fa-hsien's time. He also adds that this supports the record of its early construction in the time of Nāgārjuna, about the first century B.C.

H. R. P.

BRAHMA SAṂYUTTA, sixth section (*saṃyutta*) of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. It contains two chapters (*vaggas*). The first consisting of ten suttas is not named; it is just called the first chapter (*paṭhama vagga*). The ten suttas are *Āyācana*, *Gārava*, *Brahmadeva*, *Baka-brahmā*, *Aparā diṭṭhi*, *Pamāda*, *Kokālika*, *Tissaka*, *Tudu-brahmā*, and again *Kokālika*. The second chapter has five suttas, hence its name the Chapter of Five (*Pañcaka vagga*). The five suttas are *Sanaṅkumāra*, *Devadatta*, *Andhakavinda*, *Aruṇavatī* and *Parinibbāna*.

In each of the fifteen suttas of the *Brahma Saṃyutta*, one of the following Brahmās: Sahampati, Baka, Subrahmā, Suddhavāsa, Tudu and Sanaṅkumāra, plays some part; hence the name *Brahma-Saṃyutta* (*S*. I, pp. 136–159).

U. K.

BRAHMASPASA, name of a former Buddha mentioned in the *Samādhirāja Sūtra* (*BHS*. s.v.).

BRAHMA-ŚRĪ-VYĀKARAṆA-NĀMA-MAHĀ-YĀNA-SŪTRA (var. *Ārya-br*-), the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Mdo* (sūtra) section of the *Kangyur*, under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshaṅs-paḥi dpal luṅ-bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The author's name is not recorded in the text. Viśuddhasiṃha and Dge-dpal are said to have translated the text into Tibetan while Vidyākarasiṃha and Devacandra are stated to have revised it (*TT*. Vol. 34, No. 856).

The events leading to a prophecy concerning Brahmaśrī forms the theme of the work.

Once when the Buddha was residing at Śrāvastī, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta Grove, he set out one morning for alms, bowl in hand. In the outskirts of the city, some boys were at play, building houses with sand and earth. Seeing the Buddha at a distance, they were delighted and happy. Through compassion for them, the Buddha arrived at the spot where they were playing and asked them what they were doing. They told him that they were making houses of sand and earth, for fun. Then, one of the boys, Brahmaśrī requested the Buddha to accept one of the houses.

The Buddha, being aware of his good intention, accepted it. Then, in a moment, the house of sand and earth changed rapidly. In its place stood a magnificent palace made of seven kinds of jewels. There were 84,000 pillars of gold in the eastern side of the palace, and 84,000 pillars of silver, lapis-lazuli and crystal in the southern, western and northern sections of the palace, respectively. The boy, Brahmaśri, seeing this miracle was exceedingly delighted. He gave utterance to his joy in a formula, expressive of his amazement and delight at the compassion of the Buddha. Further, he made a solemn vow that he too might attain Buddhahood and perform similar miracles.

Thereupon, the Buddha smiled and from his mouth there radiated an array of colours, blue, yellow, red, white, crystal and silver. This radiance spread as far as the Brahma world, came back to the Buddha, circumambulated him three times, and settled on the crown of his head. Ānanda asked the Buddha the reason for his smile. The Buddha asked him whether he saw the boy Brahmaśrī. When Ānanda replied in the affirmative, the Buddha prophesied that Brahmaśrī, through the power of his virtuous, act would not be born in evil states and that he would cultivate bodhicitta and attain Buddhahood. Further, he extolled the merit of respecting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, by doing even seemingly insignificant acts of faith.

Ānanda and Brahmaśrī were delighted to hear the sermon and praised it.

R. H.

BRAHMAŚUDDHA, name of a former Buddha, the successor of Tathāgata Samantacakṣus, referred to in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gvyū.* p. 104) in connection with the story of Sudhana Śreṣṭhiputra.

BRAHMĀ SUTTA, There are two suttas by this name, both occuring in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V, pp. 167–8 and 232–3). Both were delivered under the Goathard's banyan-tree near Uruvelā on the bank of the river Nerañjarā, just after the Buddha's Enlightenment, while he was meditating in solitude. The title in both cases is derived from the fact that Brahmā Sahampati appears on the scene and confirms the thoughts of the Buddha.

The difference of the suttas lies in the different contents of the Buddha's thoughts.

In the first sutta the Buddha's reflection was as follows : This is the only way (*ekāyano 'yam maggo*) that leads to the purification of beings, to the complete overcoming of sorrow and grief, to the utter dissolution of conflict and suffering, to the attainment of the truth (*ñāya*) and the realisation of Nibbāna, namely, the fourfold application of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*). It is awareness that the body is just the body (*kāye kāyānupassī*), feelings are just feelings (*vedanāsu vedanānupassī*), mind is just thought (*citte cittānupassī*) and mental states are just mental phenomena (*dhammesu dhammānupassī*). The theme is here only outlined, but is later worked out in detail in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* I, pp. 55–63).

In the second sutta the Buddha's reflections are mentioned as being directed to the five controlling faculties (*indriya*) which, if they are cultivated and practised make one dive into the stream of deathlessness (*amatogadha*). The five are: confidence (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*), concentration (*samādhi*) and insight (*paññā*). Here too, Brahmā Sahampati confirms the Buddha's reflections, and recalls how in some previous life he had been a monk, named Sahaka, during the time of Kassapa Buddha. It was due to his cultivating these five controlling faculties at that time that he was reborn in the happy spheres of Brahmaloka and became known as Brahmā Sahampati.

Another *Brahmā Sutta*, thus named in the *uddāna* (contents of the chapter, in verse), is found in the *Itivuttaka* (pp. 109—11, sutta 106), which is identical with the first sutta of the *Devadūta Vagga* (*A.* I, p. 132) and, apart from a slight variation, also with the third sutta of the *Pattakamma Vagga* (A. II, p. 70).

Families where mother and father are respected in the home are reckoned like unto Brahmā. Such families are ranked with the teachers of old ; they are indeed worthy of offerings. Parents are called Brahmā, it is said in the concluding gāthā, because of their compassion unto their tribe of children. Wise people worship them, give them all honours due, serve them with food and drink, clothing and lodging ; they anoint their bodies, bathe and wash their feet. And, for such service one may expect reward of joy in heaven.

The gāthā is part of the poem occurring in the *Sona-Nanda-Jātaka* (*J.* V. p. 313ff.).

F. L. Woodward in his translation *Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon* (p. 192, note 3) mentions a quotation in part by Nāgārjuna (Friendly Epistle, *JPTS*. 1886, p. 8) and refers also to the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1, 11, 1).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BRAHMASVARA, name of a former Buddha mentioned in the *Bahubuddha Sūtra* of the *Mahāvāstu* (III, p. 231) in a list of names of former Buddhas enumerated by Tathāgata Śākyamuni to Ānanda. Brahmasvara belonged to the royal city of Indratapanā and was preceded by Tathāgata Viraja and succeeded by Thatāgata Śirasāhvaya.

W. S. Kt.

BRAHMASVARANĀDĀBHINANDITA, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*BHS.* s.v.).

BRAHMATEJAS, name of a former Buddha, mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (*Lal.* p. 4 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BRAHMAVADDHANA, son of the future Metteyya Buddha before his renunciation (*Anāgv. v.* 48).

BRAHMAVALI, a kind of script, listed in the Lipiśālādarśanaparivarta of the *Lal.* p. 88, as one of the sixty-four scripts, which the bodhisattva Gautama desired to study at the writing-school (*lipiśālā*) under the aegis of his preceptor, Viśvāmitra. The *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 135) adopts a variant form, Brahmavāṇī, and records it to be one of the styles of writing introduced by the bodhisattva. The variant forms *Brahmacārī*, *Brahmavārī* (*BHS.* 404b). and *Brahmavallī* (*Lal.* p. 88, footnote 6) also occur.

The etymology of the term in question is obscure, and may be compared with *asuralipi* (q.v.), mystic script.

W. S. Kt.

BRAHMAVATĪ, name of a city mentioned in the *Mahāmāyurī* (*BHS.* s.v.).

BRAHMĀVATĪ, a brāhmaṇī, mother of the future Metteyya Buddha (*Vism.* p. 367 ; *DhSA.* p. 415 ; *Divy.* p. 60 ; *Anāgv. v,* 96).

BRAHMA-VEDA-SĀRAÑGA-DHARA CAKRA-NĀMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *No-m'shra-bstan-bcos* (*āścarya śastra*) section of the *Tengyur*. The author is stated to be Kun-phan bdud-rtsi byin Sarvahitāmṛtadatta ; *TT.* VOL. 148 No. 5881). The translator is said to be Tshe-ḥi rig-byed ḥdzin-pa (Āyurvedadhara) of Mathurā (*TM.* No. 4410).

The text is a medical treatise dealing with the method of examination of diseases, their diagnosis and cure. The symptoms and the time of occurrence etc. of diseases caused by an excess of each of the three humours bile, phlegm and wind, or a combination of all three are specified. Remedies are prescribed for counteracting these diseases.

R.H.

BRAHMAVIHĀRA, divine states, also called *appamāṇā* and *appamaññā*, infinitudes, is a name for the four practices of mental development, namely, benevolence (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*) and poise (*upekkhā*). The classical formula given in the Pāli Nikāyas in explanation of the four divine states runs as follows : " Herein a monk lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of benevolence, compassion, sympathetic joy and poise......and so the second, the third and the fourth quarter ; and thus the whole world, above, below, around and every where does he continue to pervade with heart free from anger and ill-will (*D.* I, p. 250f. ; III, p. 223f. ; *M.* I, pp. 38, 297 ; II, pp. 76, 195, 207 ; III, p. 146 ; *S.* IV, p. 296 ; *A.*V, pp. 299, 344).

A detailed explanation of the divine states is lacking in the Pāli Nikāyas, but the Pāli *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* gives a brief account. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* analyses the mental and physical phenomena (*dhammā*) on the basis of skilled states (*kusalā dhammā*), unskilled states (*akusalā dhammā*) and the states that are neither skilled nor unskilled (*avyākatā dhammā*). It has a section on the four mental absorptions (*jhāna*) connected with the divine states under the states that are skilled. In order to attain the sphere of form (*rūpūpapattiyā*) one cultivates the way thereto and enters and abides in the four mental absorptions successively. The first three absorptions are accompanied only by the first three divine states ; only in the fourth mental absorption are found all the four divine states, because poise comes only in the fourth absorption (*Dhs.* pp. 53–55). The *Appamaññā Vibhaṅga* of the *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* explains the four infinitudes by a threefold method : as is explained in the suttas (*suttantabhājaniya*), as is explained in the abhidhamma (*abhidhammabhājaniya*) and in the catechism (*pañhāpucchaka*) method. In the *Pañhāpucchaka* is explained how skilled states and states that are neither skilled nor unskilled are found in each of the four infnitudes. (*Vbh.* pp. 272–84).

The commentator on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* refers the reader to the *Visuddhimagga* and explains the four as follows :

Benevolence means : one loves ; it signifies : one wishes well. Or, benevolence is so-called because it goes on concerning a loved one, or because of the

state of being a loved one. It has the characteristic of being a procedure of modes of benificence, the function or property of being good : the manifestation or effect of taking hatred away : the proximate cause of being the lovableness of beings. Its consummation is the quieting of ill-will ; its defect is the production of lust.

That which makes the heart of others quiver at the pain of others is compassion. Or, it crushes, destroys the pain of others : thus, it is compassion. Or, it is compassion because it is scattered over the afflicted, stretched out over them by diffusion. It has the characteristic of evolving the mode of removing pain ; the property of not being able to bear others suffer ; the manifestation of kindness ; the proximate cause of seeing the need of those overcome by pain. Its consummation is the quieting of cruelty ; its defect is the production of sorrow.

Sympathetic joy means those, endowed therewith or with the co-existent states, rejoice or one's self rejoices or just rejoicing. It has the characteristic of gladness ; its property is the absence of envying ; its manifestation is the destruction of disaffection ; its proximate cause is seeing the prosperous state of other beings. Its consummation is the quieting of dislike ; its defect is the production of derision.

'May they be without enmity' – thus, by the removal of ill-will, one contemplates with disinterestedness by attaining to a condition of centrality —this is poise. It has the characteristic of evolving the mode of centrality as regards beings. Its function is the appreciation of others ; its manifestation is quieting of both aversion and sycophancy ; its proximate cause is seeing the heritage of the occurring kamma as : " Beings are the property of their kamma. By its influence they will attain to pleasure, or be free from pain, or not fall from the prosperity already acquired." Its consummation is the quieting of aversion and sycophancy ; its defect is the production of a profane and unintelligent indifference.

These four divine states have the bliss of insight and the attainment of a happy existence as their common result. Their several results are the destruction of ill-will, of cruelty, of dislike and of lust.

Of all these four divine states, will (will-to-do) is the beginning, the discarding of the hindrances is the middle, esctasy is the end. The poise is the result of the first three divine states. Without the third absorption obtainable in the first three divine states, it is not possible to develop the fourth state.

They are to be understood as divine (*brahma*) in the sense of best, and by their faultless nature. For, these states are best as constituting a superlative mode of conduct towards others. As brahmās live with fearless thoughts, so the aspirant associated with these four states lives like the brahmās. Because all of them arise in an immeasurable field, they are called infinitudes (*appamaññā*). For, beings without limit constitute their field ; without making any limit they evolve by way of thorough-going diffusion. They are also called infinitudes as they arise with respect to an immeasurable field of objects (*DhSA*. pp. 192–7 ; *Vism*. pp. 263–70).

Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhamagga* gives a detailed account of how these four states may be developed. These are only four of the forty subjects of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*, q.v.) enumerated in the *Visuddhimagga*. (*Vism*. pp. 244–70).

He who wants to cultivate benevolence should begin with developing love towards himself, doing it repeatedly thus : " May I be happy and free from suffering," or " may I keep myself free from enmity, affliction and anxiety, and live happily." Then taking himself as an example he should develop it in this way : " I am already happy ; just as I want to be happy and dread pain, as I want to live and not to die, so do other beings, too." In order to proceed easily, he can recollect such gifts, kind words, etc., as inspire love and endearment ; such virtue, learning, etc., as inspire respect and reverence met with in a teacher or his equivalent, in a preceptor or his equivalent. Developing love towards him with such a person as his object, he attains mental absorption. Then he can widen his horizon and develop love towards a friend, a neutral one as a friend, a hostile person as a neutral. Then he should break down the barriers by practising love, or benevolence, over and over again, accomplishing mental impartiality towards the four persons, i.e., himself, the dear person, the neutral person and the hostile person.

He who wants to develop compassion should first direct his mind towards a wretched man, unlucky, unfortunate, in every way, a fit object for compassion, reduced to utter misery. Compassion should be felt for him in this way : " This being has indeed been reduced to misery ; if only he could be freed from this suffering." In the absence of such a person, he can arouse compassion for an evil-doing person, even though he is happy, by comparing him to one about to be executed. Having aroused compassion for that person in that way, he

should next arouse compassion for a dear person, a neutral person and a hostile person, successively, in the same way.

Sympathetic joy can be aroused on seeing or hearing about a dear person being happy, cheerful and glad ; he can extend this joy to a neutral and a hostile person afterwards. He should break down the barriers by means of mental impartiality towards the former.

One who wants to develop poise must have already obtained the triple or quadruple state of mental absorption. He should emerge from the third absorption (in the fourfold reckoning) and see danger in the first three divine states because they are linked with attention given to beings' enjoyment and because the joy associated with them is gross. He should also see the advantage in poise because it is peaceful. Then he should arouse poise by looking on with poise at a person who is normally neutral ; after that at a dear person, etc. So he should break down barriers in each case between the three people, that is, the dear person, the companion, the hostile person , and lastly, himself (*Vism.* pp. 244–63).

Buddhaghosa gives a very appropriate simile in illustration of the four divine states : One abiding in the four divine states should practise them like a mother with four sons, namely, a child, an invalid, one in the flush of youth, and one busy with his own affairs : for, she wants the child to grow up, wants the invalid to get well, wants the one in the flush of youth to enjoy for long the benefits of youth, and is not at all bothered about the one who is busy with his own affairs. Benevolence has the promotion of the aspect of welfare as its characteristic, like the mother's attitude towards the child ; compassion has the promotion of the aspect of the removal of suffering as its characteristic, like the mother's attitude towards the invalid son ; goodwill has the act of gladdening as its characteristic, like the mother's attitude towards the son in the flush of his youth, and poise has the promotion of the aspect of neutrality as its characteristic, like the mother's attitude to the son busy with his own affairs (ibid.).

There is evidence in the Pāli Nikāyas to suggest that the practice of the brahmavihāras is pre-Buddhistic in origin. Thus, king Makhādeva and king Sudassana who cultivated the practice of brahmavihāras were born in the world of the Brahmas after death (*M.* II, p. 76 ; *D.* II, p. 196). Mahkādeva and Sudassana were bodhisattas who appeared in the world long before the Buddha. The practice was prevalent among the other religious sects even during the time of the Buddha. Wanderers (*paribbājakā*) of other religious sects, according to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, go through a whole exposition of the four brahmavihāras (*S.* V, **155ff.**) Their practice results, after death, in union with Brahmā (*D.* I, p. 250 : *M.* II, pp. 195, 207).

These four brahmavihāras also, called appamāṇā, are, sometimes, connected with *cetovimutti*, freedom of mind, to read *appamāṇācetovimutti*, freedom of mind through infinitudes. Each of the four *brahmavihāras* or *appamāṇās* is severally connected with *cetovimutti* and is termed *mettā-cetovimutti*, freedom of mind through benevolence, etc. (*D.* III, p.248, *M.* I, pp. 297, 298 ; III, p. 146 ; *S.* IV, p.296).

The powers attributed to the practice of brahmavihāras seem to have changed when *cetovimutti* was incorporated into the Brahmavihāra teaching, thereby giving Buddhist colour to brahmavihāra which was not originally Buddhistic. The wanderers who questioned the monks about the practice of the brahmavihāras never mentioned *cetovimutti* in this connection. The Buddha, in telling his disciples what to reply to the wanderers' query as to whether he (the Buddha) teaches the brahmavihāras in the same way as they (the wanderers) do, or in a different way, begins by saying to them : " You should ask them, how is freedom of mind through benevolence made to become ? What does it lead to ? What is its excellence ? What its fruits ? What its goal ? " and he continues with the other brahmavihāras. Here a word, *cetovimutti*, is appended to each of the four headings, while it is conspicuously absent from the wanderers' talk (*S.* V, p. 115ff.). Herein lies the difference between the brahmavihāras, practised by the non-Buddhists, and that practised by the Buddhists. The practice of the brahmavihāras results in rebirth in the brahma-world or in union with Brahmā (*brahma-sahavyatā*), whereas the cultivation of *cetovimutti* through brahmavihāras results in attainment of the state of never-returner (*anāgāmī*) the third stage on the way to arahantship (*A.* V, p. 300).

Freedom of mind through benevolence has beauty (*subha*), as its highest limit ; freedom of mind through compassion has infinity of space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*) as its highest ; freedom of mind through sympathetic joy has infinity of consciousness (*viññāṇañcāyatana*) as its highest ; and the freedom of mind through poise has as its highest the sphere of nothingness (*akiñcaññāyatana* : *S.* V, p.115ff. ; see CETOVIMUTTI).

Eleven advantages are given as resulting from development of the freedom of mind of four brahmavihāras through any one of the mental absorptions. He who practices them sleeps in comfort; wakes up in comfort; dreams no evil dreams; is dear to human beings; is dear to non-human beings; deities guard him; fire, poison and weapons do not affect him; his mind is easily concentrated: the expression of his face is serene; he dies unconfused; and, if he penetrates no higher, he reappears in the brahma-world after death (*A.* V, p. 342, *Vism.* p. 258ff.).

In the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, we find these four brahmavihāras or *appramāṇas* mentioned in different contexts. The *Mahāvastu*, a non-Mahā yāna Sanskrit work, for example, extolls the brahmavihāras to such an extent that it promises Nirvāṇa to the person who cultivates these sublime states (III, p. 421).

In the Mahāyāna, the cultivation of these four feelings are connected with the career of a bodhisattva. A bodhisattva cultivates these feelings when practising the perfection of mental concentration (*dhyāna-pāramitā*). The *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* places the cultivation of them between the four *rūpāvacara-dhyānas* and the four *arūpāvacara-samāpattis* in an oft-repeated list of a bodhisattva's duties (*Ssp.* p. 1179).

"A bodhisattva abides pervading the whole universe with his mind accompanied by *maitri*, benevolence, with vast, great, undivided, unlimited and universal freedom from hatred, rivalry, narrow-mindedness and harmfulness" (*Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, p. 34). This same formula is applied to the other three brahmavihāras, too, namely, compassion, (*karuṇā*), sympathetic, joy (*mudi 'ā*) and poise (*upekṣā*).

U. K.

BRAHMA-VIŚEṢACINTI-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (var. *Ārya-br°-*) the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the *Mdo* (sūtra) section of the *Kangyur*, under the title *Ḥphags-pa tshaṅs-pa khyad-par-sems-kyis shus-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The names of the translators are given as Śākyaprabha, Dharmapāla, Jinamitra, Dharmatāśila, Devendrarakṣita and Kumārarakṣita (*TT.* Suzuki, Vol. 33, No. 827).

The text contains an exposition of the doctrine by Buddha Śākyamuni in response to a request by the bodhisattva Brahma Viśeṣacinti. The events leading to the request are narrated in the preamble.

The Buddha was residing at Veluvana in the Kalantaka-nivāpa, at Rājagṛha, with a large retinue of monks, gods, nagas, rākṣasas, gandharvas and others. Then the bodhisattva Dra-ba-can-gyi ḥod (Jalatāṃśu), adjusted his robes, knelt down and saluted the Buddha. Thereupon a large number of world-regions trembled and the residents of these world-regions saw this phenomenon. The Bodhisattva Dra-ba-can-gyi ḥod then requested permission for a question. The Buddha gave permission and said that he would preach the doctrine in response to his question.

Thereupon, the Bodhisattva praised the Buddha's body, by looking at which, he said, he found no contentment, and the lustre of his body which he said surpassed that of a myriad suns. He further stated that the chance he had of seeing the Buddha's body was a cause for wonder and was due to the power of the Buddha. The Buddha, agreeing that it was indeed so, said that no one could have a view of the Buddha's body unless the Buddha himself provided an opportunity. He then listed the names of several other Buddhas who had provided such opportunities and enumerated the boundless benefits of being touched by the rays of the Buddhas. The Bodhisattva Dra-ba-can-gyi ḥod eulogised the Buddha's exposition of the limitless splendour of the bodies of the Buddhas and his skill in expedients (*upāya-kauśalya*). Further, he requested the Buddha to explain how this lustre affected the bodhisattvas of other Buddha spheres, which bodhisattvas came to the Sahalokadhātu where Śākyamuni preached, what questions they asked and what sermons ensued. Then the Buddha emanated a ray that illumined countless world-regions. Now, to the east of the Sahalokadhātu, a very long distance away, there was a world-region called Yons-su dag-pa (Viśuddhi). A Buddha called Zla-bahi ḥod (Candraprabha) resided there. As soon as the ray that emanated from the body of Śākyamuni illumined that world-region, a bodhisattva, Brahma Viśeṣacinti by name, approached that Buddha, saluted him and asked him the reason for the illumination of the world-region. The Buddha Candraprabha said that Śākyamuni, who was preaching in the Sahalokadhātu, had emanated a ray of light to summon bodhisattvas. Then the bodhisattva Brahma Viśeṣacinti expressed a desire to go there. The Buddha Candraprabha approved of his wish and advised him to resort to ten excellent thoughts which he listed. Then a large number of bodhisattvas approached Brahma Viśeṣacinti and expressed their wish to accompany him. They saluted the Buddha Candraprabha, disappeared

from that world-region and appeared in the presence of Buddha Śākyamuni. They paid obeisance to Śākyamuni, eulogised him by reciting a large number of stanzas, requested him to preach the excellent path of the bodhisattvas and raised some relevant questions. The Buddha acceded to their equest, and a long sermon ensued.

According to Nanjio, there are three editions of this work translated into Chinese. The first edition *Sheng-szu-wei-fan-t'ien-so-wen-ching* was translated by Bodhiruci in 518 A.C. in six fascicles which fully agree with the Tibetan translation. The second one, *Szu-i-fan-t'ien-so-wen-ching*, was translated by Kumārajīva in 402 A.C. in four fascicles containing twenty-four chapters. The third, *Chih-hsin-fan-t'ien-so-wen-ching*, was translated by Dharmarakṣa (Ku fa-hu) in 286 A.C. in four fascicles containing eighteen chapters (*Nanjio*, Nos. 189, 190, 197 ; *Taishō*, Nos. 587, 586, 585, respectively).

R. H.

BRAHMĀYU, (1) the household priest (*purohita*) of king Brahmadatta and father of the bodhisattva Dharmapāla. He is described as master of the three Vedas, the indexes, the ritual and traditional lore as the fifth branch of study, and perfect in phonology, etymology and grammar. As a teacher he was an expert in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras*. He was generous and charitable, and lived in accordance with the path of the ten moralities (*Mhvu.* II, p. 77). See DHARMAPĀLA JĀTAKA.

U. K.

BRAHMĀYU (2), a brāhman who became a disciple of the Buddha (*Kvbh.* pp.157 ; *M.* II, pp. 133–146). In the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* his name occurs in a list of brāhmaṇas who were converted by the Buddha ; in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, there is a whole sutta by the name of *Brahmāyu* giving a detailed account of his conversion.

He was a brāhman foremost in Mithilā in his knowledge of the *Vedas*. On hearing of the Buddha at the age of one hundred and twenty, he sent his pupil Uttara to discover if the Buddha had on his body the marks of a superman (*mahāpurisa*). Uttara, therefore, visited the Buddha and, having seen the thirty-two marks, resolved to observe the Buddha in his every posture, and to this end, followed him for seven months. He then returned to Brahmāyu and told him of the result of his investigations. Brahmāyu folded his palms reverently and uttered the praises of the Buddha. Soon after, the Buddha came to Mithilā and took up his residence in the Makhādeva-mango-grove. Brahmāyu first sent a messenger to announce his arrival and then visited the Buddha. It is said that all those present rose to greet him, but Brahmāyu signed to them to be seated. He satisfied any remaining doubts he had as to the marks on the Buddha's body and then proceeded to ask him questions on various topics. At the end of the discussion he fell at the Buddha's feet, stroking them and proclaiming his name. The Buddha asked him to compose himself, and preached to him a graduated discourse. Brahmāyu invited the Buddha and the monks to his house where he entertained them for a week. His death occurred not long after, and the Buddha, when told of it, said that Brahmāyu had become an anāgāmī (*M.* II, pp. 133–146). See also BRAHMĀYU SUTTA.

U. K.

BRAHMĀYU(S), brāhman chaplain of a future king called Śaṅkha (*Divy.* p. 60). See ŚAṄKHA.

BRAHMĀYU SUTTA, occurs in the *majjhima-paṇṇāsa* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, pp. 133–46). The sutta contains a description of how Brahmāyu (q.v.) a powerful brāhman, highly respected for his wisdom and traditional learning, was converted to the teaching of the Buddha.

When Brahmāyu visited the Buddha and saw on his person the marks of a great man (*mahāpurisa*) he was very happy. But in the course of their discussion the Buddha made it clear that though he possessed all the signs of a great man, they did not constitute his omniscience. He had known that which was to be known, he had cultivated that which was to be cultivated, and abandoned that which was to be abandoned,—hence his omniscience. Brahmāyu then questions the Buddha as to how one becomes a brāhman, a *vedagū* (a knower of Vedas), a *tevijja* (one possessed of the three-fold knowledge), etc. The Buddha gives an interpretation to these terms which is of an ethical nature, though the terms in the brāhman teachings mean something else : " One who knows previous existence, heaven and hell ; one who has reached the end of birth and decay and is free from attachment whatsoever, an adept in the noble life and has gone beyond all things (*pāragū*)—such a being is a brāhman, he is a *vedagū* and *tevijja*."

W. G. W.

BRAHMENDRACŪḌA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 3.).

BRAHMENDRARĀJA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 4).

BRAHMEŚVARA, name of two former Buddhas mentioned in the *Samādhirāja Sūtra* (*BHS.* p. 404). One of them is perhaps identical with Brahmeśvara mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 231 ; *BHS.* p. 404).

BRĀHMĪ (1), epithet of a *rākṣasī*, occurring in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, (*BHS.* s.v.).

BRĀHMĪ (2). The Brāhmī script was a system of writing used in India and some adjacent countries in ancient times. According to Indian tradition this script was an invention of Brahman, the Creator, hence its name. When it first came into use has not been ascertained yet, but scholars are generally inclined to believe that it was in vogue in India in the time of the Buddha, and that it first came into use about two centuries earlier. The earliest extant specimens of writing in Brāhmī characters are the inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Asoka, (268–231 B.C.).

The Brāhmī syllabary, as known from the earliest documents, consists of five basic vowels, twenty-five consonants, five semi-vowels, three sibilants, the aspirate sign *ha* and the sign for cerebral *ḷa*, besides a few conjunct-consonants. The medial vowels are indicated by one or two short strokes placed in specific positions in relation to and combined with the main consonant sign. The medial vowel signs *ā* and *ū*, however can be combined with the initial vowel signs *a* and *u* respectively to form the initial vowel signs *ā* and *ū*.

There has been considerable discussion regarding the origin of the Brāhmī script. General Cunningham, one of the pioneers of Indian Archaeology and Epigraphy, believed that the Brāhmī syllabary was of Indian origin, and attempted to show that the Brāhmī characters were constructed on the principle of acrophony, with Sanskrit as basis, while Bühler sought the origin of this script in the alphabet of the ancient Phoenicians. After the discovery of the inscribed seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, an attempt has been made by S. Langdon to derive the Brāhmī characters from the still-undeciphered signs in the Indus Valley seals. G. R. Hunter thinks that Langdon is right in deriving the Brāhmī script from the script of the Indus Valley seals and explains that some of the similarities that Bühler noted between the Phoenician and the Brāhmī scripts may be due to a possible derivation of the Phoenician characters in question from the Proto-Indian script of the Indus Valley seals. A. H. Dani believes that whatever may have been the particular source of inspiration for the origin of Brāhmī, it was a creation of Indian pandits. In the present state of our knowledge it may perhaps be stated that the Brāhmī syllabary has borrowed elements from several sources including the Phoenician and the Indus Valley script in the creation of a set of syllabic signs designed to suit the needs of the languages and dialects used in India at the time the new script made its appearance.

As is demonstrated by the large number of Brāhmī inscriptions scattered throughout the Indian sub-continent, this script was very widely used in India giving rise to a number of provincial scripts such as Tamil, Bengali, Telugu and the several varieties of Nāgari. It was introduced to Ceylon about the third century B.C. and in about the eighth century transformed itself into what became the Sinhala script. From the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century onwards the Brāhmī script found its way to most of the regions of South-east Asia as far as Borneo and also to Burma and Tibet. As a result of commercial and cultural contacts, the Brāhmī script migrated as far afield as Central Asia, where it remained in use till probably the close of the sixth or the seventh century.

The Brāhmī script has been used in the records found at many Buddhist sites in ancient India. In the Bhārhūt Stūpa, the incidents and jātaka stories depicted in the bas-reliefs are described in short inscriptions in Brāhmī characters, while at Sāñcī are to be found numerous donative records inscribed in the same characters on pillars and railings in the more important stūpas. Similar records, some of them of considerable length, have been found at other Buddhist sites in India such as Ajaṇṭā, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjuṇikoṇḍā. Large numbers of Brāhmī inscriptions have also been found in Ceylon on the drip-ledges of rock caves, which had been occupied in ancient times by Buddhist monks. Donations to Buddhist monasteries have also been similarly recorded on rocks and dressed slabs of stone.

P. E. E. F.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : J. G. Bühler, 'Indian Paleography,' English trsl. by J. F. Fleet in *IA.* Vol. xxxiii, 1904 ; A. H. Dani, *Indian Paleography*, Oxford, 1963.

BRAHMOTTAMA (1), name of a former Buddha occurring in the *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 235 l), in a list of former Buddhas, in connection with a succession of proclamations related by the Tathāgata to Ānanda. According to this it was the Buddha Utpala who proclaimed Brahmottama as his successor. When Brahmottama had become a Buddha himself, he proclaimed Sudarśana as the next Buddha.

W. G. W.

BRAHMOTTAMA (2), a thera, one of the sixty monks who followed Śāriputra when he went to see Mañjuśrī who left Jetavana in all the splendour of a bodhisattva and reached the southern territory. He is described as one who had served former Buddhas, one in whom the roots of merit were implanted, one who had resolved, quite long ago, to become a Buddha, one whose eye of faith was purified, who always harboured magnanimous thoughts, was capable of looking at the proper direction of the Buddha and one whose wisdom was brought to maturity for the welfare of others (*Gvyū.* p. 47.)

W. G. W.

BRAHMOTTARA (1), a purohita (chaplain) among the gods (*Lal.* p. 31).

BRAHMOTTARA (2), one of the cities the bodhisattva Maitrakanyaka visited during his tour in the Deccan (*Divy.* p. 602). The *Avadānaśataka* calls it a mansion (*Avś.* p. 91).

BRAIN, as a constituent part of the human body, occurs in a list of 32 such component parts, given in explaining meditation on the body (*kāyagatāsati*), which is the first of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* (q.v.). In this list of 32 constituents of the body (*dvattiṃsākāra*) which are described as impure (*asuci*), the brain (*matthaluṅga*) occurs as the last item. It is interesting that although these 32 parts are collectively referred to as the *dvattiṃsākāra* the brain is often omitted from the list (e.g., *M.* III, p. 90 ; *D.* III, pp. 104, 105, etc.). The entire list is found in the *Dvattiṃsākāra Sutta* (*Khp.* p. 3), but here, too, the commentary omits *matthaluṅga*. The *Visuddhimagga* (viii, § 44), however, explains this omission when it says that the brain is included in the bone-marrow (*aṭṭhimiñja*). In giving a physiological explanation of the brain (ibid. § 126) it is said that it consists of the lumps of marrow (*miñjarāsi*) to be found inside the skull (*sīsakaṭāha*). It is explained as white in colour, like the flesh of the toadstool, or milk just before it becomes curd. Its shape is that of the skull and it belongs to the upper secion of the body. It is found inside the skull like four lumps of dough (*piṭṭhapiṇḍa*) put together, corresponding to the four sutured sections (*sibbanimagga*) of the skull and is bounded by the inner lining of the skull. Buddhaghosa gives the same explanation at *VibhA.* p. 243 in explaining the brain, but here, too, the text (*Vibh.* p .193) omits *matthaluṅga* from the list.

In describing snot (*siṅghānikā*), another item in the list, it is said (*Vism.* viii, §§ 109, 136) that this is impurity that oozes from the brain. Here it is further said that, due to wrong food or temperature, when the elements of the body are perturbed, this dough-like brain-matter inside the skull turns into stale phlegm (*pūtisemha*). Then, this liquid comes out through the nostrils as snot. The same thing happens when beings weep, too. A simile is given to explain this process when it is said that this oozing is like what happens if a man were to pack up curd in a lotus leaf and prick the leaf underneath with a thorn so that through this puncture the curd will leak out. At *PvA.* p. 80 also, *siṅghānikā* is explained as the impurity that trickles out from the brain through the nose.

In the allocation of the constituent parts of the body into the four elements, the brain is included in the earth-element (*Vism.* xi, §§ 34 and 68). See also BHŪTA.

At *Vism.* xi, § 68, the brain is further explained as a component of the body devoid of thought, indeterminate, void, not a living being and belonging to the solid earth-element (*acetano, abyākato, suñño, nissatto, thaddo paṭhavīdhātu*). The absence of any mutual feeling between the skull and the brain is here compared to an old gourd rind filled with dough, wherein the two material things are ignorant, by way of feeling, of their presence, although touching each other. In the same way the brain and its receptacle, the skull, are devoid of any mutual concern. The same description of the brain recurs at *VibhA.* p. 63, and here, too, the text (*Vibh.* p. 82) has only 31 items, omitting *matthaluṅga*, which, however, is explained in the commentary.

Bone-marrow (*aṭṭhimiñja*), in which the brain is included, is explained as white in colour and to be found inside the bones in the shape of a cane-shoot moistened and inserted into a bamboo-tube (*Vism.* viii § 109).

It is interesting that at *Śikṣ.* p. 209, in an explanation of the contemplation on the impurities of the body (*aśubhabhāvanā*), brain (*mastakaluṅga*) occurs as the 35th item in a list of 36 parts of the body as against the usual 32.

In Tantric Buddhism the brain is treated as one of the psychic centres (*cakra*) of the human body.

A. G. S. K.-

BRAM-ZE-MO DPAL-LDAM-MAS SHUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚRĪMATĪ-BRĀHMAṆĪ PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BRAN DAN BZAḤ MI GDON-GYIS GTSES-PA BSRUN-BAḤI CHO-GA CHEN-MO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation from a Sanskrit text. See GRAHOPADRUTA-BHṚTY-AJAMPATĪ-MAHĀ-RAKṢĀ-VIDHI-NĀMA.

BRDA ÑES-PAR GZUÑ-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SAṆKETA-NĪRDHĀRAṆA.

BRDA SPROD-PA DBYAÑS-CAN, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See SĀRASVATA-VYĀKARAṆA.

BRDA-SPROD-PA DBYAÑS-CAN-GYI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See SĀRASVATĪ-VYĀKARAṆA-SŪTRA.

BRDA-SPROD-PAḤI BSTAN-BCOS CHEN-PO DBYAÑS-CAN BYĀ-KA-RA-ṆAHI ḤGREL-PA RAB-TU-BYA-BA GSAL-LDAN SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See VYĀKARAṆA-MAHĀ-ŚĀSTRA-SARASVATĪ-VYĀKARAṆA-VṚTTI-PRAKRIYĀ-CATURĀ-NAMĀ.

BRDA-SPROD-PA PĀ-ṆI-NIHI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See PĀṆINI-VYĀKARAṆA-SŪTRA.

BREATHING is one of the forty subjects of meditation and is grouped among the ten recollections (*anussati*) according to Pali sources, whereas it is a yogic exercise according to various traditions of Hindu and Mahāyāna schools.

As a "recollection," it is mindfulness of inhaling and exhaling (*ānāpāna-sati*, q.v.), awareness of the duration of a breath, i.e., a mere observation of the process, whereby the flow of thoughts becomes unified and concentrated. It is entirely introspective and no physical or mental interference is intended. "During in a long breath, one knows: this is a long breath" (*M.* I, p. 56). Here, therefore, breathing is an object of concentration, whereby to bring the mind to one-pointedness (*ekaggatā*).

In Tibetan Buddhism (cp. Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism,* London, 1959, p. 152ff.) "breathing" has become a technique in which the regulation of the physiological process leads to control over the vital forces (*prāṇāyāma*, q.v.).

H. G. A. v. Z.

BRE-BRAG-TU RTOGS-PAR-BYED-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See VYUTPATTI.

BRGYAD BRGYAD DRUG-CU RTSA-BSHIḤI RNAL-ḤBYOR-MA RNAMS-KYI GTOR-MAḤI CHO-GA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See AṢṬĀṢṬAKENA-CATUḤṢAṢṬHI-YOGINĪ-BALIVIDHI-NĀMA.

BRGYA LÑA-BCU-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚATAPAÑCĀ-ŚATKA-NĀMA-STOTRA.

BRGYA-LÑA-BCU-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI BSnOD PAḤI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚATAPAÑCĀŚATKA-NĀMA-STOTRA-ṬĪKA.

BRGYUD-PA SNIN-GI SGRON-MA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ĀMNĀYASĀRA-PRADĪPA.

BṚHADRATHA, name of a yakṣa referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*v.* 22) as a resident of Kāliṅga. In the quasi-historical accounts of the Hindus, as pre-

served in the Epic traditions, the term Bṛhadratha occurs as an epithet of Duryodhana.

BṚHASPATI, (1) name of a king, descendant of Aśoka (*Divy.* p. 433).

BṚHASPATI,(2) name of a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* II, p. 402).

BṚHASPATIGUPTA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 138).

BṚHATPHALA, meaning 'having great fruition', the name of a class of gods in the fourth jhāna plane of the *rūpadhātu* heavens, according to Buddhist Sanskrit literature. There they are referred to as of the third grade in that plane, although their Pali correspondents are held, in Theravāda literature, to be the first of these classes, the Asaññasatta and Suddhāvāsa gods being superior. See further VEHAPPHALA.

B. J.

BRITAIN, BUDDHISM IN. Buddhism was born in North-East India in the 6th Century B.C. Before long the Teaching reached North-West India, where there were contacts with Europe. In the 3rd Century B.C. the Emperor Asoka became the ruler of all India, and as a converted Buddhist became the world's greatest Buddhist king. It is on record that he sent emissaries North-West to the dominions of Antiochus, which have been identified as including Syria, Egypt, Macednoia, Cyrene and the Epirus, but there is no satisfactory evidence that such emissaries left any record of their stay. But trade routes existed through Baćtria to Europe, and stories, to be later found in Aesop and La Fontaine, percolated from East to West at an early date.

Little more was heard of Buddhism in Europe until a succession of self-dedicated western scholars working in the East began to translate scriptures, Buddhist as well as Hindu, into some European tongues, from which in due course translations were made into English. One of the first of such scholars was the Hungarian Csöma de Körös (1784–1842) who spent most of his life in North India and gave us our first knowledge of the Tibetan scriptures with a Tibetan-English grammar and dictionary. About the same time Brian Hodgson, who served the British Government twenty years in Nepal, made an enormous collection of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts, and presented them for translation to various of the world's libraries. His *Sketch of Buddhism from the Buddha Scriptures of Nepal* appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1830. Amongst those who worked on Hodgson's MSS was the Frenchman, Eugene Burnouf, whose *L'Introduction a l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* was one of the first and finest text-books on the subject.

In 1850 appeared Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism,* the first detailed account of the Buddhist Saṅgha or brotherhood, and in 1853 his *Manual of Buddhism*, translated from the Sinhalese.

In 1855 appeared at Copenhagen, Fausboll's version of the *Dhammapada* in Pali, with a Latin translation, the first complete Pali work to be published in the West. In 1871 Samuel Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* laid open Chinese Buddhism to Western inspection, and in 1878 W. W. Rockhill published the first life of the Buddha in English, this from Tibetan sources. By this date there was sufficient material for popular text-books to be compiled and three appeared within three years. In 1878 was published Prof. T. W. Rhys David's *Buddhism*, being " A Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha ". This, like so many early works on Buddhism, was published by a Christian organisation, and indeed many of those who first made Buddhism known to the West were missionaries anxious to understand the religions to whose adherents they were bringing the younger message of Christianity. On the heels of this, still one of the best text-books of Buddhism in print, came the most popular of all, Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*. Composed, as the author said, " in the brief intervals of days without leisure ", it was based on the *Lalitavistara*, a 5th Century work, which was influenced by both the major schools of Buddhism. It has probably interested more English-speaking people in Buddhism than any other work yet written. In 1881 came the first edition of H. S. Olcott's *The Buddhist Catechism*, compiled in the first place to provide the children of Ceylon with their own religion in compendious form. The work of Colonel Olcott, founding President of the Theosophical Society, for the revival of Buddhism in Ceylon is beyond the ambit of this article, but this Catechism has sold in enormous quantities in the

West as in the East, and ranks with Rhys David's *Buddhism* and *The Light of Asia* as a formative influence on Buddhism in the British Isles.

In 1875 appeared *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* by R. C. Childers. This, a young man's work signle-handed, helped to inspire T. W. Rhys Davids to found in 1881 the Pali Text Society, which, carried on after his death by his widow Caroline Rhys Davids and after her by its present President, (Dr. Miss) I. B. Horner, has made available in English the vast Canon of the Theravāda School, and it is noteworthy that this was accomplished before any of the countries adhering to that School had made the Canon known to their own people in their own tongue. Abont the same time Frederich Max Müller began his '*Sacerd Books of the East*' series, the last and forty-ninth volume of which was published in 1894. Of these, ten are on Buddhism, and they were followed by '*The Sacred Books of the Buddhists*', which include the well-known *Dialogues of the Buddha*. At the turn of the century the Americans entered the field with the *Harvard Oriental Series*, edited by C. R. Lanman, the most famous of which is *Buddhism in Translations* by H. C. Warren, the first and still the largest digest or compendium of the Pali scriptures in English.

By 1900, then, the scene was set in England for the appearance of Buddhism as a way of life for a thinking Englishman. Two non-Buddhist organisations helped to prepare the English mind for this phenomenon. The first was the Theosophical movement, founded in New York in 1875 by H. P. Blavatsky. Trained in Tibet, this great teacher and writer published at the request of those who taught her an outline of what was described as "The accumulated wisdom of the ages", the Wisdom of which all religions and other forms of spiritual teaching are partial expositions given to mankind as and when the world has need of them. Herself trained as a Buddhist, she publicly took *Pansil* in Ceylon in 1880 with Colonel Olcott. Her later writings, notably *The Secret Doctrine*, are full of the deeper teachings of Buddhism, while *The Voice of the Silence* consists of collated fragments translated from *The Book of the Golden Precepts* which is studied in the esoteric schools of Tibet. These two works, the one a vast treatise on cosmogenesis and anthropogenesis, and the other provided for 'the few real mystics in the Theosophical Society', have influenced English religious thought, and the numerous Lodges of the Society have not only taught Buddhist principles but welcomed Buddhist speakers and books on the subject as part of their study. But if this movement was a seed-carrier, the Rationist-Ethical movement helped to break up the hard soil of Victorian scientific and religious dogma. By opening the field of religion to rational analysis, and that of science to human morality, the double movement prepared the way for Buddhist teaching, which is scientific and rational while at the same time proclaiming the highest ethics without the need of the personal and yet immortal God.

The scene being set, the principal actor appeared. Allan Bennett was born in London in 1872. In 1890 he read *The Light of Asia* and was immediately converted to its principles. He studied the Buddhist Scriptures deeply and when, in 1898, he needed a warm climate for his health he went to Ceylon, and there continued his studies at the feet of a Buddhist teacher. He formed the idea of eading a Buddhist Mission to England, and with this end in view went to Burma, where on the Full Moon of May, 1902, he took the robe as a bhikkhu, and assumed the name of Ānanda Maitreya, which he later changed to the Pali form, Ānanda Metteyya. He formed an International Buddhist Society in Rangoon, with himself as Secretary-General, and founded as its organ the illustrated quarterly, *Buddhism*, which for size and quality has never been surpassed among Buddhist journals. One of the first to read the first issue in England was J. F. M. Kechnie, a Scotsman who promptly joined the new bhikkhu in Rangoon and later took the robe as the Bhikkhu Silācāra.

Meanwhile, in 1905, 'England's first Buddhist', R. J. Jackson, also read *The Light of Asia*, and with a friend began to speak on Buddhism at open-air meetings in Regent's Park. Hearing of the proposed visit of Ānanda Metteyya, the two men opened a Buddhist Bookshop near the British Museum, where lectures were given at the back of the shop. Meanwhile a Society was being formed to prepare the way for the Mission. It was called the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, with Professor Rhys Davids as first President, and held its first meeting in London on November 3rd 1907. A Constitution was drafted, modelled on the Rangoon Society of which it was officially a Branch, and accommodation arranged near London for the bhikkhu. On April 23rd, 1908, the ship carrying the Mission, consisting of Mrs. Hla Oung, who was paying the expenses, her son, Mr. Ba Hla Oung and

his wife, and the Venerable Ānanda Metteyya, berthed in the London Docks.

The bhikkhu was thirty-six, graceful and dignified and the yellow robe of the Saṅgha gave him that air of the exotic which has always fascinated the Londoner. But the robe had its disadvantages, for the rules laid down for the Order proved a grave inconvenience in Western life. A bhikkhu must live in a house with no women, eat but one meal a day and that before noon, and not handle money. More serious, however, was the English bhikkhu's poor health. He was a chronic asthmatic, and in those days only drugs could enable him to carry on his work. And for all his burning zeal and fine knowledge of the Dhamma he was not a good speaker, most of his speeches being read. But in the six months allotted to the Mission a good deal was done. Friends were made, enquiries answered, and literature prepared and distributed. Then the bhikkhu left again for Burma with his good friend Dr. Ernest Rost. The Society was left to carry on.

Its major work was in its publications, notably *The Buddhist Review*, a quarterly which ran from January, 1909 to January, 1922. The numbers of persons who hear a message at lectures is small compared with those who may be reached by literature, and the power today of the Buddhist Society, the successor of the first Society, is largely in its publications, and in particular in its Journal, *The Middle Way*. A high quality of authorship was maintained throughout the life of *The Buddhist Review*, contributors including, besides Ānanda Metteyya, Captain Ellam, its first Editor, Dr. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Francis Payne, Howell Smith, later Editor, Professor Edmund Mills F.R.S., the Vice President, and from abroad, Dr. D. T. Suzuki, Mme David-Neel, and Anagārika Dharmapāla and D. B. (later Sir Don Baron) Jayatilaka. The membership of the Society was strengthened by the patronage of the King of Siam; the Maharājah of Sikkim and the Earl of Mexborough became additional Vice-Presidents, and substantial help was given throughout its life by Dr. W. A. de Silva of Ceylon.

Then came the first world war. Ānanda Metteyya returned from Burma in time to spend it in England, but he was a very sick man. In 1917, when the fortunes of the movement were at a low ebb, he roused the dormant Society to fresh activity, and so enabled it to survive the war, but when it ended many of its original members had died or left London, and in 1922 the end of the effort was in sight. In 1923 Kegan Paul published *The Wisdom of the Aryas*, Ānanda Metteyya's only major work, and in March 1923 he died.

From this date onwards I can speak from personal observation. In 1918 at the age of 17, I read Ananda Coomaraswamy's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, and thereafter accepted Buddhism as my Way of life. In 1920 I joined the Theosophical Society, and have remained a close student of the works of H. P. Blavatsky and the writings of those who taught her. I was not surprised, therefore, to learn that the revival of Buddhism in Ceylon, the directed energies of the Anagārika Dharmapāla, founder of the Mahā Bodhi Society, and the active Buddhist movement in England, were alike to a large extent the product of Theosophy.

After the collapse of the first Society the movement was saved by a long series of lectures on Buddhism at the Essex Hall, Strand, by Francis Payne. I attended some of them, and got to know the lecturer who, from the regular attendants in the audience, founded the London Buddhist League. On November 19th, 1924, the Buddhist Lodge of the Theosophical Society was born, with myself as President and Miss Aileen Faulkner, later my wife, as Hon. Secretary. A founding member was A. C. March, the founder in 1926 of *Buddhism in England*, which was in 1943 renamed *The Middle Way*. A Shrine Room was opened to the public in Lancaster Gate, not far from Marble Arch, and widely used. Literature was printed, and on the Full Moon of May, 1925, the festival of Wesak was celebrated by the London Buddhist League and the Buddhist Lodge, some 150 persons being present.

On September 27th, 1925, the Anagārika Dharmapāla of Ceylon, one of the greatest figures in modern Buddhism, arrived in London to form a branch of the Mahā Bodhi Society, which he had founded in Calcutta in 1891. This branch, first with a house at Ealing and later in a large building near Regents Park, continued with lectures, classes and its own publication, *The British Buddhist*, later *The Wheel*, until 1939, and, working harmoniously with the Buddhist Lodge, later the Buddhist Society, did much to further the work of the movement in England.

In 1926 the Lodge seceded from the Theosophical Society on the grounds that its then leaders were no longer faithful to the Theosophy as given to the

world by H. P. Blavatsky, and under the same impulse of independence the Society produced its own Buddhist text-book, *What is Buddhism?* which was published by the Society in 1928. This, as its successor, *Concentration and Meditation*, sold steadily for twenty-five years, and the latter is on sale today.

In 1928 three bhikkhus from Ceylon arrived at the British Mahā Bodhi Society, the leader of whom, the Ven. Parawāhära Vajirañāṇa, remained to take his Ph. D. at Cambridge University.

So far the Buddhism of London was thatthe of Theravāda, with Ceylon as its dominant influence. Then suddenly the complementary influence of the Mahāyāna or Northern School of Buddhism arrived, in the written works of Dr. D. T. Suzuki on Zen Buddhism and in the personality of the Ven. Tai Hsü of China. Dr. Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), was soon followed by many more, and these works, strangely enough, were almost the first indication to the general public of the existence of the Mahāyāna, whose range, in subject and geographical area, is so much larger than that of the older school. The Ven. Tai Hsü, the greatest figure in Chinese Buddhism of modern times, came to Europe on only a short visit, but during it asked the Society to form a London Committee of his International Buddhist Union. This was done, though little came of it, and no success has attended any such effort to found an international body until the formation in 1950, by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and others, of the World Fellowship of Buddhists. But this great man was instrumental in founding in Paris in January, 1929, Les Amis du Bouddhisme, under the leadership of Miss Constant Lounsbery.

The nineteen thirties was a period of quiet expansion for the work of the two existing societies, the British Mahā Bodhi Society at 41, Gloucester Road, N.W. 1, and the Buddhist Society at the home of my wife and myself, first at St. George's Road in Westminister, where we lived when married in 1927, and then at 37 South Eaton Place, near Victoria Station. The leaders of the Mission, as the former was called, included Francis Payne, B. L. Broughton and Capt. H. M. N. Hardy D.S.O. who later became a leader of Buddhism in Switzerland. Two Indian-born but Ceylon-trained bhikkhus came to the Mission for a while in 1932, the Ven. Rāhula Saṅkrityāyana and the Ven. Ānanda Kauśalyāna.

In September, 1934, the first European Buddhist Congress was held for two days at the Mission, organised by Daya Hewavitarane, the nephew of the Anagārika Dharmapāla. Those who attended from abroad included Professor Edmund Privat, the great Esperantist, Miss Bertha Dahlke from Germany and Miss Lounsbery from France. In 1935, the Society published *A Buddhist Bibliography*, compiled over many years by A. C. March. It contained over 2,000 books and articles on Buddhism in English, and with five annual supplements must be the basis of any further attempts at such a task. Thereafter, Mr. March handed over *Buddhism in England*, soon to become *The Middle Way*, to Alan Watts, then just twenty, whose first work, *The Spirit of Zen*, was written when he was nineteen.

The year 1936 was eventful for the World Congress of Faiths, the first of its kind to be held since the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1891. Sir Francis Younghusband was in the Chair, and Buddhist speakers included Professor D. T. Suzuki, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, who had spoken at Wesak Meetings in the twenties, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, newly elected to the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University. Many of these attended the Society, as well as Miss Lounsbery, Count Wachtmeister, who the next year produced his Buddhist Opera, *Prince Siddhartha*, Ch'u Ta-Kao, then at work on our next publication, the first translation of the *Tao Te Ching* by a Chinese into English, and the Ven. Dr. P. Vajirañāṇa who, on attaining his Doctorate, returned to Ceylon and became one of the leading figures in Sinhalese Buddhism.

Then came the second world war. The Mission closed down ; the Society carried on although, when the bombing of London was at its height, no meetings were held in the evenings. With the increase of suffering more men turned to the Dhamma which explains its cause and cure, and the Wesak meeting on the Full Moon of May, 1940, was one of the largest ever held in London. The Bhikkhu U Thittila of Burma made his first appearance, and in the years to come became the Librarian of the Society and its principal speaker. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, President of the Theosophical Society, who had given the Buddhist Lodge its Charter in 1924, attended, and the speakers included Miss Clare Cameron, who was Editor of *The Middle Way* from 1938 to 1948. In December, 1940, the premises of C. Arthur Sanders, printers for the Society for seventeen years, were

completely destroyed by fire, and with them all stocks of our publications, and in April, 1941, the then home of the Society in South Eaton Place was heavily damaged by a land-mine and the Shrine Room wrecked. But Wesak was celebrated on May 12th with a large attendance, including two well known Buddhist writers, Sir Hari Singh Gour and John Blofeld, later to provide the Society with translations of Chinese classics for its publishing department.

In 1943, we were already planning for the post-war period. For the first time we took premises for the Society, at 101 Great Russell Street, near the British Museum. The Society became The Buddhist Society; *Buddhism in England* became *The Middle Way*; The Library, gathered from many sources including books sent for review, was entirely reorganised with a new book-plate, and membership steadily increased. By now the position of the Society in London life was firmly established. Kept rigidly free from politics of any kind, it had the confidence of the Government as a source of Buddhist information; kept as rigidly free of all sectarianism, it belonged to no one school, and was open to all interested in the study and practice of Buddhism; and as the oldest and largest Buddhist organisation in Europe it was the meeting place, as it is today, for Buddhists passing through London. But the war had disrupted communications, and it was most fortunate that early in 1946 I was asked to attend the War Trials in Japan. In my journey round the world I was able to pick up a great many pre-war contacts and to make many more, as well as collecting a large sum of money in Burma for Buddhist publications by the Society. In the course of the journey I presented to many organisations in Buddhist countries 'Twelve Principles of Buddhism' which had been compiled by the Society in 1945 for the use of the casual enquirer. This document attempts to compress into a single sheet of paper the principles common to all schools of Buddhism, and has appeared in sixteen languages. Approved by many with disapproval as to detail by some, it at least provides the basis for international adoption for the future, particularly for the use of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

On my return from the East I used the capital given me in Burma to publish many new works and reprints of old ones. These included a new version of *The Diamond Sūtra* by Arnold Price, the *Huang Po Doctrine of Universal Mind*, translated by John Bloefld, and the *Essence of Buddhism* by Dr. Suzuki, being the substance of two lectures delivered to the Emperor of Japan in 1946. The Society was again reorganised, with a professional General Secretary in Miss Joan Pope, and an annually elected Council of twelve.

As already explained, the Society has always maintained 'a Middle Way' between the various schools, and it had from its earliest days worked for the foundation in London of a Vihāra or permanent centre for members of the Saṅgha of any school. But in 1948 Mrs. A. Rant thought it right to found a new organisation, the Buddhist Vihāra Society in England, to further this end, and partly due to its efforts a Vihāra at 10 Ovington Gardens was opened in 1954. By this date, nearly thirty years after the arrival of Ānanda Metteyya, the time was ripe for great expansion and it was achieved in an unexpected way. In 1951 Penguin Books Ltd. published the first forty thousand copies of *Buddhism*, a book which I had been commissioned to write for the Pelican series by A. S. M. Glover, a Director who was also a member of the Society. The success of this work surprised the publishers as much as the Society, and its sale to date of 350,000 copies is a measure of the growing interest in England in Buddhism. At the same time new Buddhist Groups were founded, Cambridge, Brighton and Edinburgh, and although some soon became moribund, the work of the English Bhikkhu Kapilavaddho, who worked with the Society in founding many of these units, was not in vain. A Buddhist Summer School was held in Oxford in 1952 organised by the Manchester Society, and this gathering, organised from London, has now become an annual event, with a hundred and fifty members attending from all over Europe.

In 1956 the Buddhist Society acquired its own premises, a long lease of a large, well-built house at 58 Eccleston Square, near Victoria station, and sub-let part of it to provide a substantial income. Its own premises include a large Lecture Hall, a Library in which classes are held in the evening, office accommodation, and a shrine room for silent meditation.

In the midst of the move all London Buddhists celebrated Buddha Jayanti, beginning with an historic meeting at Ceylon House where the representatives in London of all Buddhist countries met and were photographed. A special article in *The Times*, a talk on the B.B.C., the showing of Buddhist films and a crowded Wesak Meeting, together with an Exhibition of Tibetan Art and a special issue of *The Middle Way*, with a most dis-

tinguished list of contributors, were together prelude to the largest Summer School yet held, a series of public meetings at the Caxton Hall, and the departure for Nepal and India of five delegates from the Society to the 7th Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Katmandu. At India's celebration of Buddha Jayanti, which followed, our members were guests of the Indian Government.

In the autumn, Dr. Suzuki paid his last visit to London and the Society made the most of it. In the same year Dr. Shinichi Hisamatsu, but one of many Zen Roshis to visit England, passed through London, and Professor Sohaku Ogata of Kyoto arrived on a long visit as a guest of the Society. He attended the Summer Schools and later reorgnised the Zen Class of the Society to accord with the procedure in a Rinzai school Zen-do. It has often happened that visitors should come in this way, a number from Ceylon or Thailand or Japan or Tibet, always adding by their visit something of the rich complexity of our understanding of the vast field of Buddhism.

Such an influx of influence came after the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959, which drove the Dalai Lama and some 75,000 Tibetans into exile, for it released a number of high-ranking Lamas whose scholarship and experience in Buddhist meditation became for the first time available to all. This happy side to the deliberate destruction of Buddhism in Tibet was reflected in London in the formation of the Tibet Society, soon to be found premises in our own headquarters, and many members of the Buddhist Society immediately joined it. The presence in London of the German-born Lama Govinda and his book, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* helped to maintain interest, coinciding as it did with Helmutt Hoffman's *The Religion of Tibet.* Two years later the Dalai Lama agreed to become the Society's Patron, an honour not accorded to any Buddhist organisation other than his own. In 1962 I made a tour of Tibetan centres in India at his request, ending up with a visit to his home in Dharmasala to make my report on what I found.

It seems clear that a branch of the Tibetan Order will soon be established in the British Isles, for the Tibetan Vihāra at Samye Ling in Scotland will soon be capable of producing fully-fledged Gelong, the equivalent rank of bhikkhu, and a Longdon headquarters is envisaged.

Since 1908 the need has been felt in England of a Buddhist Vihāra, in the sense of a house where Buddhist monks would live and keep the Rules, and teach both doctrine and meditation to all who wished to attend. The first Vihāra was that in connection with the British Mahā Bodhi Society, founded by the Anagārika Dharmapāla in Hampstead in 1928. This was closed at the outbreak of war in 1939. In 1954 a Vihāra was opened by monks from Ceylon in Knightsbridge, later moving to Chiswick, and in 1966 the King of Thailand opened the Buddhapadadīpa Vihāra at East Sheen.

Meanwhile, in 1954 an Englishman took the robe in Bangkok as the Bhikkhu Kapilavaddho, and back in London founded in 1956 the English Saṅgha Association. He soon after left the Order, and it was not until 1963 that premises were bought by the English Saṅgha Trust at 129 and 131 Haverstock Hill, N.W. 3. No. 131 was opened on 28th October, 1962, as the Hampstead Buddhist Vihāra, the house next door, divided into flats, providing a substantial income.

For many years there was difficulty in finding the right Englishman to act as Incumbent, but now the Bhikkhu Kapilavaddho, who re-entered the Order, working in close conjunction with the Buddhapadadīpa Vihāra at East Sheen, has built up a group of Bhikkhus able to give full ordination to others, and if this can be maintained so will the English branch of the Saṅgha.

As the fortieth anniversary of the Society drew near there was a sudden increase in the number of Buddhist groups in the provinces, and there are now some twenty-five, collectively strong enough to hold provincial conferences of their own. Group Conferences are held periodically in London and at the Summer School.

The fortieth anniversary of the Buddhist Society was celebrated with due publicity, and a wide appeal, organised by Mrs. Carlo Robins, then Editor of the *Middle Way,* raised sufficient funds to release it from debt and to place it on a sound financial footing. *100 Treasures of the Buddhist Society* was published to form a catalogue of one of the best collections of Buddhist art in private hands in England. Visitors included the Queen of Bhutan and the Ven. Sangharakshita Sthavira, newly returned from India, where he had taken the Robe in 1950 and founded a Vihāra in Kalimpong.

Back in London the sthavira was appointed Incumbent of the Hampstead Vihāra, and on leaving this appointment in 1967 founded 'The Friends of the Western Saṅgha'. Its special aim was to create the nucleus of a Western Buddhist Order which would include laymen and laywomen who had taken the Upāsaka ordination or its equivalent in other branches of the Order.

During his four years stay in London as High Commissioner for Ceylon Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Founder of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, did all in his power to foster the cause of the Dhamma, lecturing at a large number of Buddhist organisations and acting as the spokesman for Buddhism in high places. When he left in December 1966 to reorganise the Universities of Ceylon, a party given him by London Buddhists expressed their appreciation of their collective loss. In the same year, however, we had our most distinguished visitors. On the 14th September we had the privilege of entertaining at the Society's headquarters the King and Queen of Thailand. This was the climax of nearly sixty years of friendship between the Buddhists of Thailand and England, and their Majesties, after a photograph to mark this unique event, seemed loath to leave.

As the Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary of Buddhism in England drew near, attempts were made to assess the position of the movement in the cultural life of the country, and the present writer's is only one such attempt. Both position and trend are difficult to gauge. All schools are now presented, and none dominates the field. The Buddhist Society is the largest and oldest association, and there were two vihāras, There are in addition some twenty-five Buddhist Groups of various persuasion in London and the provinces. But the English public will never confine itself to any one school nor to any one organisation. Nor can it be said with certainty what school of Buddhism, if any, will take the lead. There will always be those who favour the Theravāda, as practised today in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. Its practical, ethical and somewhat puritan flavour suits a corresponding need in the English character, and there will always be those entirely content with it. But many will favour the warm and more expansive range of the Mahāyāna, which has been the inspiration of some of the world's greatest art and poetry, and appeals to the complementary facets of the English mind. Yet others, and they are rapidly increasing in numbers, prefer Zen Buddhism. Ever since the writings of Dr. D. T. Suzuki began to flow into London in 1927 there have been those to whom its direct, immediate approach to Enlightenment, with the minimum use of Scripture, ritual or any other aid, has made immediate appeal.

Tibetan Buddhism, now organised for the first time in the hands of Tibetan scholars from Tibet, is acquiring its own devotees, and there is a slowly growing body of scholars and practising Buddhists interested in what is sometimes called 'Indian Buddhism' of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, which does not lend itself to the organisation of any school.

But the Western mind is eclectic, picking from the vast array of Buddhist principles those which it likes, and although there will always be groups of students attached to one or more of the various schools, it is the behaviour of the thinking public as a whole which will largely determine the future of Buddhism in England. This blurring of distinctions and blending of principles has always been increased by the fact that the spread of Buddhism in the West has from the start been made by literature. While meetings interest hundreds, books are read by thousands. Few public libraries are not now well provided with works on Buddhism, and the sale of literature is shown by the number of new works reviewed in each issue in the *Middle Way*, and the very rapid rise in the sale of books at all Buddhist Societies.

From time to time the press demand to know the number of Buddhists in England, and the answer is ever the same, that no one knows and no one ever will know. Buddhism in the West is a way of individual life rather than a matter of collective activity, and many a man who treads the Way does not tell his dearest friend of his private interest. It is enough to say that Buddhism is now established as a formative principle, though of immeasurable importance, in the Western collective thought. How it develops in the future will depend partly on the action taken by the leaders of the new generation, and partly on the use made by the collective Western mind of the truths and values which Buddhism makes available to those in need of them. It has become a platitude to say that Western thought is in the melting pot, and that religion, science, psychology and what may vaguely be called social science are alike changing rapidly. in themselves and in relation to each other. Into this cauldron of ideas the basic principles of the Buddha-Dhamma in their wide variety but common essence are being daily added. Three factors, if one interprets the

present trend correctly, may help to influence the new relationship. First, Buddhist teaching makes for synthesis. However its various schools may differ on emphasis, Buddhism is a whole, and the compartments for human endeavour so widely divided in the West, such as metaphysics, philosophy, psychology, mysticism and morality are in the East regarded totally, and as so many facets of one Truth. This is a recent tendency in the West, when the truths discovered in physics, astronomy, philosophy and religion are more and more regarded as the same truths in different clothing. Secondly, Buddhist teaching makes for the most complete tolerance known in the history of human thought. Never in the long history of Buddhism has any man been persecuted, much less killed for unorthodox beliefs, and in the absence of any authority for what is and what is not Buddhism, each and every man is encouraged to seek the truth within. Buddhism knows no Saviour, and even 'Buddhas do but point the Way'. Such tolerance is alien to the Western mind, and makes a great impression on all who read it. Thirdly, as Buddhism lays stress on the individual, it tends to attract all those who regard as evil the attempts of the State or any organisation within it to shackle the minds of its members with dogma of any kind. As such, Buddhism may yet have a part to play in the future of Western thought. If not comparable with that played in the East it may, of all extant religions, the most easily blend with the present trends of science, psychology and sociology and form the basis of the new "religion" for the future.

T. C. H.

BRJED-BYED-KYI GDON-LAS THAR-BAR-BYED-PAḤI MAN-NAG, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See APASMĀRAGRAHA-NIRMOCAKOPADEŚA.

BRTAG CIṄ GTAN-LA-ḤBEBS-PAḤI RAB-TU-DBYE-BA, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 4437, as occurring in the *Sna-tshogs* (miscellaneous works) section of the *Tengyur*. The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The authorship of the work is attributed to Sbyin-paḥi dbaṅ-po (Dānendra).

I. K.

BRTAN-PAḤI ḤKHOR-LOḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is' presumably, lost. See STHIRA-CAKRA-BHĀVANĀ.

BRTAN-PAḤI ḤKHOR-LOḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See STHIRA-CAKRA-SĀDHANA.

BRTAN-PAḤI ḤKHOR-LO SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See STHIRA-CAKRA-SĀDHANA.

BSAD-PA BDUD-RTSIḤI GSO-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See MĀRAṆĀRYĀMṚTA-NĀMA.

BŚAGS-PAḤI BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DEŚANĀSTAVA.

BŚAGS-PAḤI BSTOD-PAḤI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DEŚANĀSTAVA-VṚTTI.

BSAM-GTAN-GYI CHOS DRUG RNAM-PAR GSHAG-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DHYĀNA-SADDHARMA-VYAVASTHĀNA.

BSAM-GTAN-GYI CHOS DRUG RNAM-PAR GSHAG-PAḤI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost, See DHYĀNA-SADDHARMA-VYAVASTHĀNA-VṚTTI.

BSAM-GTAN-GYI PHYI-MA RIM-PAR-PHYE-BA. a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DHYĀNOTTARA-PAṬALAKRAMA.

BSAM-GTAN-GYI SGRON-MA SHES-BYA-BAḤI MAN-ṄAG, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DHYĀNADĪPA-NĀMA-UPADEŚA.

BSAM-GTAN-LA ḤJUG-PA BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DHYĀNA-PRAVEŚA-SAṄGRAHA.

BSAM-GTAN PHYI-MA RIM-PAR-PHYE-BA RGYA-CHER BŚAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DHYĀNOTTARA-PAṬALA-ṬĪKĀ.

BSAM-GYIS MI-KHYAB-PA BSGOM-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ACINTYA-PARIBHĀVANĀ-NĀMA.

BSAM-GYIS-MI-KHYAB-PA BSTAN-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ACINTYA-BUDDHAVIṢAYA-NIRDEŚA.

BSAṀ-GYIS MI-KHYAB-PAḤI MAN-ṄAG SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ACINTYA-KRAMOPADEŚA.

BSAM-GYIS MI-KHYAB-PAḤI MCHOD-PAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ACINTYA-PŪJĀVIDHI.

BSAM-GYIS-MI-KHYAB-PAḤI RGYAL-PO SHES-BYA-BAḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost See ACINTYARĀJA - SŪTRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BSAM-GYISH-MI-KHYAB-PAR BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ACINTYA-STAVA.

BSAM-PA THAMS-CAD YOṄS-SU RDSOGS-PAR-BYED-PA SHES-BYA-BA YOṄS-SU BSṄO-BA, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM*. No. 285, as occurring in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the *Kangyur*. The text does not appear in the *TT*. collection. The author and the translator are unknown.

I. K.

BSAM YAS, a monastery, its full title in Tibetan being Dpal lugs-gsum bsam-yas mi-ḥgyur lhun-gyis grub-paḥi gtsug-lag-khaṅ, and in Sanskrit Śrī-trināya-acintya-niyāma-anabhoga-vihāra. It is located at Del-thaṅ on the northern bank of the Ya-ru-gtsaṅ-po river about fifty kilometres to the south-east of Lhasa. Since its establishment, this monastery has suffered from conflagrations on several occasions, but a part of its original buildings is still in existence, in which live the lamas of the Rñiṅ-ma sect.

The date of the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery varies widely according to Tibetan traditions, as there are different calculations about its founder of Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan. Among the various traditions, Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653–1705) held that that Tibetan king was born in the Iron-horse year and died in the Earth-dragon year at the age of fifty-nine, corresponding to 730 to 788 A.C. (Sum-pa also held that he was born in the Iron-horse year, but he miscalculated one cyclic period of sixty years and wrongly fixed the year on 790 A.C.) According to Bu-ston rin-po-che's opinion, this king was born in the Earth-horse year and died in the Fire-tiger year at the age of sixty-nine, corresponding to 718 to 786 A.C., and Ḥjam-dbyaṅs bshad-pa was of the same opinion. (But Bu-ston also suggested that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan ascended the throne in 730 A.C., and if that be the case he must have reigned for a period of fifty-seven years.) If we compare the above presumptions about the life-time of Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan with the records concerning T'u-fan in the Chinese *History of the T'ang dynasty* (such as *The Chronicle of Emperor Hsüan-tsung* and the *Records of T'u-fan*), it may be said that Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's opinion that this Tibetan king was born in 730 A.C., and that Bu-ston's view about his age of sixty-nine, are the nearest to historical facts. The above-mentioned authorities all agree that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan, who was the son of Princess Chin-ch'êng ascended the throne at the age of thirteen after his mother's death, and that the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery was completed twelve years after his enthronement. Princess Chin-ch'êng went to Tibet in the first month of 710 A.C. and died in 739 A.C. Now, the supposition that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan was born in 730 A.C. and ascended the throne in 742 A. C. agrees with the historical facts accepted by all scholars. According to the *Records of T'u-fan* in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty*, Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan died in 797 A.C. (i.e., sixty-eight years after 730 A.C.) and his eldest son succeeded him. But it is recorded in the *Sbas bshed* that when Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan's son Mu-ne btsan-po succeeded to the throne, his father was still alive. If Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan died in the following year after Mu-ne btsan-po ascended the throne, then he had lived exactly to the age of sixty-nine. This date coincides with the record in the 97th chapter of the *Padma bkaḥ-thaṅ*, composed by Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan's queen Bkhar-chen bzaḥ mtsho-rgyal.

According to the above calculation, this Tibetan king must have ascended the throne in 742 A.C. All the diverse theories concerning the date of

the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery have one point in common, namely, that it was completed twelve years after the enthronement of this Tibetan king. According to the computation of Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, Padmasambhava entered Tibet in 749 A.C., then the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery should have started in 751 and been completed in 754 A.C. Among various other opinions, Bu-ston considered that the monastery was constructed during the period between 727 and 739 A.C. But he also held that this Tibetan king ascended the throne in 730 A.C.; the construction of this monastery would have been started four years before his ascension. This is apparently contrary to historical facts. Gshon-nu dpal, the author of the *Blue Annals*, advocated that the Bsam-yas monastery was constructed between 763 and 767 A.C., while the Fifth Dalai Lama maintained that it was constructed between 762 and 766 A.C. there being a difference of only one year between the two theories. The latter one has been adopted in the *Record of the Bsam-yas Monastery* and is quite popular. But both of them were based on the record in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan ascended the throne in 755 A.C.

According to the record in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty*, in 741 A.C., two years after the death of Princess Chin-ch'êng, an envoy arrived from Tibet to report the news of her death as well as to negotiate peace, but Emperor Hsüan-tsung did not consent. In the sixth month of the same year the war between the court of T'ang and Tibet started again, and in the ensuing years a number of brilliant generals, such as Huangfu Woi-ming (C. 120, 742–5), Wang Chung-sze (C. 121, 746–7) Ke-shu Han (C. 122, 748–755), etc., were successively sent to fight the Tibetans. No envoys were exchanged between the court of T'ang and Tibet for more than ten years, until 755 A.C. when Tibet again sent her envoy to the court of T'ang. Therefore, the record in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan ascended the throne in 755 A.C., might have been a mistake arising from the assumption that the enthronement of the new Tibetan king took place in the same year when the Tibetan envoy arrived at the court of T'ang. In a recently published work containing the historical data of Tibet (*Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs a l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris, 1940–46, *Annals and chronicle*), in the year corresponding to 742 A.C., there is a passage: "Btsan-po sroṅ lde-btsan Brag-mar-duḥ bltam." The French translator, J. Bacot, interpreted the Tibetan word "bltam" as "birth", and hence fixed the date of Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan's birth in 742 A.C. On the ground of this interpretation, H. E. Richardson repudiated Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan's being the son of Princess Chin-ch'êng, and advocated that the Bsam-yas monastery was constructed in 763 A.C.

Still another date was suggested by G. Tucci who put the last year of the construction work in 791 A.C. But from the records concerning the two reigns of Khri Ḥdur-sroṅ and Khri lde-gtsug-brtsan in the *Annals* which were found amidst the historical discoveries of Tun-huang, and from the materials pertaining to the same age in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* and in the *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien* (C. 123), *The Mirror of Governance*), we know that the Tibetan word "bltam" is a substitute fos "*gtam(s)*", meaning "to succeed". Thus, thir very passage in the chronological tables of Tun-huang quoted above is just an evidence that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan ascended the throne in 742 A.C. Moreover, in the *Chronicle* of the Tun-huang historical materials, it is stated that Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan occupied the capital of the T'ang empire in 763 A.C. after the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery. This, too, may serve to prove that this monastery was built before 763 A.C.

The cause for the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery was this. At first, Śāntarakṣita, a master of the Svatantra sect of the Mādhyamika School, came to Tibet in 746 A.C. when Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan was seventeen years old. As he did not succeed in building a monastery, he recommended Padmasambhava, an ācārya of the Odantapurī monastery, to the Tibetan king. Padmasambhava came to Tibet in 750 A.C. when the Tibetan king was at the age of twenty-one, and in the following year (751) he selected a site for building the Bsam-yas monastery. It was constructed after the fashion and pattern of the Odantapurī monastery in India, consisting of three pavilions (*dbu-rtse rigs-gsum*), the two islets (*gliṅ*) of the sun and moon, four great islands, eight smaller ones, four caityas at the four corners, as well as the continents of Tshaṅ-maṅ ke-ru gliṅ, Dag-byed khrus-khaṅ gliṅ, Mthu-rtsal klu-dbaṅ gliṅ, Mchod-rten ḥbar-ma, etc. One hundred and eight stūpas after the style of Rdo-rjeḥi hgros-can were constructed around the monastery, and stone inscriptions and banners erected on the four sides. Each of the king's three wives also had an isle (*gliṅ*, or monastery) built near by. In the construction of this monastery, the architectural

styles and techniques of India, Tibet and China proper were absorbed, and masons and artisans from these three nations employed. Thus, it is known as Lugs-gsum (the combination of three distinctive styles), an expressive epithet for this crystallization of three cultures. In one word, the grandeur and magnificence of this monsatery is unprecendented in Tibet.

The construction of this monastery had important bearings in the development of Buddhism in Tibet. Although it is recorded in various historical works of Tibet that Buddhism had been introduced into Tibet from India and China proper before the construction of the Bsam-yas monastery, it was only followed by the kings and a few other individuals, without much influence upon society in general. In his *Travel to the Five Indias* (C. 124) incomplete now), Hui-ch'oa (C. 125) who returned to China in 727 A.C., said that in Tu-fan "there is no monastery at all and the people know nothing about Buddhism." This shows that before the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, there was no Buddhist establishment of a definitely monastic nature in Tibet. After the establishment of the Bsam-yas monastery, the Tibetan king selected seven intelligent young men from among his subjects and sent them to become Buddhist monks under the tutorship of Śāntarakṣita. They were the first bhikṣus of the Tibetan people, and after that, three hundered men renounced their home at different times, of whom the best ones were chosen and sent to India to study *śabdavidyā* and translation. In the Bsam-yas monastery a special hall was built for the purpose of translating Buddhist scriptures, and Vimalamitra, Kha-che Ananda, Vairocana, Śānti-garbha, Ye-śes sde, Cog-ro Kluḥi rgyal-mtshan, Ka-ba dpal brtsegs, Gñags Kumāra and a number of others, were invited to translate the Tripiṭaka. This was the beginning of systematic translations of Buddhist scriptures on a large scale in Tibet. It is said that in 767 A.C. twelve bhikṣus of the Sarvāstivāda school were invited from the Vikrama-śīla monastery in India to establish the Saṅgha in Tibet. Later, Dharmakīrti, an ācarya of the Tantric school, was also invited to Tibet to transmit the teachings of the Vajradhātu. (This Dharmakīrti might be the same person who, in about 774 A.C. transmitted the teachings of the Vajradhātu to Prajñā of Kapiśā in the monastery of the king of Udra). In 781 A.C. the Tibetan king requested Emperor Tê-tsung of the T'ang empire to send to Tibet some Buddhist monks who were well qualified in preaching the Buddhist teachings, whereupon the emperor appointed Liang-hsiu and Wen-su (C. 126) to fulfil the mission. After their recall new preachers were sent, and thence this became a rule once a year. (See the *Records of the Lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs* (C. 127) Vol. XXXXI.). It was most probably at this time, as is recorded in Tibetan histories, that a Chinese monk by the name of Hva-śaṅ Mahāyāna came to Tibet and propounded the doctrine that "Buddhahood cannot be achieved by good deed in actions and speeches, but by the enlightened mind free from thoughts". This doctrine caused confusion among the Buddhists of Tibet, and thus the Tibetan king, acting in accordance with the will of Śāntarakṣita, invited his disciple Kamalaśīla to Tibet to carry on a debate with Hva-śaṅ Mahāyāna, in which the Chinese monk was defeated and consequently banished. Thence forward, the teachings of Mādhyamika, which were introduced from India, became the orthodox teachings in Tibet.

The construction of the Bsam-yas monastery took place immediately following the establishment of the Odantapurī and the Vikramaśīla monasteries in India. (Padmasambhava's teacher Buddha-jñānapāda was the first ācarya of the Vikramaśīla monstery.) It was one of the three earliest strong-holds of the Tantric school that flourished in India and Tibet. In its combination of the excellences of the Chinese, Indian and Tibetan technology, this monastery may be considered as a rare specimen of architectural engineering in the world (see Pl, XL.). Particularly, its establishment marked the beignning of a new epoch for the full development of Buddhism in Tibet. A great part of the scriptures contained in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥygur sections of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka was translated during the period of more than eighty years (754–838 A.C.) after the establishement of the Bsam-yas monastery. Few Monasteries have played such an important role in the dissemination of Buddhism as the Bsam-yas monastery.

K.Yu.

BIOBLIOGRAPHY.—*A Record of the Bsam-yas monstery* (Rab-ḥbymas dag-paḥi shiṅ-gi yon-tan kun-tshaṅ dpal lugs-gsum mi-ḥgyur lhum-gyis grub-paḥi gtsug-lag-khaṅ rten daṅ brten-par bcas-pa legs-gsoḥi sri-shu ji-ltar bsgrub-pahi-tshul-gyi khyad-par brjod-paḥi dkar-chag skal-bzaṅ dad-paḥi sgo-ḥbyed ṅo-tshar rgya-mtshoḥi ideḥu-mig.).

BSDUS-PAḤI RGYUD-KYI RGYAL-PO DUS-KYI ḤKHOR-LOḤI ḤGREL-BŚAD RTSA-BAḤ-RGYUD-KYI RJES-SU-ḤJUG-PA STOṄ-PHRAGI BCU-GÑIS-PA DRI-MA MED-PAḤI ḤOD CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See VIMALAPRABHĀ-NĀMA-MŪLATANTRĀNUSĀRIṆĪ-DVĀDAŚA-SĀHASRIKĀ-LAGHUKĀLACAKRA-TANTRARĀJAṬĪKĀ.

BSDUS-PAḤI RIM-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See SAMUCCAYA-KRAMA-PAÑJIKĀ-TRIPADA

BSDUS-PA LAS-KYI SBYOR-KA, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 2181, as occurring in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tengyur.* The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The author's and the translator's names are given as Bhava-pa and Gshun-nu Tshul-khrims respectively.

BŚES-PAḤI SPRIṄ-YIG, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost, See SUHṚLLEKHA.

BŚES-PAḤI SPRIṄ-YIG-GI RGYA-CHER BDŚA-PA TSHIG GSAL-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See VYAKTAPADĀ-SUHṚLLEKHA-ṬĪKĀ.

BSGOM-PAḤI RIM-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See BHĀVANĀ-KRAMA.

BSGOM-PAḤI RIM-PA MDO KUN-LAS BDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See BHĀVANĀ-KRAMA-SŪTRA-SAMUCCAYA.

BSGOM RIM DRUG-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See BHĀVANĀ-KRAMA-ṢAṬKA-NĀMA.

BSGRUB-BYA GZAḤI BYED-DU GSHU-PAḤI ḤKHOR-LO-CAN. a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 2969, as occurring in the *Rgyud* (tantra) section of the *Tenyyur.* The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The author's name is mentioned as Mar-me-mdsad bzaṅ-po.

BSGRUB-BYA KLU RNAMS-KYI BYAD-DU GSHUG-PAḤI CHO-GA SROG-GCOD-KYI SPU-GRI SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SĀDHYA-SARVANĀGĀ-BHICĀRA-SAṄKALPA-VIDHI PRĀṆACCHEDANA-KṢURA-NĀMA.

BSGRUB-BYA REṄS-PAḤI LAS SNA-TSHOGS-PA BSTAN-PA RLUN-GI SHAGS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See VIŚVA-SĀDHYA-STAMBHANA-KARMOPA-DEŚA ANILAPĀŚA-NĀMA.

BSGRUB-BYA SKRAG-PAḤI LAS CHU THIGS SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See SĀDHYA-RAUDRA-KAR-MAN JALABINDU-NĀMA.

BSHI-PAḤI DON RNAM-PAR-ṄES-PAḤI MAN-ṄAG CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See CATURĀRTHA-SADBHĀVOPADEŚA-NĀMA.

BSHI-PA SGRUB-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See CATUṢKA-NIRHĀRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BSIL-BAḤI TSHAL CHEN-MOḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See MAHĀ-ŚĪTAVATĪ-SĀDHANA.

BSIL-BAḤI TSHAL CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See MAHĀ-ŚĪTAVANA-SŪTRA.

BSKAL-BA BZAN-PO SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See BHADRAKALPIKA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNASŪTRA

BSLAB-PA BCUḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See DAŚAŚIKṢĀ-VIDHI.

BSLAB-PA GSUM-GYI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚIKṢĀTRAYA-NĀMA-SŪTRA.

BSLAB-PA KUN-LAS-BDUS-PAḤI MṄON-PAR-RTOGS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚIKṢĀSAMUCCAYA-ABHISAMAYA-NĀMA.

BSLAB-PA KUN-LAS-BTUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚIKṢĀSAMUCCAYA.

BSLAB-PA LṄAḤI PHAN-YON-GYI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is presumably, lost. See PAÑCAŚIKṢĀNUSAṂSĀ SŪTRA.

BSLAB-PA ME-TOG SÑE-MA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚIKṢĀ-KUSUMA-MAÑJARĪ-NĀMA.

BSÑO-BA NOR-BUḤI SGRON-MA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See MAṆYĀLOKA-PARIṆAMANA-NĀMA.

BSÑO-BA ŚIN-TU BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See PARIṆAMANA-SAṄGRAHA.

BSOD-NAMS ḤPHEL-BRA-BYED-PAḤI DPAL YE-ŚES-KYI PHREÑ-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text. See PUṆYAVARDHANĪ-ŚRĪJÑĀNAMĀLĀ-NĀMA.

BSOD-NAMS-KYI STOBS-KYI RTOGS-PA-BRJOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See PUṆYA-BALĀVADĀNA.

BSOD-NAMS THAMS-CAD BSDUS-PAḤI TIÑ-ÑE-ḤDSIN SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See SARVA-PUṆYA-SAMUCCAYA-SAMĀDHI-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BSRUÑ-BAḤI CHO-GA LAS THAMS-CAD-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See RAKṢĀVIDHI-SARVAKARMA-NĀMA.

BSRUÑ-BAḤI ḤKHOR-LO, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 3086, as occurring in the *Rgyud* (*tantra*) section of the *Tengyur.* The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The author's name is mentioned as Chandragomin.

BSRUÑ-BA LÑAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See PAÑCA-RAKṢĀVIDHI.

BSRUÑ-BA LÑAḤI MCHOD-PAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See PAÑCARAKṢĀRCANA-VIDHI.

BSTAN-BCOS BSHI-BRGYA-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI TSHIG-LEḤUR-BYAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See CATUḤŚATAKA-ŚĀSTRA-KĀRIKĀ-NĀMA.

BSTAN-BCOS TSHIGS-SU-BCAD-PA BSDUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See GĀTHĀ-SAṄGRAHA-ŚĀSTRA-NĀMA.

BSTAN-ḤGYUR, the second division of the Tibetan Buddhist canon,usually referred to in its simplified spelling as *Tengyur.* In a total of 224 volumes, containing 3626 texts, according to the Peking edition, the *Bstan-ḥgyur* consists of three sections : the collection of stotras, the *Bstod-tshogs* ; the commentaries on the tantra section of the *Kangyur*, the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* ; and the commentaries on the sūtra-section, the *Mdo-ḥgrel.*

The *Bstod-tshogs* is comprised in only one volume, containing 64 short texts, some of which are commentaries of others. There are translations of one hymn of Asaṅga and another of Vasubandhu, eighteen hymns of Nāgārjuna, among which are the *Dharmadhātu-stotra*, *Catuḥstava*, *Kāyatraya-stotra* and *Prajñāpāramitā-stotra*, six of Mātṛceta, two of Aśvaghoṣa and two of Śrīharṣa. Several commentaries are ascribed to Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita.

The *Rgyud-ḥgrel* or the section of the Tantra commentaries comprises 3055 texts in 86 volumes. It opens with 50 texts from the Kālacakra school, headed by the *Vimalaprabhā* or the *Laghu-kālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭīkā.* The commentaries of the *Paramārthā-nāma-saṅgīti*, the first among the *Rgyud* of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, are placed here after those of the Kālacakra. Then follow commentaries on the great tantras of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* (Kangyur) and connected literature. In general, texts referring to the same deities, Saṃvara, Hevajra, etc., are grouped in homogenous series. Next, one finds a host of minor texts relating to rituals and particular realisations (*sādhana*) through images and mental creations, aspects of Buddhas, bodhisattvas and deities. Mingled with them are *stotras* which were not mentioned in the first section although of an analogous character and refquently attributed to the same author. The *Rgyud-ḥgrel*, therefore, is far from a collection of commentaries on definite texts ; it presents more generally a literature of illustrations of data provided by the tantras. Even original texts entirely independent of the tantras are found here ; examples are two *stotras* attributed to Kālidāsa, the *Sarasvatī-sototra*, and the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* the translation of which later work, together with the Sanskrit text in Tibetan script, forms the concluding volume of this collection.

The *Mdo-ḥgrel* section contains mianly sūtra commentaries, but *mdo* (*sūtra*) has the much wider connotation of authoritative texts, and not merely of texts contained in *Mdo*-section of the *Kangyur* and representing the word of the Buddha. Moreover, the authoritative texts which are translated in the *Mdo-ḥgrel* are far from being all commentaries, and some are not even Buddhistic.

The collection comprises 137 volumes of 567 texts some of which are not found in the Peking edition. It opens with the commentaries of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which occupy 16 volumes. These are followed by works fundamental to the Mādhyamika school, compiled by Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Bhavya, Candrakīrti and others, and conclude with the *Mādhyamakāvatāra-ṭīkā* by Jayānanda of Kaśmīr. After two volumes devoted to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva and his commentators, further works on the Mādhyamika appear by Śāntarakṣita. Volume 29 contains divers works by Nāgamitra, Jñānacandra, Śrīgupta, Abhayākaragupta and others. In volume 30 are among others the translations of the *Bhāvanākrama* by Nāgārjuna and of works by Aśvaghoṣa. In volume 31 are found more works by Śāntideva, among which is the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (also reproduced in Vol. 33). Further are incorporated Nāgārjuna's letters to a friend (*Suhṛl-lekha*), Candragomin's letters to a pupil (*Śiṣya-lekha*), Mātṛceṭa's letters to the great king Kaniṣka (*Mahārāja-kaniṣka-lekha*), a series of ritualistic texts such as *Maṇḍala-vidhi*, texts on Yoga and several other works by Nāgārjuna, such as the *Bhāvasaṅkrānti*. Volume 34 opens with Asaṅg's commentary on the *Sandhi-nirmocana Sūtra*, other commentaries of which are inserted in subsequent volumes. From volume 36 onward appear more prominently works by Vasubandhu and Maitreyanātha (Asaṅga) and literature belonging mainly to the Yogācāra school.

The collection of Mahāyāna works ends with Volume 62. What follows is dedicated to works belonging to early schools and to texts of a technical nature. The relative positions of Mahāyāna works and works of early schools are, therefore, the same as in the *Kangyur*, the Mahāyāna ones leading.

The works belonging to the early schools begin with the *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu and its exegetic literature which comprise volumes 63 to 70. A translation of the *Udānavarga* of the *Kangyur* is reproduced in the beginning of volume 71 followed by an extensive commentary by Prajñāvarman from Bengal of the Sarvāstivādins. This is followed by a short work of Nāgārjuna, two *Gāthā-saṅghara-śāstra* by Vasubandhu, a series of commentaries on the *Prātimokṣa* and the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*, some treatises on moral discipline and some related to schims by Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva. The series terminates with treatises for lay-devotees, birth-stories (*avadāna*) and one concerning the retreat during the monsoon season (volumes 75 to 90).

Subsequent volumes 91 to 94 comprise literary works such as the *Jātakamālā* with commentaries, the dramatised Buddhist stories *Lokānanda* by Candragomin and *Nāgānanda* by Harṣadeva, the *Buddhacarita* by Aśvaghoṣa, various discourses (*kathā* and *nirdeśa*) and epistles (*lekha*), some of them repetitions of those given earlier. This series terminates with two works on the history of Khotan, viz. the Prophesy of the arahants Saṅghavardhana and the Prophesy on the country of Khotan (*Liḥi yul-gyi luṅ-bstan-pa*) which includes the the Annals of the country of Khotan (*Li-yul-gyi lo-rgyus*). These annals are without doubt compiled in original Tibetan and contain useful data not only on the history of Khotan but also on the history of early Buddhism in India.

The final section of the *Tengyur* is dedicated to treatises dealing with technique, logic (Diṅnāga and others, Vol. 95–115), grammar (Candragomin : *Kātantra*, Vol. 116), lexicography and Sanskrit poetry (*Amarakośa* and commentaries, *Kāvyādarśa* by Daṇḍin, *Chandoratnākara* together with the Sanskrit text, *Meghadūta* by Kālidāsa, Vol. 117), medicine (*Yogaśatakam Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and commentaries, etc. vol. 118–122), chemistry and other subjects particularly related to the arts, to *svarodaya* a special technique of regulating air through the nostrils, to *Nītiśāstra* or political ethics, etc. (Vol. 123). This volume also contains the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary compiled towards the end of the 9th century, comprising words and expressions found in Sanskrit texts and their Tibetan translations, and classified according to subject-matter.

With this work begins a series of books of great variety in contents, ancient Tibetan works or more recent translations. Here are found Tibetan grammars by Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa (7th century), commentaries on the *Sandhinirmocana Sūtra*, several *Prajñāpāramitā* of the Kālacakra school, a work on veterinary treatment of diseases of horses (*Śālihotrīya*), grammatical treatises (*Sārassvata-vyākaraṇa* by Pāṇini, etc.), translated in the 17th century under the fifth Dalai-lama. Volume 137 is devoted to Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchurian and Chinese indexes, of which the Tibetan one provides valuable information as regards the method of classification of the translations in this collection.

J. F.

BSTAN-PAḤI GTAD-RABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚĀSANA-PARAMPARĀ.

BSTAN-PAḤI NOR THAMS-CAD-PA SHES-BYA BAḤI SGRUB-PAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See ŚĀSANA-SARVASVAKA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BSTOD-PAḤI GZUNS, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 1070. as occurring in the *Gzuṅs-ḥdus* (Dhāraṇī) section of the *Tengyur*. The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The author of the work is unknown.

BSTOD-PAḤI PHAN-YON, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See STUTYĀNUŚAṂSĀ.

BSTOD-PA-LAS ḤDAS-PAR BSTOD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See STUTYATĪTASTAVA.

BSTON-KHA-PA, name of a Tibetan priest. See TSOṄ-KHA-PA.

BTSUN-PA ZLA-BAḤI SMON-LAM SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from a Sanskrit text which is, presumably, lost. See CANDRAGOMI-PRAṆIDHĀNA-NĀMA.

BUAN (C. 132) a Japanese priest of the Ritsu or Vinaya-sect. With reference to his birth and family, it is only known that he was born in 764 in Mikawa Province (present Aichi Prefecture).

While very young, he became a monk at the Tōshōdai-ji, the headquarters of the Ritsu sect. He followed the lead of Nyohō and was thoroughly acquainted with the Tripiṭaka. When Nyohō died in 815, Buan succeeded his master and was appointed as the 5th chief priest of the above temple. The ex-emperor Heijō invited Buan in order to be granted the bodhisattva-commandments by him; many court nobles and ladies copied this example of the ex-emperor. In May of 816, Buan was appointed *Risshi* (master of vinaya) and always had more than 800 disciples under him. As he was gifted with a rare order of eloquence, all people listening to his sermon were struck with admiration. He made ponds for freeing fish from captivity in various places, and taught people the Buddhist spirit of compassion. The ex-emperor donated him some land with people and consolidated the buildings and so on of his temple. In May of 827, he was promoted to *Shō-sōzu*. In 830 (*Taishō*, Vol. 74. p. 4c), he wrote the *Kairitsudenrai-shūshimon-dōki* (C. 133) in 3 fascicles, of which only the 1st fascicle remains today with the title of *Kairitsu-denraiki* (*Taishō*, No. 2347), and which is one of the so-called *Rokuhonshūshos* (C. 134). They are the 6 introductory books on each doctrine of the 6 main sects of the days, which were presented to the court by imperial order. In January of 832, Buan discussed Buddhism with 19 other eminent priests in the presence of the emperor Junna and was donated a set of the emperor's own clothes. In March of 835, the priest was again advanced to *Dai-sōzu* and in June he completed the *Shōdaihongenryūki* (C. 135) in 3 fascicles. In September of 830, he died at the age of 76. He was posthumously conferred the rank of *Sōjō* by the court in the following year.

Dōjō, Enshō, Eion and others are considered to have been the successors to Buan in Dharma, while the disciples who were given the precepts by him amounted to tens of thousands and his lay followers seem to have been beyond count (*MOC.*, vol. 5, p. 4373b & c; p. 5077a & b).

S. Mo.

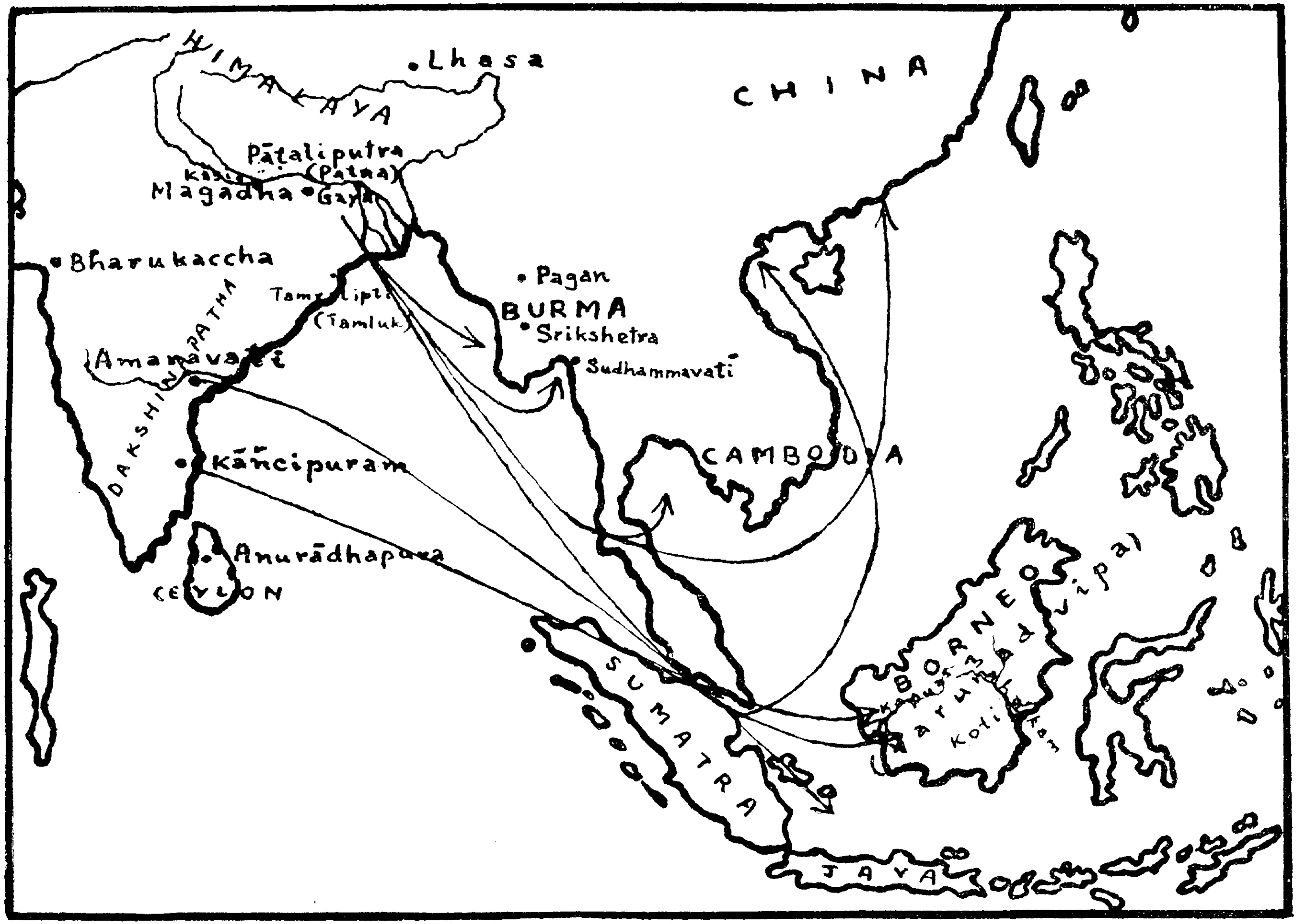
BUCCHO. See UṢṆĪṢA

BUCCHŌ-RYŪ (C. 136) ,name of a school. This is one of the 13 *Taimitsu* (C. 137) esotericisms which were founded by Saichō, Ennin and Enchin, and which are transmitted and developed around the Enryaku-ji (temple) and the Onjō-ji of the Tendai sect in Japan.

The Bucchō-ryū was originated by Gyōgon (C. 138) of the 10th century, whose additional name is Bucchō-bō from which the title of his school is derived. Gyōgon was taught the basic Tendai-studies by Raishō Sōgen-bō at Mt. Hiei, the centre of his sect. He was also led by Kakuhan Chisen-bō and Chōhan on some other important doctrines and practices of the sect. Later on he was recognised, together with Kakuhan, the founder of Chisen-ryū (school), as the two greatest authorities under Raishō. Under Gyōgon there appeared an eminent priest called Shōshō Daiji-bō who originated the Anafu-ryū (school). However, Shōshō succeeded Gyōgon in Dharma on the other hand, he learned the esotericism of the Chisen-ryū from Inshō, a disciple of Kakuhan. His Anafu-ryū, therefore, is considered to be a mixture of mainly the two schools above-mentioned. But, as the Anafu-ryū extensively introduced into itself not only the above two, but also some other schools in the sect and became very popular in later ages, the Bucchō-ryū was sometimes regarded as identical with the Anafu-ryū, losing its own independence (*MOC.* vol. 5, p. 4474 a & b; etc.).

S. Mo.

BUDALAVIṬṬHI, the site (unidentified) of five large residences for the Saṅgha built by king Vijayabāhu I (of Ceylon, 11th cent. A.C.) where his parents' bodies were cremated (*Mhv.* lx, *v.* 57).



Spread of Buddhism to Borneo and other regions of Southeast Asia up to the 5th Century A. C.

BUDDHA, a generic name, an appellative—but not a proper name—given to one who has attained Enlightenment[1] (*bodhi* q.v.); i.e., one who has realised the Truth. The word is the passive past participle derived from the root *budh* (to wake, to wake up, to perceive, to learn, to understand). It is the same in form in both Pali and Sanskrit; in Chinese the usual form is *Fo* (C. 139) and in Japanese Butsu, Butsuda, or Hotoku. But, often, it is rendered into Chinese as *Chiao-chê* (C. 140), the Awakened One or as *Chih-chê* (C. 141), the Learned One; in Tibetan as *Sañs-Rgyas*, the One Who Woke-up; in European languages as the Awakened, the Enlightened One, der Erwachter, der Erleuchteter, Éveille', etc.

However, the use of the word 'Buddha' in its Buddhist sense began with its application to Gotama (Skt. Gautama), known to his contemporaries also as Śākyamuni (q.v.), the founder of what came to be known as Buddhism. Gotama was born in Northern India, in what is now Nepal, more than 2500 years ago, attained Enlightenment, taught the Truth (Pali. *Dhamma*; Skt. *Dharma*), which he had realised and died at the age of eighty.[2] At the beginning, when Gotama attained Enlightenment and started to preach his doctrine, the Dhamma, he generally called himself the Tathāgata (q.v.), while his followers called him Bhagavat (Bhagavā), the Blessed One. Others spoke of him as Gotama or Śākyamuni. But later, he is stated as saying "I am the one who is worthy of being revered in this world; I am the Supreme Teacher; I am the only one who has attained the most perfect Enlightenment." (*ahaṃ hi arahā loke, ahaṃ satthā anuttaro, eko'mhi sammāsambuddho*: *Vin.* I, p. 8); and still later: "I am not indeed a deva, nor a gāndharva, nor a yakṣa, nor a manuṣya (a human). Know ye that I am the Buddha" (*na kho ahaṃ devo bhavissāmi, na kho ahaṃ gandhabbo bhavissāmi .... yakkho .... manusso .... buddho ti maṃ dhārehi*: *A.* II, pp. 38–9). It was evidently the appellation of 'Buddha' more than anything else that inspired those that heard it, with wonder and filled them with awe and high esteem. Thus, Sudatta, a rich merchant of Sāvatthi who had come to Rājagaha for trade and was at his relative's house, when at night he happened to hear his host mentioning the word 'Buddha,' was so surprised that he asked him three times, "The Buddha did you say?" When he was told "yes," Sudatta exclaimed, "The word 'Buddha' is very rare indeed to be heared in this world" (*ghoso pi kho eso dullabho lokasmiṃ yad idaṃ buddho*). Gladdened at heart he went in search of the Buddha even before daybreak (*SA.* I, p. 312).[3]

Although in the early texts the word Buddha, was often used as the appellative name of Gotama, Gotama himself never claimed to be the only Buddha or the original founder of the Dhamma. His teaching, he declared emphatically, was "the Way trodden by ancient Buddhas." In the past before him there had been many Buddhas, and in the future, too, after him, there will be many more who will attain Enlightenment by treading the same Way. The word 'Buddha' thus becomes an appellative of all Enlightened Ones. With various meanings and interpretations in the later Abhidhamma and in the Mahāyāna the word went through many developments till its denotation gave way to its connotation.

KINDS OF BUDDHAS

The earlier texts mention two kinds of Buddhas, viz., paccekabuddhas, q.v., (Buddhas who attain complete enlightenment, but do not preach the way of deliverance to the world) and Sammāsambuddhas (Buddhas who are omniscient and are teachers of the way of deliverance). The Pali commentaries (e.g., *SA.* I, p. 25; *AA.* I, p. 115), however, mention four classes of Buddhas: Sabbaññubuddha, Paccekabuddha, Catusaccabuddha and Bahussutabuddhas. All learned men are called Bahussutabuddhas and all arahants (*khīṇāsavā*) Catusaccabuddhas, those who have realized the Four Truths. A paccekabuddha practises the ten perfections (pāramitā: q.v.) which lead to Enlightenment for two *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred thousand *kappas*. A Sabbaññubuddha practises them for one hundred thousand *kappas* and four or eight or sixteen *asaṅkheyyas*, as the case may be.[4]

In the latest stages of the Mahāyāna other Buddhas are mentioned, e.g., Dhyānibuddhas (transcendent Buddhas) together with Ādibuddha,

1 *Na mātarā kataṃ, na pitarā kataṃ... vimokkhantikaṃ etaṃ buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ bodhiyā mūle...... paññatti* (*Nd.* I, Vol. II, p. 458; *Ps.* i. p. 174).

2 For personal details of Gotama or the Śākyamuni, see s.v. GOTAMA.

3 See also *Sn.* pp. 102–12 for the story of Sela Brahmin; and *ThagA.* II, pp. 230 ff. for the story of Mahākappina.

4 A bodhisatta who excels in *paññā* can attain Buddhahood in four *asaṅkheyyas*; one who excels in *saddhā*, in eight, while one whose *viriya* is the chief factor, in sixteen (*SnA.* I, pp. 47 f.).

the first Buddha or the Buddha-principle or the first intellectual essence.' (See ĀDI-BUDDHA and DHYĀNI-BUDDHA).

EPITHETS OF THE BUDDHA

The Buddha is described by varied and numerous epithets. These epithets have their origin in those given to Gotama, and were later applied to all Buddhas. It is interesting to note that with the introduction of the concept of paccekabuddhas, the prefix *sam* — (or intensively, *sammā-sam*, *samyak-sam*) was added to the word *Buddha*, which then means the Perfectly Enlightened One, in order to distinguish Gotama from Paccekabuddhas, and when *Sambuddha* became synonymous with *Buddha* in general, Gotama was sometimes called Buddhaseṭṭha or Buddhavīra or Buddhanāga, meaning the best or the most excellent Buddha.

The epithets applied to the Buddha in general are mainly those concerned with his intellectual and ethical eminence, e.g., *Sabbaññu*, (Skt. *Sarvajña*, : (the Omniscient) and *Akutobhaya* (the Fearless), respectively. Again, the fact that the Buddha is regarded as superior to all other beings, both human and divine, has resulted in many epithets expressive of this fact, e.g., *Anūpama* (the Incomparable). Epithets coined in relation to the Buddha's teaching are also of frequent occurrence, e.g., *Dharmākara* (the Mine of the Dhamma) and *Advayavādin* (the Teacher of non-duality).

The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says he is the Awakened One, because he has awakened both himself and others. He has completely destroyed all obscurity (mysteries). He has rescued the world from the mire of transmigration. For these two reasons he is called *Bhagavat*. The *Buddhabhūmi Sūtra* says he is called Buddha, because he possesses omniscience (*sarvajñatā* and *sarvākārajñatā*) and is free from the obstructions of the passions. He is awake himself and awakes other beings to the knowledge of all the Essences and all the Characters like one who awakes from a dream or a lotus opening out. The *Vibhāsā* says he is awake in two senses: (1) he recognises the obstructions of the passions, like someone who recognises thieves or evil-doers. When thieves are recognised, they cannot do any harm. (2) He is awake, like one awaking from sleep; he is awake from the sleep of ignorance. He has completed the process of Awakening, hence Buddha. The *Mahā Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra* says Buddha means one who knows, because under the Tree of Awakening he came to know all the Essences, past, present and future; animate and inanimate (*sattvāsatta*), permanent and impermanent.

In some Mahāyāna texts, it is stated that at the beginning of a period, which is not precise, there were 10,000 appellatives for the Buddha but, as beings became more obtuse, there were no more than 1,000, as in the case of Śakra Devendra, who was called *Śahasra-nāma* (one with a thousand names). Among the gods in heaven, 100 names are used by them in reference to the Buddha. Thus, Mahā Vairocana, who reached Enlightenment among the gods, has 108 appellatives. But, Śākyamuni, who reached Enlightenment among men, has only ten. The list of these ten vary in the texts. According to some he is called *Tathāgata* (one who attained to the Truth), *Arahant* (worthy of offering or destroyer of enemies), *Samyakasambuddha* (completely and perfectly awakened), *Vidyācaraṇasampanna* (full of knowledge and practices), *Sugata* (Well-gone), *Lokavidū* (who knows the world), *Puruṣadamyasārathī* (Trainer of amenable men)—this is compounded with *anuttara*, without superior, *Śāstṛ devamanuṣyānāṃ* (Teacher of gods and men), *Buddha* (Awakened). Other texts have *Lokajeṭṭha* and *Bhagavā* among the epithets. Still other epithets are found, like *Śaśimaṇḍala* (Full Moon), *Siṃha-nādin* (Lion-voiced), *Mahārṣi* (Great Seer), *Mahā Śramaṇa* (Great Recluse), *Jina* (Conqueror), *Nāyaka* (Leader). The *Tathāgatasya paryāyanāmāni, are* mostly epithets like *Advyavādin*, *Nirbhaya*, *Anūpama*, *Nirmala*, *Mahābhikṣu*, *Bhavāntakṛt*, *Dharmasvāmin*, *Mahātman*, *Virāj*, *Guṇasāgara*, *Subhadharmākara*, etc.

With the development of the bodhisattva-doctrine most of the epithets of the Buddha came to be used as names of bodhisattvas. The most commonly used epithets of the Buddha, viz., *Tathāgata* (q.v.) and *Bhagavā* (the Blessed One) are pre-buddhistic.

THE BUDDHA LEGEND

The legend of the Buddhas came into being with the life of Gotama, the historical Buddha, as its prototype (See GOTAMA). In the early texts,[5]

5 *D.* II, p. 5f.; *S.* II, pp. 5 f.; pp. *Thag.* p. 51; *J.* II, p. 147; they are also mentioned at *Vin.* II, p. 110, in an old formula for curing snake-bites. Beal (*A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from Chinese*, Trubner, 1871, p. 159) says that they are given in the Chinese Pātimokkha. They are also found in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* (Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 249).

seven Buddhas are mentioned with Gotama as the last, namely, Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgama, Kassapa and Gotama. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D*. II. pp. 5 f.) gives particulars of each of these seven Buddhas under eleven heads (*pariccheda*)—the aeon (*kappa*) in which he is born, his social rank (*jāti*), his family (*gotta*), his length of life (*āyu*) in that aeon, the tree under which he attains Enlightenment (*bodhi*), the names of his two chief disciples (*sāvakayuga*), the numbers of arahants present at the assemblies held by him (*sāvakasannipāta*), the name of the monk who was his personal attendant (*upaṭṭhāka-bhikkhu,*) the names of his father and mother and of his place of birth. The commentary (*DA*. II, pp. 422 ff.) gives further particulars, viz., the names of his son and his wife before his renunciation, the conveyance in which he leaves the world, the monastery in which his *gandhakuṭi* (personal residence) was situated, the amount of money paid for the purchase of the site of that monastery, and the name of his chief lay-patron.

As the particulars regarding these Buddhas increased (in later texts), the number of Buddhas also increased. The *Buddhavaṃsa* contains detailed particulars on twenty-five Buddhas, including the last, Gotama, the first twenty-four being those who prophesied Gotama's appearance in the world and gave him that assurance (*vivaraṇa*). These twenty-five Buddhas are Dīpaṅkara, Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassi, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassī, Atthadassī, Dhammadassī, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassī and the rest mentioned earlier. The *Buddhavaṃsa*, in its twenty-seventh chapter, mentions three other Buddhas, namely, Taṇhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara and Saraṇaṅkara, who appeared in the world before Dīpaṅkara.[6] The *Buddhavaṃsa Commentary* mentions (*Buv*. 1. pp. 2f.) that in the *Buddhavaṃsa* itself particulars of each Buddha are given under twenty-two heads, the additional particulars being details of the first sermon, the numbers of those who attained realization of the Truth (*abhisamaya*) at each assembly, the names of the two chief women disciples, the extent of the aura of the Buddha's body, the Buddha's height, the name of the bodhisatta (who was later to become Gotama Buddha), the prophecy concerning him, his exertions (*padhāna*) and the details of each Buddha's passing away. The Commentary also says that mention should be made of the time each Buddha lived as a householder, the names of the palaces he occupied, the number of his dancing women, the names of his chief wife, and his son, his conveyance, his renunciation, his practice of austerities, his patrons and his monastery.

In the *Lalitavistara*, the number of Buddhas is increased to fifty-four while in the *Mahāvastu* it is increased to more than a hundred and then their number is stated to be countless (*Mhvu*. I, p. 243). Here, Gautama is mentioned as saying that from the time that he made his vow to attain Buddhahood, there have been immeasurable, incalculable *kalpas* and that he had honoured countless Buddhas during this period. He had worshipped three *koṭīs* (crores) of Buddhas by the name of Puṣpa, three hundred *koṭīs* by the name of Śākyamuni, eight hundred by the name of Dīpaṅkara, five hundred by the name of Padmottara, eight thousand by the name of Pradyota, eighteen thousand by the name of Māradhvaja, ninety thousand by the name of Kāśyapa, fifteen thousand by the name of Pratāpa, two thousand by the name of Kauṇḍinya, one thousand by the name of Jambudhvaja, eighty four thousand by the name of Indradhvaja, fifteen thousand by the name of Āditya, sixty by the name of Anyonya, sixty-four by the name of Śamitāvin and many others.

The *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* (ed. Paṇḍita Kiriālle Ñāṇavimala, Colombo, 1954, pp. 32-60), a book belonging to the Polonnaruva period (1044-1235 A. C.) of Sinhala literature, divides the whole duration of the bodhisattva-career of Gautama, which is said to be twenty 'incalculable' periods (*asaṅkheyya*) into three sections, viz., 1. *manopraṇidhāna*, mental aspiration, 2. *vacīpraṇidhāna*, verbal aspiration, and 3. *mahāpraṇidhāna*, the great aspiration. The *manopraṇidhāna* period consists of seven 'incalculable' periods, namely, Nanda, Sunanda, Paṭhavi, Maṇḍa, Dharaṇī, Sāra and Puṇḍarīka. During the first of these periods five thousand Buddhas appeared, nine thousand during the second, ten thousand during the third, eleven thousand during the fourth, twenty thousand during the fifth, thirty thousand during the sixth and forty thousand during the seventh. The *vacīpraṇidhāna* period has nine 'incalculable' periods, namely Sarvabhadra, Sarvaphulla, Sarvaratna, Usabhakkhandha, Maṇibhaddha, Paduma, Usabha, Khandhatta and Sarvaśaila. Fifty thousand Buddhas appeared during the first of these nine periods, eighty thousand during the

6 It is only in the ***Apadāna*** in the Pail canon, that more than thirty-five former Buddhas are mentioned (*Ap*. I, p. 5).

second, ninety thousand during the third, seventy thousand during the fourth, sixty thousand during the fifth, twenty thousand during the sixth, ten thousand during the seventh, five thousand during the eighth and two thousand during the ninth. The *mahāpraṇidhāna* period consists of four 'incalculable' periods during which time only twenty-eight Buddhas appeared.

The Buddhas of the past were multiplied in this manner much before the development of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal, i.e., that all have the potentiality to become Buddhas and that all should aspire to be Buddhas.

The *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta* (*D.* III, pp. 75 ff.) gives particulars of Mettyya Buddha (q.v.) who will be born in this world during the present *kalpa*. The *Anāgatavaṃsa* gives a detailed account of him. And some manuscripts of this work (*JPTS.* 1886, p. 37) mention the names of ten future Buddhas, all of whom had met Gotama and received his assurance that they would attain Buddhahood. They are Metteyya, Uttama, Rāma, Pasenadi Kosala, Abhibhū, Dīghasoṇī, Saṅkacca, Subha, Todeyya and Nāḷāgiripālaleyya.

In the *Mahāvastu*, Gautama predicts the future attainment of Buddhahood by his devoted disciples, while in the *Avadānaśataka*, a complete chapter (*Avś.* Ch. i), is devoted to such predictions. Naturally, the number of Buddhas of the future becomes countless with the development of the idea that every one has to become a Buddha before attaining Nirvāṇa.

Thus, the number of Buddhas before and after Gotama increased gradually; and in the later stages of Mahāyāna the concept of the 'Myriad Buddhas' was formulated.

Theravāda speaks but of one Buddha appearing at a time. It does not admit the existence of several simultaneous Buddhas in the world. The question here arises whether the phrase 'in the world' is the triple great Chiliocosm or the entire universe. Some, like the Sarvāstivādins, maintain that other Buddhas are certainly not born simultaneously, in other worlds. Others, like the Mahāsaṅghikas, say that other Buddhas can appear simultaneously, but each one in a different universe. It is not convenient that there should appear in the same universe, at the same time, more than one Buddha. But, there is no reason why they should not appear simultaneously in different universes. One Buddha would be sufficient to serve the needs of all beings of a single universe. Also, respect for a single Buddha would be greater than for several of them.

Mahāyāna has simplified the problem by reducing all the Buddhas to a unity. Tendai and Jōdo have specially developed this doctrine (On this see later).

Further Particulars Regarding Buddhas

There are eight particulars in which the Buddhas differ from each other (*aṭṭha vemattāni*). These are : 1. the length of life in the epoch in which each is born, 2. the height of his body, 3. his social rank (some are born as *khattiyas* and others as brāhmans), 4. the length of his practice of austerities, 5. the aura of his body (thus, in the case of Maṅgala, his aura spread throughout the ten thousand world systems, while that of Gotama extended only one fathom ; however, a Buddha can spread his aura at will : *BuvA.* p. 131), 6. the conveyance in which he makes his renunciation, 7. the tree under which he attains Enlightenment, and 8. the size of his seat (*pallaṅka*) under the *bodhi-tree* (*BuvA.* pp. 296 f.).

In the case of all Buddhas, there are four fixed spots (*avijahitaṭṭhānāni*). These are : 1. the site of the seat under the bodhi-tree (*bodhi-pallaṅka*), 2. the Deer Park at Isipatana where the first sermon is preached, 3. the spot where the Buddha first steps on the ground at Saṅkassa on his descent from Tusita (Tāvatiṃsa), and 4. the area marked by the four posts of the bed in the Buddha's Gandhakuṭi in Jetavana in which the Buddhas live. The monastery may vary in size, the site of the city in which it stands may also vary, but not the site of the bed. Sometimes it is to the east of the vihāra, sometimes to the north (*DA.* II, p. 424 ; *BuvA.* p. 297).

Thirty facts (*dhammatā*)[7] are mentioned as being true of all Buddhas. These are : 1. in his last life every bodhisatta is conscious at the moment of his conception, 2. in his mother's womb he remains cross-legged with his face turned outwards, 3. his mother gives birth to him in a standing posture, 4. the birth takes place in a forest grove (*āraññā*), 5. immediately after birth he takes seven steps to the north and 6. roars the 'lion's roar,' 7. he makes his renunciation after seeing the four omens and after a son is born to him, 8. he has to practise austerities for at least seven days after donning the yellow robe, 9. he has a meal of milk-rice on the

7 *Dharmatā* (q.v.) is not an equivalent of this *dhammatā*.

day of his Enlightenment, 10. he attains Enlightenment seated on a carpet of grass, 11. he practises concentration in breathing, 12. he defeats Māra's forces, 13. he attains supreme perfection in all knowledge and virtue at the foot of the bodhi-tree, 14. Mahā Brahmā requests him to preach the Dhamma, 15. he praches his first sermon in the Deer Park at Isipatana, 16. he recites the *pātimokkha* to the four-fold assembly on the full-moon day of Magha, 17. he resides chiefly in Jetavana, 18. he performs the 'Twin Miracle' in Sāvatthi, 19. he preaches the *abhidhamma* in Tāvatiṃsa, 20. he descends from there at the gate of Saṅkassa, 21. he constantly lives in the bliss of *phalasamāpatti*, 22. he investigates the possibility of converting others during two *jhānas*, 23. he lays down the precepts only when occasion arises for them, 24. he relates *jātakas* when suitable occasions occur, 25. he recites the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the assembly of his kinsmen, 26. he always greets courteously monks who visit him, 27. he never leaves the place where he has spent the rainy season without bidding farewell to his hosts, 28. each day he has specific duties before and after his meal and during the three watches of the night, 29. he eats a meal containing flesh (*maṃsarājabhojana*) immediately before his death, 30. and just before his death he enters into twenty-four crores and one hundred thousand *samāpatti*.

There are four dangers from which all Buddhas are immune: 1. no misfortune can befall the four requisites intended for a Buddha, 2. no one can encompass his death, 3. no injury can befall any of his thirty-two *mahāpurisalakkhaṇas* or eighty *anubyañjanas*, 4. nothing can obstruct his aura from spreading (*BuvA*. p. 299).

As stated earlier, according to Theravāda, a Buddha is born only in this *cakkavāla* out of the ten thousand *cakkavālas* which constitute the *jātikkhetta* (*AA*.II, p. 9; *DA*. III, p. 897). There can appear only one Buddha in the world at a time (*D*. II, p. 225; III p. 897).[8] No Buddha can arise until the *sāsana* of the previous Buddha has completely disappeared from the world. This happens only with the *dhātuparinibbāna*, when all bodily relics of the Buddha disappear. When a bodhisatta takes conception in his mother's womb in his last life, after leaving Tusita, there is manifested throughout the world a wonderful radiance, and the ten thousand world-systems tremble.[9] The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D*. II, pp. 12–15) and the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* (*M*. III, pp. 119–124) contain accounts of other miracles which attend the conception and birth of a Buddha.

Later texts, e.g., the *Jātaka* (I. p. 73) have greatly enlarged these accounts. They describe how the bodhisatta, having practised the thirty *pāramī* (q.v.) and made the five great gifts (*pañcamahāpariccāga*), and thus reached the pinnacle of the three-fold *cariyā*: q.v.), namely, *ñātatthacariyā*, *lokatthacariyā* and *buddhicariyā*, gives the seven *mahādāna*, as in the case of Vessantara (q.v.), making the earth tremble seven times, and is born after death in Tuṣita. The bodhisatta can remain in Tuṣita for the whole permissible period there, e.g., Vipassī Buddha remained in Tuṣita for fifty seven crores and sixty thousand years. But, most bodhisattas leave Tuṣita before completing the full span of life there. Five signs appear to warn the *devaputta* that his end is near; the gods of the ten thousand worlds gather round him, beseeching him to be born on earth, that he may become the Buddha. The bodhisatta thereupon makes the five investigations (*pañcamahāvilokana*, see below).

In an aeon (*kappa*), sometimes only one Buddha is born, such an aeon being called *Sārakappa*, sometimes two, *Maṇḍakappa*; sometimes three, *Varakappa*; sometimes four, *Sāramaṇḍakappa*; and rarely, five, *Bhaddakappa* (*BuvA*. p. 191 f.). No Buddha is born in the early period of an aeon when men live longer than one hundred thousand years and are thus not able to recognize the nature of old age and death, and cannot, therefore, benefit by his preaching. When the life of man is too short, there is no time for exhortation and men are full of *kilesa*. The suitable age for a Buddha to be born, therefore, is when men live not less than one hundred years and not more than ten thousand. When the time is suitable for the Buddha's birth in this world, the bodhisatta must first consider the continent and the country of birth. Buddhas are born only in Jambudīpa (India), and there, too, only in the Majjhimadesa (Middle Country). He must then consider the family; Buddhas are born only in brāhman or khattiya families, whichever is more esteemed during that particular age. Then he must think of his mother; she must be wise and virtuous and her life must be destined to end seven days after the Buddha's birth.

8 The reasons for this are given in detail in *Miln*. p. 236 and quoted in *DA*. III, p. 900 f.

9 Similar earth-quakes appear when he is born, when he attains Enlightenment, when he preaches the first sermon, when he decides to die, when he finally passes away (*D*. II, p. 108 f.; Cp. *DA*. III, p. 897).

Having made these decisions, the bodhisatta goes to Nandanavana in Tusita, and while wandering about there he ' falls away ' from Tusita and takes conception. He is aware of his death but unaware of his *cuticitta* or dying thought. The commentators seem to have differed in their views as to whether there is awareness of conception. When the bodhisatta is conceived, his mother has no further wish for indulgence in sexual pleasure. For seven days previously she observes the *uposatha* vows, but there is no mention of a virgin birth; the birth might be called parthenogenetic (See *Miln.* p. 123).

On the day of the actual conception, the mother, having bathed in scented water after the celebration of the Āsāḷha festival, and having eaten choice food, takes upon herself the *uposatha* vows and retires to the adorned state-bed chamber. As she sleeps, she dreams that the Four Regent Gods (Cātummahārājika devā: q.v.) raise her with her bed and, having taken her to the Himālaya, bathe her in the Anotatta lake, robe her in divine clothes, anoint her with perfumes and deck her with heavenly flowers.[10] Not far away is a silver mountain and on it a golden mansion. There they lay her with her head to the east. The bodhisatta, assuming the form of a white elephant, enters her room, and after circling rightwise three times round her bed, smites her right side with his trunk and enters her womb. She awakes and tells her husband of her dream. Soothsayers are consulted, and they prophesy the birth of a Cakkavatti or of a Buddha.

The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D.* II, pp. 12–15) and the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* (*M.* III, pp. 119–124) speak of the circumstances obtaining during the time spent by the child in his mother's womb. It is said (*DA.* II, p. 437) that the bodhisatta is born when his mother is in the last third of her middle age. This is in order that the birth may be easy for both mother and child. Various miracles attend the birth of the bodhisatta. The commentaries expound, at great length, the accounts of these miracles given in the suttas. Immediately after birth, the bodhisatta stands firmly on his feet and, having taken seven strides to the north, while a white canopy is held over his head, looks round and utters in fearless voice the ' lion's roar ':

> *Aggo'ham asmi lokassa,*
> *jeṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa,*
> *seṭṭho'ham asmi lokassa,*
> *ayam antimā jāti, natthi'dāni punabbhavo*
>
> (*D.* II, p. 15).

(In the world I am the best, the highest and the noblest. This is my last birth, there is no further birth now).

Later texts, e.g., the *Dīghanikāya Commentary* (*DA.* II, p. 439) give symbolical meaning not only to these acts of the bodhisatta but also to every item of the miracles accompanying his birth.[11] Again, there seems to have been a difference of opinion among the Elders of the Saṅgha as to what happened when the bodhisatta took his seven strides northwards. Did he walk on the earth or travel through the air? Did people see him go? Was he clothed? Did he look an infant or an adult? Tipiṭaka Cūḷābhaya, preaching on the first storey of the Lohapāsāda, settled the question by suggesting a compromise: the bodhisatta walked on earth, but the onlookers felt he was travelling through the air; he was naked, but the onlookers felt he was gaily adorned; he was an infant, but looked sixteen years old; and after his roar he reverted to infancy (*DA.* II, p. 442).

After birth, the bodhisatta is presented to the soothsayers for their prognostications and they reassert that two courses alone are open to him—to be either a Cakkavatti or a Buddha. They also discover on his body the thirty-two marks of the Great Man (*Mahāpurisa lakkhaṇa*: q.v.; *D.* II, pp. 17–19; *M.* II, pp. 136 f.). The bodhisatta has also the eighty secondary signs (*asīti anubyañjana*) such as copper-coloured nails, glossy and prominent sinews which are hidden and without knots, etc, (*Lal.* p. 75). The *Brahmāyu Sutta* (*M.* II, pp. 137 f.) gives other particulars about Gotama, which are evidently characteristic of all Buddhas. Thus, in walking he always starts with the right foot, his steps are neither too long nor too short, only his lower limbs move; when he gazes on anything, he turns right round to do so like an elephant (*nāga-vilokana*). When entering a house he never bends his body, the entrance is unobstructed (*DhpA.* II,

10 According to the *Nidānakathā* (*J.* I, p. 50), it is their queens who do these things.

11 Thus, standing on the earth means the attaining of the four *iddhipādas*; facing north implies the spiritual conquest of multitudes; the seven strides are the seven *bojjhaṅgas*; the canopy is the umbrella of unveiled knowledge; fearlessness denotes the irrevocable turning of the Wheel of the Law; the mention of the last birth, the arahantship he will attain in this life, etc.

p. 136); when sitting down, accepting water to wash his bowl, eating, washing his hands after eating, or returning thanks, he sits with the greatest propriety, dignity and thoroughness. When preaching, he neither flatters nor denounces his audience but merely instructs them, rousing, enlightening and heartening them (*M.* II, p. 139). His voice possesses eight qualities: it is frank, clear, melodious, pleasant, full, carrying, deep and resonant; it does not travel beyond his audience (*DA.* II, pp. 452 f; *MA.* III, pp. 382 f.). A passage in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV p. 308) says that a Buddha preaches in the eight assemblies —of nobles, brahmins, householders, recluses, devas of the Cātummahārājika world, and of Tāvatiṃsa, of Māras and of Brahmas. In these assemblies he becomes one of the members of the assembly and their language becomes his.

The Buddha's Career

The typical career of a Buddha is illustrated in the life of Gotama. He renounces the world only after the birth of a son. This, the commentary explains (*DA.* II, p. 422), is to prevent him from being taken for other than a human being. He sees the four omens before his renunciation: an old man, a sick man, a dead man and a recluse. Some Buddhas see all four on the same day, others, like Vipassi, at long intervals (*DA.* II, p. 457). On the night before the Enlightenment, the bodhisatta dreams five dreams (*A.* III, p. 240). After his Enlightenment the Buddha does not preach till asked to do so by Mahā Brahmā. This is in order that the world may pay greater attention to the Buddha and his teaching (*DA.* II, p. 467). A Buddha generally travels from the bodhi-tree to Isipatana for his first sermon, through the air, but Gotama went on foot because he wished to meet Upaka on the way (*DA.* II, p. 471).

The Buddha's day is divided into periods, each of which has its distinct duties (*DA.* I, pp. 45 f.; *SnA.* I, pp. 131 f.). He rises early, and having attended to his bodily functions, sits in solitude till the time arrives for the alms-round. He then puts on his outer robe and goes for alms, sometimes alone, sometimes with a large following of monks. When he wishes to go alone, he keeps the door of his cell shut, which sign is understood by the monks. Occasionally, he goes long distances for alms, travelling through the air, and then only *khīṇāsavas* (arahants) are allowed to accompany him (*ThagA.* I, p. 69). Sometimes, he goes in the ordinary way (*pakatiyā*), sometimes accompanied by many miracles. After the meal, he returns to his cell; these are the *pure-bhattakiccāni* (forenoon activities).

Having washed his feet, he would emerge from his cell, talk to the monks and admonish them. To those who ask for subjects of meditation, he would give them according to their temperament. He would then retire to his cell and, if he so desires, sleep for a while. After that, he looks around the world with his divine eye (See BUDDHA-CAKKHU) seeking whom he may serve, and would then preach to those who come to him for instruction. One of the Buddha's most striking characteristics, mentioned over and over again, is his love of quiet (e.g., *D.* I, p. 179). When he is in retirement, it is usually *akāla* (not proper) for visiting him (*D.* II, p. 270). When the Buddha is seated in some spot, no one has the power of going through the air above him (*SnA.* I. p. 222). He is also fond of solitude (*paṭisallāna*: *D.* II. p. 70; *A.* IV pp. 438 f.; *S.* V. pp. 320 f.). For this very love of solitude, the Buddha's rivals would blame him saying that his insight was ruined by the habit of seclusion. By intercourse with whom, they would ask, does he attain lucidity in wisdom? He is not at ease, they declared, in conducting an assembly, not ready in conversation, he is occupied only with the fringe of things. "He is like a one-eyed cow, walking in a circle" (*D.* III. p. 38). In the evening he would bathe, and then, during the first watch, attend to monks seeking his advice. The middle watch is spent with devas and others who visit him to question him. The last watch is divided into three parts: the first part is spent in walking about for exercise and meditation; the second is devoted to sleep; and the third to contemplation, during which those who are capable of benefitting by the Buddha's teaching, through good deeds done by them in the past, come into his vision. Only beings that are *veneyya* (capable of benefitting by instruction) and who possess *upanissaya* (capability), appear before the Buddha's divine eye (*DA.* II, p. 470). The Buddha gives his visitors permission to ask whatever they wish. This is called *sabbaññupavāraṇa*, and only a Buddha is capable of holding to this promise to answer any question (*SnA.* I, p. 229). Except during the rains, the Buddha spends his time in wandering from place to place, gladdening men and inciting them to lead the good life. This wandering is called *cārikā* and is of two kinds—*turita* and *aturita*. The first is used for a long journey accomplished by him in a very short time, for the benefit of some particular person. Thus, Gotama travelled three *gāvutas* to meet Mahā Kassapa, thirty *yojanas* to see Āḷavaka and Aṅgulimāla,

forty-five *yojanas* to see Pukkusāti, and so on. In the case of *aturita cārikā* progress is slow. The range of a Buddha's *cārikā* varies from year to year. Sometimes he would tour the *Mahāmaṇḍala* of nine hundred *yojanas*, sometimes the *Majjhimamaṇḍala* of nine hundred *yojanas*, sometimes only the *Antomaṇḍala* of six hundred *yojanas*. A tour of the *Mahāmaṇḍala* occupies nine months, that of the *Majjhimamaṇḍala* eight, and that of the *Antomaṇḍala* from one to four months. [12]

When the Buddha walks, he would leave his foot-print, described in the books as the *padacetiya*, but it could be seen only when the Buddha so desires it. When once he wishes it to be visible, no one can erase it. He can so will that only one particular person shall see it (*DhpA*. III, p. 194).

The Buddha as Teacher

The Buddha is omniscient, not in the sense that he knows everything, but that he could know anything should he so desire (*Nid*. I, pp. 178 f; See also *NidA*. Vol. II, pp. 316 f.; *SnA*. Vol. I, p. 18). His *ñāṇa* is one of the four illimitables. [13] The Buddha converts people in one of three ways: by exhibition of miraculous powers (*iddhipāṭihāriya*), by reading their thoughts (*ādesanāpāṭihāriya*), or teaching them what is beneficial to them according to their character and temperament (*anusāsanīpāṭihāriya*). It is the last method which the Buddha most often uses.[14] Though the Buddha's teaching is never really lost on the listener, he sometimes preaches knowing that it will be of no immediate benefit (e.g., the *Udumbarikasīhanāda Sutta* : *D*. III, p. 57). It is said that wherever a monk dwells during the Buddha's time, in the vicinity of the Buddha, he would always have ready a special seat for the Buddha because it was possible that the Buddha would pay him a personal visit (*DA*. I, p. 48). Sometimes the Buddha would send a ray of light from his *gandhakuṭi* to encourage a monk engaged in meditation and, appearing before him in this ray of light, preach to him. Stanzas so preached are called *obhāsagāthā* (*SnA*. I, pp. 16, 265).

Every Buddha founds an Order: the first *pātimokkhuddesagāthā* (regulations for confession by members of the Order) of every Buddha is the same (*DA*. II, p. 479). Every Buddha holds a *Mahāsamaya* (Great Assembly), and only a Buddha is capable of preaching a series of suttas to suit the different temperaments of the mighty assembly gathered there (*D*. II, p. 255 ; *DA*. II, pp. 682 f.). The attainment of arahantship is always the aim of the Buddha's instruction (*DA*. II, p. 732). Beings can obtain the four *abhiññā* (higher knowledge : q.v.) only during the lifetime of a Buddha (*AA*. I, p. 376).

The Buddha's Special Powers

A Buddha has ten powers (*balāni*) which consist of his perfect comprehension in ten fields of knowledge,[15] and physical strength equal to that of one hundred thousand crores of elephants (*BuvA*. pp. 42 f.). He alone can digest the food of the devas or food which contains the *ojā* put into it by the devas. No one else can eat with impunity the food which has been set apart for the Buddha (*SnA*. Vol. I, p. 154). Besides these excellences, a Buddha possesses the four assurances (*vesārajjāni* : *M*. Vol. I, pp. 71f.), the eighteen *āveṇika-dhamma*,[16] and the sixteen *anuttariyas* (*D*. Vol. III, pp. 102 ff.). The remembrance of former births a Buddha shares with six classes of purified beings, only in a higher degree. This faculty is possessed in ascending scale by titthiyā, pakatisāvakā, mahāsāvakā, aggasāvakā, paccekabuddhā and Buddhā (*Vism*. p. 411).

A Buddha is not completely immune from disease. Every Buddha has the power of living for one whole *kappa*,[17] but no Buddha does so, his term of life

12 Details of the *cārikā* and the reasons for them, are given at length in *DA*. I, pp. 239–43. When the Buddha cannot go on a journey himself, he sends his chief disciples (*SnA*. II, p. 474). The Buddha announces his intention of undertaking a journey two weeks before he starts, so that the monks may get ready (*DhsA*. II, p. 167).

13 Neither can the Buddha's body be measured for purposes of comparison with other bodies (*MA*. III, p. 419).

14 *BuvA*. p. 99. The Buddha's opponents say that he has the power of fascination (*āvattaniyamaya*) ; but this is untrue, as sometimes (e.g., in the case of the Kosambi monks) he could not make even his own disciples obey him. Some beings, however, can be converted only by a Buddha. They are called *buddha-veneyyā* (*SnA*. I, p. 331). Some are pleased by the Buddha's appearance, others by his voice and words, yet others by his austerities, such as the wearing of simple robes, etc. ; and finally, those whose standard of judgment is goodness, reflect that he is without a peer (*DhpA*. III, pp. 113 f.).

15 *A*. V, pp. 32 f.; *M*. I, p. 69 etc. At *S*. II, pp. 27f., ten similar powers are given as consisting of his knowledge of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. The powers of a disciple are distinct from those of a Buddha (*Kvu*. p. 228). They are seven (see, e.g *D*. III, p. 283).

16 Described at *Lal*. pp. 132–33 and 249. Buddhaghosa also gives (at *DA*. III, p. 994) a list of eighteen *buddhadhammā*, but they are all concerned with the absence of *duccarita* in the case of the Buddha.

17 The commentary explains (*DA*. II, pp. 554 f.) that *kappa* here means *āyukappa*, the full span of a man's life during that particular age. Some, like Mahāsiva thera, maintained that if the Buddha could have lived for ten months, overcoming the pains of death, he could as well have continued to live to the end of this *bhaddakappa*. But, a Buddha does not do so because he wishes to die before his body is overcome by the infirmities of old age.

being shortened by reason of climate and the food he takes (*DA*. II, p. 413). No Buddha, however, dies till the *sāsana* is firmly established (*D*. III, p. 122). There are three *parinibbāna* (complete passing away) in the case of a Buddha : *kilesa-parinibbāna*, *khandha-parinibbāna*, and *dhātu-parinibbāna* (extinction of lusts, etc.). The first takes place under the bodhi-tree, the second at the moment of the Buddha's physical death, the third long afterwards (*DA*. III, pp. 899 f.). Some Buddhas live longer than others ; those that are *dīghāyuka* (long-lived) have only *sammukha-sāvakas* (disciples who hear the *dhamma* from the Buddha himself), and at their death their relics are not scattered, only a single *thūpa* being erected over them (*SnA*. pp. 194 f.). Short-lived Buddhas hold the *uposatha* once a fortnight ; others (e.g., Kassapa Buddha) may have it once in six months ; yet others (e.g., Vipassī Buddha) only once in six years (*ThagA*. I, p. 65).

After the Buddha's death, his Dhamma (teaching) is gradually lost. The first *piṭaka* to be lost is the *Abhidhamma*, beginning with the *Paṭṭhāna* and ending with the *Dhammasaṅganī*. Then, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*, from the eleventh to the first *nipāta* ; next the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* from the *Cakkapeyyāla* to the *Oghataraṇa* : then the *Majjhima-nikāya*, from the *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta* to the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*, and then the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, from the *Dasuttara Sutta* to the *Brahmajāla Sutta*. Scattered *gāthā* like the *Sabhiyapucchā*, and the *Ālavakapucchā* last much longer, but they cannot maintain the *sāsana*. The last *piṭaka* to disappear is the *Vinaya*, the last portion being the *mātikā* of the *Ubhatovibhaṅga* (*VibhA*. p. 432).

When a Buddha dies, his body receives the honours due to a king (*D*. II, pp. 141 f.). It is said (*D*. II, p. 134),[18] that on the night in which a Buddha attains Enlightenment, and on the night during which he dies, the colour of his skin becomes exceedingly bright. At all times, where a Buddha is present, no other light can shine (*SnA*. II, p. 525). The Buddha never asks for praise but if someone utters his praise in his presence, he takes no offence (*ThagA*. III, pp. 45 f.).

Development of the Buddha Legend

The story of every Buddha (or Buddha in general) is no more than the reproduction of that of Gotama. It clearly shows a process through which the Buddha legend was formulated with the story of Gotama as its prototype. The story of Gotama is not a compilation of known facts preserved in the form of detailed records of his life, but a loose connection of fragmentary records of events, anecdotes and episodes of his life, which had been handed down by tradition among early Buddhists. The legend of the Buddha, produced in this manner, was later tinged with mythology, in the process of transforming Gotama into a superhuman being (See BUDDHOLOGY). But, later, probably after the age of Asaṅga and Vasubandu, eight steps or stages were selected as important and it came to be believed that whenever a Buddha comes into this world, he always goes through these eight stages, namely, 1. coming down from the Tuṣita heaven, 2. entrance into the mother's womb, 3. remaining in the womb, 4. birth, 5. renouncing worldly life, 6. attaining Enlightenment, 7. the first sermon, and 8, entering into PARINIRVĀṆA (See Pls. XLV—XLVIII). Sometimes the stage of remaining in the womb is omitted and the conquest of Māra is added before attaining Enlightenment. The latter enumeration seems to have begun after Buddhism was introduced into China.

ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHA

By Buddha is meant one who has attained wisdom (Pali. *paññā*, Skt. *prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*). It is through wisdom that the Buddha can perceive the whole world and dispel the darkness of ignorance (Pali. *avijjā*, Skt. *avidyā*). This wisdom is explained in the Pali texts as the realization of the truth of the law of causality (*paṭicca-samuppāda* : *M*. I, p. 167 ; *Vin*. I, pp. 4–5), which is further elaborated as the acquisition of the three-fold knowledge.

The three-fold knowledge (Pali. *tivijjā*, Skt. *trividyā*) consists of : 1. Knowledge of one's own former births (Pali. *pubbenivāsānussati-ñāṇa*, Skt. *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna*), 2. Knowledge of the disappearance and reappearance of other beings (Pali. *cutūpapāta-ñāṇa*, Skt. *cyutyupapāda-jñāna*) and 3. Knowledge that achieves the total eradication of passions (Pali. *āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa*, Skt. *āśravakṣaya-jñāna*). This three-fold knowledge is further extended into the six-fold psychic-knowledge (Pali. *chaḷabhiññā*, Skt. *ṣaḍabhijñā*) which consists of : 1–3. the above-mentioned three-fold knowledge and 4. psychic power (Pali. *iddhi-vidhi*, Skt. *ṛddhi-viṣaya*), 5. divine ear (Pali. *dibba-sota*, Skt.

18 Here, w have the beginning of a legend which later grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha.

divya-śrotra), 6. penetration into the thoughts of others (Pali. *cetopariya-ñāṇa* or *paracitta-vijānana-ñāṇa*, Skt. *paraceta-jñāna*).

This six-fold psychic knowledge possessed by the Buddha is gained through the constant practice of contemplation. It is considered that except for the 'knowledge for eradication of passions,' the other five kinds of psychic knowledge were known before the time of Gotama and were later introduced into Buddhism. In Mahāyāna, these five kinds of psychic knowledge are regarded as being possessed by Buddhas as well as bodhisattvas (including pratyekabuddhas and arahants) while the 'knowledge for eradication of passions' is regarded as knowledge peculiar to Buddhas. But in Pali texts the three-fold knowledge and the six-fold psychic knowledge are well known attributes of arahants, too (See also ABHIÑÑĀ). Later texts mention ten powers (*dasabalāni*), possessed by Buddhas as a result of their knowledges. These powers are: 1. knowledge of what is causal (reasonable) and what is not (Pali. *ṭhānāṭhāna-ñāṇa*, Skt. *sthānāsthāna-jñāna*), 2. knowledge of actions and their results (Pali. *kamma-vipāka-ñāṇa*, Skt. *karma-vipāka-jñāna*), 3. knowledge of the course that leads to all bourns (Pali. *sabbattha-gāminī-paṭipadā-ñāṇa*, Skt. *sarvatra-gāminī-pratipaj-jñāna*), 4. knowledge of the world with its various and diverse elements (*anekadhātu-nānādhātu-ñāṇa*), 5. knowledge of the diverse characters of beings (Pali. *nānādhimuttikatā-ñāṇa*, Skt. *nānādhimukti-jñāna*), 6. knowledge of the spiritual nature of beings (Pali. *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāna*, Skt. *indriyaparāpara-jñāna*), 7. knowledge of all forms of contemplation and meditation (Pali. *jhāna-vimokkha-samādhi-samāpattinaṃ saṃkilesaṃ vodānaṃ vutthānaṃ ñāṇa*, Skt. *sarvadhyāna-vimokṣa - samādhi - samāpatti - saṃkilesa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna-jñāna*), and 8–10. the three-fold knowledge (mentioned earlier). It is often stated that the ten-fold knowledge-power was developed from the three-fold knowledge, and that later this was further developed. Thus, according to the Sarvāstivādins, there are forty such powers as each of the ten powers contains four kinds of self-confidence (See also BALA [1]).

This four-fold self-confidence (Pali. *catu-vesārajja*, Skt. *catur-vaiśāradya*) consists of: 1. confidence in the perfection of the Buddha's Enlightenment (Pali. *sabbadhammābhisambodhi-vesārajja*, Skt. *sarvadharmābhisambodhi-vaiśāradya*), 2. confidence in his total eradication of passions (Pali. *sabbāsavakkhyañāṇa-v°*, Skt. *sarvāśravakṣayajñāna-v°*), 3. confidence in his exposition of the hindrances of the Path (Pali. *antarāyikadhammānaṃ yathābhūtā-niccita-vyākaraṇa-v°*, Skt. *antarāyikadharmāna-nyathātva-niścita-vyākaraṇa-v°*), and 4. confidence in the Path he has shown to attain the 'All Completeness' (Pali. *sabbasampadādhigamāya nesaggika-paṭipadā-tathā bhūta-v°*, Skt. *sarva-sampadādhigamāya nairyāṇika-pratipattathātva-v°*).

According to the earliest Buddhist scriptures, as evident from early Pali suttas, the three-fold knowledge, the six-fold psychic knowledge, the ten-fold knowledge-power and the four-fold self-confidence, all these are possessed by arahants, too. Thus, the four self-confidences are a special attribute of the Buddha. In later texts, as evident from Buddhist Sanskrit texts, of the four self-confidence, 1 and 2 represent the Buddha's supreme faculty for profiting others. Of the first two, item 1 represents the faculty of knowing the whole truth, while item 2 represents the faculty of freeing himself from all kinds of defilement. Of the latter two, item 3 represents the faculty of making all beings free from all kinds of defilement, while item 4 represents the faculty of making all beings know all the Truth. According to the Sarvāstivādins, there are forty kinds of self-confidence as each of the four kinds of self-confidence contains ten varieties of knowledge-power. But, according to the *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. 8), the four kinds of self-confidence are just four of the ten knowledge-powers.

The Buddha's Wisdom

The wisdom of the Buddha is explained in various ways, in later Mahāyāna texts. For instance, as in the *Ta-chih-to-lun* (C. 142), his wisdom is considered to be the eleventh kind of knowledge which should be added to the generally accepted ten-fold knowledge, viz: 1. knowledge regarding conventional things (*saṃvṛti-jñāna*), 2. regarding the *kāma-dhātu*, the sphere of lust (*dharma-j°*), 3. regarding the *rūpa* and *arūpa dhātu*, the spheres of form and formlessness (*anvaya-j°*), 4. knowledge of evil (*dukkha-j°*), 5. of the cause of evil (*samudaya-j°*), 6. of the annihilation of evil (*nirodha-j°*), 7. of the way to annihilate evil (*mārg-j°*), 8. of others' thoughts (*paracitta-j°*), 9. of the eradication of defilements (*kṣaya-j°*), 10. of ceasing the uprising of defilements (*anutpāda-j°*) and 11. of seeking into things as they are (*yathābhūta-j°*). This last knowledge which surpasses the other ten is peculiar to the Buddhas.

In the *Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun* (C. 143) the wisdom of the Buddha is considered to be the four-fold knowledge, viz. knowledge by which are made clear, 1. the cause of Dharma, 2. the time, 3. the features of Dharma and 4. what is to be taught and what is not to be taught.

Again, in the same text, the wisdom of the Buddha is considered to have four characteristics, viz. the characteristics 1. of no attachment, 2. of not being hindered, 3. of not falling into fallacies, and 4. of not being retrograded.

In the *Ta-p'in-pan-jo-ching* (C. 144), the wisdom of the Buddha is described as the *sarvathā-jñāna*, i.e., the wisdom which enables the Buddha to attain knowledge of the essential nature of all dharmas, phenomenal as well as transcendental. The wisdom of *śrāvakas* and pratyekabuddhas is *sarvajñatā*, the wisdom which enables them to understand the manifestations only of all the dharmas, whereas the wisdom of bodhisattvas is *mārgākāra-jñāna*, the wisdom enabling them to attain knowledge of all aspects of the sacred way through which all sentient beings are to be led to Nirvāṇa.

The *Abhidharmakośa* says that the wisdom of the Buddha is free from all kinds of ignorance, defiled (*kliṣta*) and undefiled (*akliṣta*), while the wisdom of *śrāvakas* and pratyekabuddhas is free from the ignorance of the defiled kind.

In the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, the wisdom of the Buddha is given as being four-fold, viz : knowledge 1. of Reflection (*ādarśa-jñāna*, i.e., knowledge, like a mirror, reflecting all things as they are, 2. of Equality (*samatā-j°*), i.e., knowledge of Oneness of self and others so as to be in harmony with 'Great Compassion,' 3. of Observation (*pratyavekṣanā-j°*), i.e., knowledge of observing all sentient beings so as to remove their doubts with eloquent speech that knows no obstruction, and 4. of Achievement (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-j°*), i.e., knowledge of achieving mystic power, so as to benefit all sentient beings in various ways.

In the *Ta-wu-liang-shou-ching* (C. 145 [Vol. 2]), the wisdom of the Buddha is given under five heads, viz : 1. Buddha wisdom, 2. Inconceivable wisdom, 3. Incalculable wisdom, 4. General Mahāyāna wisdom, 5. Supreme incomparable, unsurpassable wisdom.

Both in Theravāda and in Mahāyāna, the greatest quality attributed to the Buddha is wisdom ; and to elaborate its greatness further qualities are attributed to the Buddha, according to the needs of society. With this wisdom as an attribute of the Buddha, he is always thought of in terms of a person, even when the idea of the Buddha developed into a Cosmic Principle. The personality of the Buddha is to be considered in that light. The thirty-two major physical characteristics (See MAHĀ-PURISA-LAKKHAṆA) and the eighty minor physical characteristics (See ANUVYAÑJANA) not only manifest the bodily excellences of the Buddha but also make him a superman. There was in ancient India the idea of these physical characteristics as belonging to great saints and sacred kings. This idea was introduced into Buddhism and the characteristics were attributed to Buddhas and to Cakravartins or Universal kings (*D.* I, pp. 88 f.; III, pp. 142 ff.). These physical characteristics were acquired by the Buddha not as a result of attaining Enlightenment but, at birth, as a result of the merits he had performed in his previous lives. In Mahāyāna texts, the thirty-two major physical characteristics are said to be peculiar to Buddhas and Cakravartins while the eighty minor physical characteristics were peculiar to Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The self-confidence of the Buddha is explained as being four-fold and his superhuman powers by attributing to him the six-fold psychic knowledge and the ten-fold knowledge-power. The super excellences, peculiar to the Buddha are explained as consisting of various qualities, e.g., The Five Eyes : 1. The Physical Eye (Eye of Flesh : *maṃsa cakkhu*) which is enough to see the distance of a league, 2. The Divine Eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) by which he sees the disappearance and re-appearance of beings, 3. The Eye of Wisdom (*paññā-cakkhu*) which he attains as the discoverer of the Path. 4. The Buddha Eye (*Buddha-cakkhu*) by which he knows the nature and thoughts of beings, 5. The All-seeing Eye (*samanta-cakkhu*) which is identified with omniscience (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa* : *Nd.* I, pp. 355–60 ; *Ps.* I, p. 133).

In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, the five eyes are enumerated in a different way. For instance, in the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 158–60) the Five Eyes are : 1. *maṃsa-cakṣu*, 2. *divya-c°*, 3. *prajñā-c°*, 4. *dharma-c°*, and 5. *Buddha-c°*. Here, the first two Eyes are more or less the same as their Pali counterparts. The Eye of Wisdom is interpreted as the Eye that each of the eight kinds of *Āryans* (*Ārya-pudgala*) possess. The *dharma-c°* replaces the *samanta-c°* of the Pali list. A *dhamma-c°* is mentioned in Pali texts, too, and it is identified with the knowledge of the causal

law. But, the *dharma-c°* is identified with the ten-fold knowledge-power. The *Buddha-cakṣu* is considered as constituted of the Eighteen Special Qualities of the Buddha (*aṣṭadaśāveṇika-buddha-dharma*: *Mhvu.* I, p. 160; *Sūtrāl.* pp. 187 f.). See s. v. BUDDHA-CAKKHU.

Eighteen Special Qualities

In Pali texts, there is no reference to a list of such Eighteen Special Qualities apart from the late list in the *Jinālaṅkāra*. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, e.g., the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 3) and the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 160–8), and in Chinese *Āgamas* there occur many such lists, mostly different from one another in their enumeration.

In some Schools, e.g., the Sarvāstivāda, the Eighteen Special Qualities are enumerated in a different way. According to their enumeration, they consist of the Ten-fold Knowledge-power, the Four-fold Self-confidence, the Three-fold Even-mindedness (*smṛtyupasthāna*)[19] and the Great Compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*).

Besides these eighteen, there are the Forty Special Qualities of the Buddha mentioned in the *Shih-chu p'i p'o-sha-lun* (C. 146 [Vol. 14]), the Forty-four mentioned in the *Shih-chu-p'ip'o-sha-lun* (C. 147 [Vol. 11]) and the One Hundred and Forty mentioned in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (pp. 88 ff. and 375 ff.). See also ĀVEṆIKA DHARMA.

Besides these, there are other categories of qualities mentioned in the texts, e.g. ,*Fourteen items of Buddha-knowledge*, i.e., 1–4. The Four Noble Truths (*ariya-sacca*), 5–8. The Four kinds of analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*), 9. Knowledge of the higher and lower states of the spiritual faculties of beings (*indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa*), 10. Knowledge of views and inclinations of beings (*āsayānusaya-ñāṇa*), 11. Knowledge of the Twin Miracle (*yamaka-pāṭihīra-ñāṇa*), 12. Knowledge of the attainment to great compassion (*mahākaruṇā-samāpatti-ñāṇa*), 13. Omniscience (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*) and 14. Knowledge which is unobstructed (*anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa*).

These fourteen kinds of knowledge of the Buddha (*Buddha-ñāṇa*) are said to constitute the *samanta-cakkhu*, the fifth eye of the Buddha. However, of these fourteen, it is said that the first eight are shared by arahants, too, while the latter six are peculiar to the Buddha (*Ps.* I, p. 133).

19 Three-fold Even-mindedness: See s.v. SAMACITTATĀ.

Then there are thirty-two kinds of Great Compassion. There is no comparison between the 'Great compassion of the Buddha' (*mahākaruṇā*) and the compassion of *Śrāvakas*. This is one of the four states of mind called the 'Four Infinites' (*apramāṇī*), i.e., pity, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity. According to the *Ta-chih-to-lun* (C. 148 [Vol. 40]), the Great Compassion of the Buddha is the 'compassion without object' which surpasses 'compassion towards beings' and the 'compassion towards objects.' 'Compassion towards beings' is that which is felt by ordinary persons, and it is directed towards individual beings. It is inferior (*hīna*) compassion. 'Compassion towards objects' is that which is felt by arahants and other sages who realise the truth of *anātman* (selflessness). It is directed towards all kinds of existence, both sentient and non-sentient. This is 'medium' compassion. 'Compassion without object' is that which is felt by the Buddha. It is extended throughout the universe without discrimination of sentient and non-sentient. This is Great (*mahā*) Compassion.

The *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. 8) enumerates five reasons for the Buddha's compassion being called 'Great Compassion' and eight points of difference between compassion (*karuṇā*) and Great Compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*). The five reasons are: 1. *sambhāra* (the store of merits) in Great Compassion is great. The merits accumulated in order to gain Great Compassion are greater than the merits accumulated to gain compassion. 2. *ākāra* (form) is great. While compassion works in the limited field of sorrow, Great Compassion works in the field of happiness as well as that of sorrow, for happiness so-called is also a kind of sorrow since it is impermanent. 3. *alambana* (the object) is great. While compassion exercises its influence only in *kāma-dhātu*, Great Compassion exercises its influence on *kāma-dhātu*, *rūpa-dhātu* and *arūpya-dhātu*. 4. In compassion *samattva* (the feeling of oneness) is great. In Great Compassion there is no partiality, all are equally regarded. 5. In compassion *adhimātra* (excellence) is great. The excellence of Great Compassion is far superior to that of compassion.

The eight points of differences are: 1. Difference in nature: compassion is the annihilation of resentment (*adveṣa*), while great compassion is the annihilation of ignorance (*amoha*). 2. Difference in form (*ākāra*) as explained above. 3. Difference in

object (*ālambana*) as explained above. 4. Difference in base (*bhūmi*) : compassion is based on every stage of contemplation (*dhyāna*) from the first to the fourth, while Great Compassion is based on the fourth stage of contemplation. 5. Difference in personality (*āśraya*) : compassion is exercised by *śrāvakos* or pratyekabuddhas while Great Compassion is exercised by Buddhas only. 6. Difference in attainment : compassion is the result of attainment in which the defilements (*kleśa*) of the *kāma-dhātu* are destroyed while Great Compassion is the result of attainment in which the defilements of the *bhavāgra*, the highest of the *arūpya-dhātu*, are destroyed. 7. Difference in the degree of liberation: compassion only wishes for liberation while Great Compassion brings about liberation. 8. Difference in the extent of feeling (*karuṇāyana*) : the feeling engendered by compassion is confined to the *kāma-dhātu* while the feeling engendered by Great Compassion is extended over all spheres, the *kāma*, *rūpa* and *arūpya*.

Thus, 'Great Compassion' is peculiar to Buddhas only. And it is classified into thirty-two kinds in *Pao-yü-ching*, (C. 149 [Vol. 5]). For details see article on MAHĀ-KARUṆĀ.

The Buddha is possessed with three kinds of bodies (*kāya*), namely, *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* : 1. *Dharmakāya* : The Buddha's invisible existence is *dharmakāya*, the real nature of the Buddha. It is identified with *tathatā*, the absolute reality. 2. *Sambhogakāya* : The Buddha's reflection of *dharmakāya* in the empirical world in a corporeal form. The Buddha manifests himself among bodhisattvas in the form of *sambhogakāya*. Here the Buddha is endowed with physical beauty and excellence. 3. *Nirmāṇakāya* : The Buddha's manifestation in the empirical world as Gautama or other past or future Buddha is the *nirmāṇakāya*, the body assumed by the Buddha in fulfilment of his resolve to enlighten all sentient beings. For details see TRIKĀYA.

Categories of Attributes

As the attributes of the Buddha increased in many ways, they are also classified in various ways. For example, the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā* gives a list of one hundred attributes of the Buddha in eighteen categories : 1. the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), 2. the four-fold correct exertions (*samyakprahāna*), 3. the four bases of psychic power (*ṛddhipāda*), 4. the five spiritual faculties (*indriya*), 5. the five spiritual powers (*bala*), 6. the seven constituents of Enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*), 7. the Eight-fold Noble Path (*ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*), 8. the Four Noble Truths (*ārya-satya*), 9. the eight kinds of deliverance (*vimokṣa*), 10. the nine kinds of gradual attainment and dwelling (*anupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti*), 11. the three kinds of mental concentration (*samādhi*), 12. the entrance to all *dhāraṇīs* (*sarvadhāraṇī-mukha*), 13. the ten intellectual powers (*tathāgata-bala*), 14. the four-fold self-confidence (*vaiśāradya*), 15. the four-fold analytical knowledge (*pratisaṃvid*), 16. the Great Benevolence (*mahā-maitrī*), 17. the Great Compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*) and 18. the eighteen unique attributes (*āveṇika-dharma* : *ŚsP.* pp. 1262–63).

Again, the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga has a list of sixty attributes in addition to the thirty-two major and eighty minor characteristics of the Buddha. The sixty attributes include, in addition to the thirty-seven attributes covered by Nos. 13, 14, 15, 17 and 18 above, twenty-three more qualities, namely, 1. the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), 2. complete freedom from all obstacles of passions and ignorance (*vimokṣa*), 3. mastery over the whole universe (*abhibhvāyatana*), 4. total knowledge of what is to be known (*kṛtsṇāyatana*), 5. the compassion that prompts him to work for the eradication of passion in all beings (*araṇa-viśeṣa*), 6. the resolution (*praṇidhāna*), 7. the six-fold super-knowledge (*abhijñā*), 8. the four-fold purity (*pariśuddhi*), 9. the three-fold protection due to the arising of three-fold mindfulness (*āraksa-smṛtyupasthāna*) and 10. omniscience (*sarvākārajñatā* : *Sūtrāl.* pp. 184 ff.).[20]

Seven Superiorities

The Buddha is superior to all other beings in seven matters, namely, 1. body, 2. living, 3. wisdom, 4. virtue, 5. practice, 6. mystery and 7. deliverance. 1. Superiority in body means that the Buddha is possessed with thirty-two major characteristics and eighty minor characteristics of a great being. 2. Superioirty in living means that the Buddha lives a righteous and peaceful life, according to the Dharma. 3. Superiority in wisdom means that the Buddha is endowed with excellent wisdom of various kinds. 4. Superiority in virtue means that the Buddha is equipped with the virtues of training himself right, of living himself right, of acting himself right and, of seeing right. 5. Superiority in practice means that the Buddha

20 Most of these qualities may be traced also in the Pali literature. Some of them are common to the Buddha and the arahants. Some are peculiar to the Buddha only.

practises excellent contemplations (*dhyāna*) and meditations (*samādhi*). 6. Superiority in mystery means that the Buddha is possessed with six kinds of psychic-knowledge (*abhijñā*). 7. Superiority in deliverance means that the Buddha is delivered from the two hindrances, namely, *kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa*.

THE BUDDHA CONCEPT

The concept of 'Buddha' was formed with Gotama (Skt. Gautama), the historical Buddha as its nucleus. (For the life of the historical Buddha see GOTAMA [1]; and for the personality of the Buddha in its transition from that of a human being to the position of the ultimate reality of the world see also BUDDHOLOGY).

The question is not so much, 'Who is Buddha ?' but rather 'What is meant by the term Buddha ?' During the lifetime of Gotama the question was not 'What is meant by Buddha ?' but 'Who is Gotama Buddha ?' This is evident from what Gotama said to Upaka (who asked him "Who are you ?") almost immediately after his Enlightenment: "I am the conqueror (*jina*) and the knower of all (*sabbavidū*)." This declaration indicates that the Buddha is a person who has absolute wisdom and absolute ability and thereby has perfectly completed his character. To show this calibre of the Buddha, the earliest Buddhist scriptures, i.e., the early Pali suttas, attributed to him the three-fold knowledge (*tivijjā*), the six-fold psychic-knowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*), the ten-fold knowledge-power (*dasabala*) and the four-fold self-confidence (*catuvesārajja*). However, these attributes do not take the Buddha away from the human nature of life, and in the *Nikayas* it is seen that the Buddha is subject to the normal laws of life, decay and death (*jāti-jarā-maraṇa*).

To define 'Buddha,' in a negative form, it is possible to state that the Buddha is neither a *brahma*, nor a *deva*, nor a *yakkha* (*yakṣa*), nor a *gandhabba* (*gandharva*), nor a *manussa* (*manuṣya* : *A.* II, pp. 38–9). In a positive form the Buddha is the one revered in this world (*arahant*), the supreme teacher (*anuttara-satthā*), and the one perfectly enlightened (*sammā-sambuddha* : *Vin.* I, p. 8). It is stated that his followers could attain arahantship (*M.* III, p. 8; *S.* III, pp. 65–6) while pacceka-buddhas attain Enlightenment (*Pug.* pp.14 ff.). Thus, it is in the quality of being the supreme teacher, that the Buddha differs from all other beings. But, although a great teacher, the Buddha never considered himself to be the leader of his followers : "I, this Tathāgata, have never thought of leading the *bhikkhusaṅgha*, nor have I thought of the *bhikkhusaṅgha* as relying upon me" (*tathāgatassa kho na evaṃ hoti 'ahaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissāmīti vā maṃ uddesiko bhikkhusaṅgho' ti vā* : *D.* II, p. 100). In his own eyes, he was only a pioneer and, as such, he teaches those who follow him to walk on the path of *bodhi* by their own efforts and not to be neglectful nor be dependent upon others. "There is a man," Gotama says, "who enters a forest and discovers a trace of the path trodden by the ancients. He will follow it and discover the city dwelt in by the ancients and will make it known to people. And by doing so, he will bring that city into its old glory. In like manner, I have discovered the path trodden by the Sammā-sambuddhas of the past, followed it, and finally found the city of Nibbāna, which now I show to you, O bhikkhus. Do you, O bhikkhus, practise as I have taught you and follow the path trodden by ancient Buddhas, and reach the cit yof Nibbāna" (ibid.). This, indeed, is the Buddha's attitude towards his disciples : "Be ye refuges unto yourselves, dependent upon yourselves, not relying upon others" (*atta dīpā viharatha attasaraṇā anañña-saraṇā* : ibid.). Even on his death-bed, Gotama admonishes his followers : "Work out your salvation with diligence" (*appamādena sampādetha : D.* II, p. 156).

Yet, in spite of this attitude on the part of Gotama, the people who were deeply influenced by him gathered round him desiring to be instructed. To them the Buddha was not a mere fore-runner, nor a mere leader. He was the most excellent teacher and master. He was the object of absolute devotion. And thus, he came finally to be looked up to as a super-human being standing all alone. The various qualities attributed to the Buddha (e.g., the thirty-two major and the eighty minor characteristics, the Five Eyes and the fourteen kinds of Buddha-knowledge mentioned in the scholastic works of the Pali canon, and the Eighteen Special Qualities including the Great Compassion mentioned in the Mahāyāna texts) are evidence of this fact. The thirty-two major characteristics show the physical characteristics of the Buddha (among them are some that cannot be thought of from biological standards) while the Eighteen Special Qualities show his mental and spiritual characteristics.

In view of the qualities attributed to the Buddha, his deification seems to have originated in the Pali canon itself and developed through the Pali commentaries. It became fully developed in the

Mahāvastu and was established in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna*. Thus, the Buddha was deified long before Mahāyāna became a separate system.

Gotama's birth was never regarded as an accident. Still more, it could not be thought that a super-human being like the Buddha had appeared all of a sudden in this world even from the standpoint of the law of cause and effect which is the most fundamental doctrine of Buddhism. Therefore, it came to be believed that the Buddha had gone through many past lives. The story of the Buddha's past lives is a manifestation of this belief. Moreover, tradition says that the stories of his past lives were told by the Buddha himself. Again, concerning the birth and the death of the Buddha, it was thought that the Buddha controlled these acts himself, through his own volition, for the salvation of all beings. Consequently, it came to be increasingly considered that the Buddha was a transcendental being who was above the historical scene.

Now, if the historical Buddha, Gotama, was born in this world by the strength of his desire to save all sentient beings, it could be assumed that a super-historical, fundamental and underlying Buddha existed as the basis of the historical Buddha. The historical Buddha is a provisional (*avatāra*), phenomenal (*rūpakāya*) Buddha while the basic Buddha is the Buddha of Truth and Essence, i.e., the Dharma. The Dhamma, of which Bhagavat (the Blessed One) is the cause, and of which he is the teacher, and of which Bhagavat is indeed the depended—is the old path trodden by ancient Buddhas. It was indeed the immutable truth abiding for ever. Therefore, Gotama said, "What does it mean to you, this foul little body of mine which you see before your eyes? The one who sees the Dhamma is the one who sees me, and he who sees me sees the Dhamma" (*alaṃ kiṃ te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. yo kho dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati* : *S.* III, p. 120). It is indeed through the realization of this Dharma that the Buddhas of the past, present and future attain Enlightenment. Consequently, the Dharma is the original Buddha and the Buddha is the Dharma personified. In other words, the Dharma is revealed through the personal form of a human Buddha. It was the very fact of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa that gave an impetus to such a theoretical consideration of the Buddha and of the Buddha-body (See also BUDDHA-KĀYA). After Gotama's PARINIRVĀÑA, his followers cherished his memory deep in their heart, idealized him, conceived him as super-human and came to believe that although he had passed away, the Dharma which made him the Buddha would never pass away. Thus arose the idea of the permanence of Dharma, and the Buddha was identified with this ultimate reality (Cp. *M.* I, p. 190–91 and *S.* I, p. 136).

The Buddha, identified with Dharma (the ultimate reality), in other words the wisdom that is subjective and the truth that is objective combined to become a perfectly harmonised unit which is the basic non-particularising wisdom, i.e., the Buddha himself, is called the *Dharma-kāya*. The *Dharma-kāya* is the basic wisdom which is received by the Buddha for his personal enjoyment, because it is completely limited to the world of the Buddha himself; and also at the same time it is an altruistic wisdom that is being received by all beings because it is working on all sentient beings and tries to reveal itself to them. The former is the fundamental basic wisdom and the latter is the later-attained detailed wisdom. This detailed wisdom is an altruistic wisdom exclusively for the salvation of all beings, and when the Buddha is regarded from this standpoint, he is called the *Sambhoga-kāya* and *Nirmāṇa-kāya*. Only those who have followed and practised the path (*mārga*) and have attained some degree of proficiency (*phala*) can understand the teaching of the *Sambhoga-kāya*, because this body (*kāya*) is the working of the essential wisdom itself. For others, including beings other than human, the Buddha who appears for the sake of their salvation is called the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*. Again, in viewing the doctrine of the three-fold body (*Trikāya*) in another interpretation, the *Dharma-kāya* is a body of principle which has neither colour nor form, the *Sambhoga-kāya* is the wisdom attained only by Buddhas, and the *Nirmāṇa-kāya* is the wisdom that is received by all beings for their use. This interpretation is a development in the theory of the *Trikāya* (q.v). Likewise, the 'ten-body' theory of the Avataṃsaka School (*hua-yen-tsung*) and the 'many-body' theory of the Maṇḍala are also developed forms of the *Trikāya* theory. In fact, with the introduction of the *Dharma-kāya* theory, the concept of Buddha developed in conformity with the philosophically developed considerations of the Buddha-body.

It is a fundamental doctrine of Buddhism that everything is the chain of causation and thereby all things are related with one another and are mutually inter-connected and mutually inter-dependent. Therefore, the three-fold bodies of the Buddha, too, are mutually inter-twined with one

another; and it can be said that everything is *Dharma-kāya* or *Sambhoga-kāya* or *Nirmāṇa-kāya*. Thus, when the Buddha is identified with the *Dharma-kāya*, the ultimate reality, all things cannot be anything but the Buddha. In other words, there is inherent in every specific being and in all concrete matter the potential ability to become Buddhas. See also BUDDHA-NATURE.

The concept of the Buddha in terms of Buddha-nature characteristically developed in Japan. Although there is an interpretation in China that all things are each of them nothing but the Buddha, this idea is mainly based on the theory of *Dharma-kāya*. On the contrary, Japanese Buddhism does not look at phenomena from the angle of the ideal-body (*Dharma-kāya*) idealistically, but is based on the theory that each item of concrete matter and each specific being are just as they are, at once, Buddhas. The development of the Buddha concept can be seen in the major Buddhist sects in Japan.

Thus, in the Shingon sect, the principal image is the Buddha Mahāvairocana (Jap. Dainichi-Nyorai). When the meaning of the name is looked into, it is said that the light of the wisdom of the Buddha illuminates the entire universe as the light of the sun illuminates the entire world. This light of wisdom stirs in all beings aspiration for Enlightenment. This means that the Buddha Mahāvairocana is considered from two aspects, namely, the Principle-body and the Wisdom-body. From the concept of the Principle-body, everything has its basis in Mahāvairocana; and from the concept of the Wisdom-body, each one of all things will awaken to aspire towards Enlightenment by Mahāvairocana. In the former case, the complicated and detailed workings of the mind in daily life, just as they are, are Mahāvairocana; and in the latter, the aspiration towards Enlightenment which is awakened in each one is Mahāvairocana. In each case, what is indicated is that each little thing in this world is the Buddha Mahāvairocana, and at the same time the whole world is the Buddha Mahāvairocana.

In the Jōdo sect, the principal image is Amita Buddha. Here, Amita Buddha is a completely personified Buddha. The bodhisattva Dharmākara, in the far distant past, before his attainment of Buddhahood, practised and completed all kinds of virtue for endless long periods of time, attained his great aim of saving all beings and became Amita Buddha. The power of this great vow of the Buddha fills the whole universe in time and space. Therefore, it permeates the defiled mind of all beings. Hence, all beings can be born in his Pure Land (Sukhāvatī) after death and become one in essence with Amita by merely reciting the 'Buddha-name' (*Nembutsu*) 'Namu Amida Butsu' and having faith in him.

In the Zen sect, the original nature of the mind, just as it is, is the Buddha-nature and also the *Tathāgata-garbha* (matrix of Tathāgata: q.v.). When freed from the conflicting ideas of subject and object, the true nature of the mind is personally realised to see the Buddha and to become the Buddha *itself*. The basic nature of the mind is not a conjecture that there is an original basic 'body' in the depth of all phenomena, but a realization that the mind itself in daily life, just as it is, is none other than the working of the mind's original nature. This is the eternal Buddha-mind as declared by Bankei Zenji (1622–93 A.C.). However, in Zen, Śākyamuni (Gautama) is regarded as their principal image.

Thus, by Buddha was meant at first a great teacher. Then he was treated as a super-man and raised to the level of a super-human, transcendental being. The next step of development was to regard Buddha as a 'Principle,' the Ultimate Reality (i.e., *Dharma-kāya*). Then it was believed that the Buddha, the Ultimate Reality, is not something external that has to be achieved or attained, but a potential ability, called Buddha-nature, that has to be awakened (i.e., to be realised). And this Buddha-nature is inherent not only in human beings but also in every specific being and in every concrete matter (For details see BUDDHOLOGY, BUDDHA-KĀYA and BUDDHA-NATURE respectively).

In the Pali canon, it has been clearly stated that Buddhas appeared in the past and will also appear in the future, and that these past and future Buddhas are many in number, and also that Buddha Gotama (Skt. Gautama) is no more than one of these 'Myriad Buddhas.' In Mahāyāna, it has been emphatically maintained that besides Buddha Śākyamuni (Gautama), a multitude of Buddhas exist in the present age, too, and that they live in their own worlds situated in 'Other Quarters' and differentiated from this world of sahāloka. These Buddhas assiduously work, each in his own way, to enlighten all sentient beings. Thus, the Mahāyāna Schools not only believe in the infinity of Buddhas but also advocate the simultaneous existence of numerous Buddhas, while the 'Hīnayāna' Schools, though they believe in the plurality o Buddhas, admit the appearance of only one

Buddha at a given period. For Mahāyānists each Buddha is an 'accommodated-body' emanating from the *Dharma-kāya* and, therefore, must be necessarily different, because the *Sambhoga-kāya* (or the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*) is the way of altruism that benefits all beings corresponding with various practices of sentient beings. However, as it has been admitted in the Pali canon that, with the view of confirming the universal validity of Gotama's Dharma, Buddhas of the past, present (Gotama) and future would realise and preach the same Dharma. Likewise in Mahāyāna Schools too, with the same view of confirming Śākyamuni's (Gautama's) Dharma in its universal validity, it is asserted that the Buddhas of the present, living in the worlds of every quarter, realise and preach the same Dharma.

Thus, the plurality of the Buddhas of the present resulted in the concept of the Buddha in Buddha-worlds (*Buddhakṣetra* : q.v). At first, as stated in the opening chapter of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, it was believed that there were four Buddhas in the four quarters: Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnahetu in the south, Amitābha in the west, and Dundubhi-svara in the north. Later texts mention five Buddhas by adding the centre to the four quarters: Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west, Amoghasiddhi in the north, and Vairocana in the centre. This number was increased to six by adding the upper and the lower to the four quarters. Then came eight, the Buddhas of the four quarters and the four intermediate quarters. Then the number rose to ten by adding the upper and the lower to the eight quarters. Then the number of Buddhas existing in each of the ten quarters also increased. In *Ch'êng-yang-chu-fo-kung-tê-ching* (C. 150), it is said that 53 Buddhas exist in the east, 39 in the south, 3 in the west, 6 in the north and 27 in the centre. In the *Smaller Sukhavatīvyūha sūtra*, it is said that there are Akṣobhya and four other Buddhas in the east, Candrasūryapradīpa and four others in the south, Amitāyus and six others in the west, Mahāruciskandha and four others in the north, Siṃha and five other Buddhas in the lower quarter, and Brahmaghoṣa and ten others in the upper. In the *Ta-p'in-pan-jo-ching* (C. 151) it is said that one thousand Buddhas exist in each of the ten quarters. This figure was increased to hundreds of millions of *nayutas* of Buddhas existing in each of the ten quarters. It is also interesting to note that in the *Ta-fang-têng-to-chi-ching* (C. 152), it is said that numerous Buddhas dwell in each of the four lands lying around Mount Sumeru: eighty thousand Buddhas in Pūrvavideha, hundreds of thousands in Uttarakuru, fifty thousand in the Avaragodanīya and two hundred and fifty thousand Buddhas in Jambudvīpa. All these 'Myriad Buddhas' have realised and preach the same Dharma that Śākyamuni (Gautama) realised and preached. The common object of these 'Myriad Buddhas' and the Buddha Śākyamuni is to make all sentient beings attain Buddha-Wisdom. And if these various Buddhas are reduced to their original body, each one stems from the same *Dharma-kāya* and is none other than the Ultimate Reality, the Buddha, identified with *Dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, *śūnyatā*, Ādi-Buddha, etc. It should be noted here that by the theory of the Buddha-lands (*Buddhakṣetra* : q.v), the universality of Dharma came to be accepted more firmly and emphasized more strongly.

3——CP 11345 (9/71)

ATTAINMENT OF BUDDHAHOOD

The 'attainment of Buddhahood' means becoming the Buddha by obtaining *bodhi* (q.v), i.e., Enlightenment (See also BOJJHAṄGA). Therefore, Buddhahood comprises the knowledge attained at the Enlightenment and the way by which one becomes Buddha. The former refers to Buddhist doctrine and the latter to Buddhist practice. Here, the doctrine and the practice are directed to one and the same goal, i.e., the attainment of Buddhahood. The doctrine is made clear as a result of practice, and the practice is made perfect when carried out according to doctrine. When one has perfected practice and has made the doctrine indubitably clear, than one has obtained ***bodhi***, has attained Buddhahood.

Buddhist doctrine was studied and put into shape in the different Schools, and with time developed itself into such concepts as the 'Non-existence' o the Mādhyamika School, the 'Idealism' of the Vijñānavādins, the 'Buddha-nature' of the Nieh-p'an sect, the 'Three Thousand Worlds in One Thought' of the T'ien-t'ai sect, and the 'Ten-fold Profound Harmony of Dependent Origination' of the Hua-yen sect. The practice, in the meantime, developed itself also, supported by these doctrines, and centering on the problem of the attainment of Buddhahood. It may be said that in the long history of Buddhism its chief concern has been the attainment of Buddhahood.

Gotama's attainment of the unsurpassed *bodhi* (*anuttara-sammā-sambodhi*) was at once the release from suffering; it was an eternal peace of mind.

namely, Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa). In him *bodhi* and Release were one; *bodhi*, Release and Nibbāna were one.

Release from suffering does not mean cessation of life. It means acquirement of that wisdom in which one could be free from suffering, in the midst of the sufferings of life and death. Nibbāna is the peace of mind resulting from the acquirement of this wisdom. The Release or Nibbāna attained by the Buddha in this world and sustained by unsurpassed wisdom, was really full of life.

In the Theravāda, the disciple of the Buddha (*sāvakas*) regarded the Buddha from a distance, at so great a distance indeed that Buddhahood was considered to be beyond the reach of the devotee. Their goal was now arahatship. In the original sense of the word, arahatship was not essentially different from Buddhahood, as is seen from the fact that 'arahat' is one of the ten epithets of the Buddha. But, when the disciples made arahatship their goal, there was a line drawn between the Buddha and the arahat. Gotama was the only Buddha; for the rest, the goal was arahatship. When arahatship is referred to in later days, it usually meant arahatship in this latter sense, i.e., of the Theravāda. See also ARAHANT and NIBBĀNA.

Attainment of Buddhahood in general

Gotama, having become Buddha, taught for a period of forty-five years and, when he was eighty years old, passed into complete Nirvāṇa (Parinirvāṇa). Then as time went on, the historicity of his personality became fainter in the minds of people and idealisation began, till at last Gotama was regarded as a superhuman being. This idealization consisted of two points. Firstly, the early Buddhists, abiding by the law of cause and effect, traced the cause of Gotama's attainment of Buddhahood far into the past, beyond his life in this world. The superiority of Gotama Buddha, they speculated, must be the result not only of his excellent practices in this world but also of the merits he accumulated in previous existences. This belief, when combined with the legends that had long been handed down in Central India, went to the making of the *Jātakas*, the tales of the Buddha in previous existences. Secondly, they emphasised the greatness of the Buddha in body and mind. From ancient times the people of India had awaited the arrival of a Cakravartin (q.v.), a world-ruler who was to have thirty-two excellent physical characteristics. Now, this idea was somehow annexed to the Buddha. They came to believe that the Buddha had these thirty-two excellent characteristics. And, in mind, the Buddha was considered to have had such supreme faculties as were enumerated among the Eighteen Special Qualities (*āveṇika-dharma*). Thus, laid on the greatness of the Buddha, his deification developed. "Gotama Buddha was a special being" declared the faithful, "for he was the seventh Buddha counting from the most ancient Buddha, Vipassī." The concept of six former Buddhas was thus born. They are represented after the pattern of Gotama Buddha in that they attain Buddhahood under a tree and that in Enlightenment they think over the twelve links of Dependent Origination forwards and backwards.

A Buddha equally great was to appear in the future also, and thus the belief in the future Buddha Metteyya (Maitreya) arose. Metteyya is represented after the pattern of Gotama Buddha in that he attains Buddhahood under a dragon-flower tree (*nāga-vṛkṣa*).

Then, the six future Buddhas took form parallel with the six former Buddhas, as found in the *Ekottara Āgama*. Later, there came into being, as found in the Mahāyānist *Bhadrakalpika Sūtra*, three thousand Buddhas over three *kalpas*, comprising one thousand Buddhas of the former 'Glorious Kalpa' and another thousand Buddhas of the forthcoming 'Constellations Kalpa.' Moreover, Mahāyāna referred to the existence of a countless number of Buddhas in the three periods[21] and in the ten quarters of the world. And, in the description of how the various Buddhas attained Buddhahood, the sūtra followed the pattern of Gotama's attainment.

Attainment of Buddhahood by bodhisattvas

Bodhisattva (lit. a man who strives after perfect wisdom) is a name attached to the Buddha in his formative status. 'Buddha' and 'bodhisattva' have made a correlative development in the history of Buddhism. Originally, the appellation bodhisatta meant Gotama in his stage of striving, that is, Gotama in the period after his departure from home

21 Amitābha may be mentioned as an example of a present Buddha. He was Dharmākara, a king in his formative state. Dharmākara wanted to become Buddha to save all beings, and made forty-eight aspiring vows. He accumulated immeasurable merits and became Buddha Amitābha. He now resides in the Pure Land, in the western quarter (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*). In his leaving the throne to become a monk, it is apparent that the pattern of Gotama was followed and in his forty-eight vows, the Buddha's infinite love is reflected.

and before the attainment of Buddhahood. In time, the name was also applied to Gotama before his departure from home. When the *Jātakas* came to be related, 'bodhisatta' represented Gotama in his previous existences. And, when faith came to conceive of former Buddhas, future Buddhas, present Buddhas and Buddhas in the ten quarters of the world, it naturally followed that there was a tremendous number of bodhisattvas. See s. v. BODHISATTVA.

These bodhisattvas all make the resolve to attain *bodhi* (See also BODHICITTA and BODHI), set up their vows (*praṇidhāna*), practise the six *pāramitās* and, by proceeding through various stages of purification, are to become Buddhas. The vows constitute their aspiration, while the practice of the *pāramitās* constitute their conduct for the realisation of the ideal. For details see s. v. BODHISATTVA.

Attainment of Buddhood by sentient beings

Gotama's attainment of Buddhahood was the basis on which the idea of attainment of various Buddhas and bodhisattvas was conceived. The process indicates how the idea of Buddhahood was deepened and made universal. It was a development from the 'personal' Buddha to the 'ideal' Buddha to what was philosophically called *Dharmakāya*, *tathatā*, etc. This 'ideal' Buddha is Reality itself. It is the basis on which Gotama Buddha stood and it is also the basis on which all beings stand, unaware. It is not Gotama alone who should be able to become Buddha. All beings should be able to attain Buddhahood.

In early orthodox Buddhism, it was not explicit that anyone but Gotama and Metteyya should be able to attain Buddhahood. The ultimate status to hope for was arahantship. The Mahāyāna, however, declares that the true nature of the Buddha is the Dharma itself, that the Buddha-nature is universal. Ever since the Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* expounded that Buddha-nature resides in all beings without exception, this became an important theme in Mahāyāna teaching. Words like *tathāgatagarbha* and *tathatā* were frequently in use to mean Buddha-nature. "Buddha-nature is inherent in all beings" says the doctrine, "therefore, it is not Gotama alone that attains Buddhahood. Anyone who believes in this inner Buddha-nature and carries out holy practices for its realization is a bodhisattva : he is able to attain Buddhahood after going through various stages."

It was only natural that strivers should sincerely wish to attain Buddhahood as quickly as possible, and this practice of 'gradual' attainment was expedited. There was an advance, sustained by philosophy, from 'gradual' attainment to 'immediate' attainment. In the practice of 'gradual' attainment, one was required to pass such stages as the 'seven grades of virtue,' 'seven developments of holiness,' 'fifty-two positions in progress' and 'three *asaṅkheyyas* and one hundred *kalpas*. But in the practice of 'immediate' attainment, such degrees and stretches of time became less important and a quick attainment was guaranteed. The way of the arahant in the 'Hīnayāna' and the way of the bodhisattva in the early Mahāyāna represent 'gradual' attainment, whereas the T'ien-tai, Hua-yen, Shingon, Nichiren, Pure Land, and Zen stand for 'immediate' attainment. (See also ABRUPT DOCTRINE).

Attainment of Buddhahood by Women

The original Buddhist community consisted of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. The monks and nuns held a more important position than the laity, and the monks, in turn, held a more important position than the nuns. In old scriptures, such as the *Dakkhiṇa-vibhaṅga Sutta* and the *Mahīsāsaka-vinaya*, it is said that women have the drawbacks of 'Five Impediments' and 'Three Obediences.' The Five Impediments are that women cannot become any of the following five : Brahmā, Śakradevendra, Māra, Cakravartin and Buddha. The Three Obediences are that women have to obey in childhood their parents, in womanhood their husbands, and in old age their children. It means that women are bound in so many ways both at home and abroad that it is difficult for them to devote themselves to religious practices. Hence, probably the customary saying that woman is unable to obtain *bodhi* and become Buddha, and that no woman is found in the Pure Land

But, according to Mahāyāna teachings women, too, can attain Buddhahood. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* tells of an eight year old Nāga-girl who, changing herself into a man, attained Buddhahood. The Greater *Sukhāvatīvyūha* has it that Amitābha Buddha in the thirty-fifth of his original vows declares that women shall cast away their female form in aspiring to *bodhi*. Inasmuch as Mahāyāna holds that Buddha-nature is universal, it follows inevitably that women should be able to attain Buddhahood. In these sūtras women are obliged to become men to attain Buddhahood, probably, to reconcile the two

conflicting ideas that 'all are able to become Buddhas' and that 'women are unable to become Buddhas' or that 'no woman is found in the Pure Land.'

But with the doctrine of *śūnyatā*, which declares that all is empty (*śūnya*), the distinction between man and woman is also made empty. Where all discriminations are made 'empty,' there appears the true affirmative. Again, in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, a woman of heaven is introduced to destroy the prejudice of making a distinction between man and woman. In the *Śrīmālāsiṃhanāda Sūtra*, a Mahāyāna text composed after the assimilation of these ideas, a householder, a woman called Śrīmālā, preaches the ultimate doctrine of the Mahāyāna quite in the manner of the Buddha. She declares that all living beings could attain Buddhahood, if their Buddha-nature could be made to manifest itself, and she goes on to say that she would exert herself to extend this doctrine from home to the people of the state. Here is complete freedom from the prejudice of discrimination. Women are assured of being able to attain Buddhahood without forsaking their female form.

Attainment of Buddhahood by Icchantikas

In the original meaning of the word, an *icchantika* is one who is full of desires, namely, a hedonist. In Buddhism, the word means one who does not believe in Dharma and, thus, lacks the means of attainment of Buddhahood, or one in whom Buddha-nature is missing. The difficulty of an *icchantika* attaining Buddhahood is compared to the impossibility of giving sight to a man born blind.

The sūtra that treats of the problem of *icchantikas* most elaborately is the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The chapter on Tathāgata-nature found in the first half of this sūtra says that *icchantikas* are unable to attain Buddhahood. But, the chapter on Mahākāśyapa, found in the second half of the same sūtra, explains that the Buddha-nature is eternal and universal and goes on to affirm that the *icchantika*, too, being endowed with Buddha-nature, is capable of attaining Buddhahood. Vasubandhu, in his *Buddhagotra-śāstra* (*Fo-hsing-lun*) agrees with this latter view.

In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, *icchantikas* are classified into two groups. The first is the *icchantika* who does not believe in the Dharma and thus lacks the cause for the attainment of Buddhahood. The second is the *icchantika* of Mahākaruṇā, who, like the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, will not attain Buddhahood because of his determination to save all beings. The sūtra further declares that even the non-believing *icchantika* has the chance of attaining Buddhahood by meeting the Tathāgata.

Thus, according to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the only being completely unable to attain Buddhahood is the *icchantika* of Mahākaruṇā (Great Compassion). This particular *icchantika*, however, is the symbol of the Mahāyānist practice of altruism. His activities are of Great Love and Great Wisdom, sustained by the Supreme Wisdom of the Tathāgata. Thus, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, which classifies all beings into five kinds, including among them the *icchantikas*, declares, in effect, that all five kinds of beings are essentially able to attain Buddhahood.

Attainment of Buddhahood by Plants, Lands, and all non-sentient Objects

All non-sentient objects, i.e., objects not endowed with minds, such as plants and lands, also attain Buddhahood. Fa-tsang, in his *T'an-hsüan* (Vol. XVI) says, from the Kegon point of view that plants attain Buddhahood as all things are the manifestation of *tathatā*. Tan-jan (711–82) of the T'ien-t'ai sect enumerates in his *Chih-kuan-fu-hsing*(I,ii), ten reasons for non-sentient objects attaining Buddhahood, in order to show that everything, even colour or fragrance, is identical with the *Mean* (see below). From the T'ien-t'ai (q. v.) point of view, everything is possessed of the 'three thousand worlds' and the 'triple truths in perfect harmony' and, therefore, the non-sentient, too, are of Buddha-nature. In the Shingon (q. v.) sect, as Kūkai states in the 'Doctrine on the Reality of Voice and Letters (i.e., sound and symbols)' and the 'Doctrine on the Bodily Attainment of Buddhahood,' non-sentient objects, such as mountains, rivers, trees and even words, letters and voice are said to attain Buddhahood as they are also the outcome of the *six elements*. Further, since according to the doctrines of the Mahāyāna, 'one is all and all are one,' it can be established that 'in the perfection of one, all are perfected.' Among this 'all' that are perfected, even the non-sentient objects are included. Finally, for the people in the East, Nature is not something antagonistic, nor is it something to be subjugated for man's purposes. For them nature is something to hold communion with for the wholesome purpose of spiritual enhancement.

Development of views on Attainment of Buddhahood

According to tradition, when Gotama became Buddha, it was the truth of Dependent Origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda* : See CAUSALITY) that he

came to know. This 'knowing' does not mean knowing anything objectively. Knowing the truth of Dependent Origination means getting above the world of Dependent Origination, i.e., obtaining release from suffering. But release from suffering does not mean cessation of life. It means the acquirement of that wisdom in which one could be free from suffering in the midst of the sufferings of life and death. And, Nibbāna is the peace of mind resulting from the acquirement of this wisdom.

In the Theravāda, although Buddhahood was not the goal of the disciple, the way to attain Buddhahood solely by one's practice of the Noble Path was preached but that all sentient beings are born with Buddha-nature, a priory was not stated. However, with the idea of *bodhicitta* (q.v.), it would seem that some Schools of Theravāda Buddhism began to endorse the existence of this nature. This idea developed later into the principle that all sentient beings are born with Buddha-nature, a principle which is preached in the Mahāyāna sūtras. This principle was further developed to extend Buddha-nature to non-sentient objects, too. Finally, the idea of the bodily attainment of Buddhahood was expounded. In the Mahāyāna, the different Schools, which came into being during its historical development, held various views regarding the attainment of Buddhahood, as well as the ultimate goal of Buddhist practice. In these different views, they seems to have influenced each other. But, there are certain features in their teaching which are common to all Schools. For instance, emphasis is laid on sympathetic love (*karuṇā*), as another aspect of wisdom or *prajñā*. This love is directed to the salvation of all beings and not confined to one's own attainment of Buddhahood.

The Prajñā School

The *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is the earliest work of early Mahāyāna, and the doctrine and practice of *śūnya* which this sūtra expounded formed the basic character of the various Mahāyāna sūtras that followed. According to this sūtra, 'all is *śūnya*, void,' i.e., all things are without any inherent property of their own. Passions (*kleśa*) are *śūnya* in themselves, so is Enlightenment (*bodhi*). When one has attained to this realisation, one is *prajñā* (wisdom) itself. But this *prajñā* as well as Buddhahood are themselves *śūnya*. There is no birth and death to be avoided, nor is there any *bodhi* to strive after. This state of complete freedom from discriminative thought in Enlightenment. The *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* lays great stress on *prajñā* among the six *pāramitās* or the means of practice prescribed for attaining Buddhahood. The other *pāramitās* are sustained by the *Prajñāpāramitā*, says this sūtra.

The *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* is a work in which the essential thought of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is given a dramatic representation. In this sūtra, all discriminative thoughts are denied conclusion. It teaches that ego and non-ego, ignorance and Enlightenment, Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, right and wrong are not two but one (*advaya*).

The thought that appeared in these early Mahāyāna sūtras called forth the philosophy of Nāgārjuna (q.v.). In his *Mādhyamaka-kārikā* he says in effect: "If things have their own inherent property, then it should follow that they are eternal, unchanging and self-contained. Then they could not stand in Dependent Origination. Therefore, things have to be without any inherent property (*niḥsvabhāva*), i.e., they have to be *śūnya*. But, where there is complete voidness, Dependent Origination cannot establish itself either. Therefore, things are neither positive nor negative but fundamentally void." Nāgārjuna denies every contra-position, and by this logic of absolute negation he discoursed the '*Mean*.' "Just because there is no fixed existence, just because human beings are without inherent property of their own, attainment of Buddhahood is possible. To contrapose complete attainment and incomplete attainment would be just another delusion. When *niḥsvabhāva-śūnya* is realised, that is no other than the attainment of Buddhahood." With this fundamental view Nāgārjuna says in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* that the six *pāramitās* will be completed only when they are sustained by *śūnya*, voidness.

The Avataṃsaka School

If the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika* (the chapter on the Ten Stages) and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (the Chapter on Entering the Realm of Law) were the first to be composed, then gradually additions and extensions went on until the sūtra grew to be the *Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka*. In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the doctrine is preached by bodhisattvas and not by the Buddha. According to this sūtra, bodhisattvas serve the Buddha when they serve sentient beings and when they serve the Buddha, they serve sentient beings. A typical example of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva is given in the story of Sudhana (q.v.). In the *Daśabhūmika* of this sūtra, the progressive course of bodhisattva-practice is shown in ten stages. The basic doctrine of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is that 'one is all and all

are one ;' and on this basis it is declared that "the completion of the ten stages of faith is no other than attainment of Buddhahood" and that "the moment one aspires, perfect Enlightenment is attained."

A sect based on the *Avataṃsaka* was found in China— the Hua-yen Tsung. The most prominent figure of the Hua-yen sect was its third patriarch Fa-tsang. His greatest achievement was that he, synthesising the two great thoughts transmitted from India (*śūnyatā* and *bhava*), formed a unique system of philosophy. He produces such philosophical principles as the 'Ten Profound Dependent Originations' and the 'Six Phases in Perfect Harmony, which lead to the world of 'All Phenomena Interpermeating without Hindrance.' This is a world in the vision of one who has attained Enlightenment and become Buddha. Defilements and passions, in the very state of their being defiled and passionate, shine in the light of wisdom. To contemplate on, and attain such truth in one's person is the attainment of Buddhahood. In this case, contemplation (i.e., practice) is no other than the doctrine itself.

The philosophy of the Hua-yen sect developed further in Japan under the name of 'Kegon.' From the Kegon point of view, all beings are essentially in Buddhahood; and these essential Buddhas begin to aspire, carry out practices, and awaken to the fact that they are Buddhas. Therefore, each stage of mind is no other than the attainment of Buddhahood. One is in peace, stage by stage, and at each stage attains Buddhahood. One lives as the Buddha stage by stage, and at each stage shows oneself to be of that stage. At every moment the attainment of Buddhahood is immediate and yet one goes on in the course of gradual attainment.

The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka School

The early Mahāyāna sūtras refuted the way of orthodox Buddhism ; but the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* brought the old Buddhism to a higher synthesis of wisdom and great compassion. This sūtra formulated the doctrine of 'One Vehicle' (*ekayāna*) and the 'Eternal Buddha.' In China, the T'ien-'tai sect was founded with this sūtra as its authority. The founder was Chi-i. In Japan this sect is known as the Tendai sect. In the Tendai sect it is stated that all things in the phenomenal world are in themselves reality. This is a vision, so to speak, obtained by one who has accomplished Buddhahood. As to practice, therefore, instruction is given on the basis of that view, that the aspirant should carry out a meditation like the 'Three Thousand Worlds in a Moment of Thought.' In practising such meditation, the aspirant is brought to higher stages of mind.

The Sukhāvatī School

There are various sūtras describing this Pure-Land e.g., the Tuṣita heaven of Maitreya, the Crystal Realm of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Land of Wonderful Joy of Akṣobhya, and the Pure-Land of Amitābha. The Pure-Land of Amitābha Buddha and birth in that land are expounded principally in the following three sūtras : *the Greater Sukhāvatīvyūha, the Amitāyur dhyāna* and *the Lesser Sukhāvatīvyūha.* Nāgārjuna taught this doctrine in his *Daśabhūmikavibhāsa-śāstra,* and Vasubandhu wrote the *Amitāyus-sūtropadeśa,* commonly called 'A Treatise on the Pure-Land,' with its '*gāthās* of aspiration to be born in the Pure-Land.'

In Japan, the Jōdo sect was founded on the basis of the above three sūtras. Hōnen (1133–1212 A. C), the founder of the Jōdo sect, had lost hope in the way of the saints. He believed in the 'original vow of Amida Buddha,' and advocated the pure *Nembutsu* (invocation of the Name) as the right method of being born in the Pure-Land. One of his disciples, Shinran (1173–1262 A.C.), the founder of the Jōdo-Shin sect, considered that man is by nature evil, and said, "For us mortals, true faith or practice is an utterly impossible thing. Whatever faith or or practice of ours there is, is a blessing that comes from Amida Buddha." To him "to be born in the Pure-Land is the attainment of Buddhahood." Here, no distinction is made between birth in the Pure-Land and the attainment of Buddhahood, on the ground that the Buddha's body (*Buddha-kāya*) and his land (*Buddhakṣetra*) are one. On this point, the tenet of the Shin sect is different from that of Hōnen's Jōdo sect according to which birth in the Pure-Land is but an assurance that one will finally attain Buddhahood after performing practices in that land.

The Yogācāra School

The Yogācāra School, sometimes known as the Vijñānavāda, held the *Samādhinirmocana-sūtra* (q.v.) as its canon. This School was established virtually by three *śāstra*-writers, namely, Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. The *Samādhinirmocana sūtra* contains two ideas which exercised great influence on later Buddhist thought— the teaching of Ālayavijñāna and Trisvabhāva (q.v.). The Yogācāra divides mortals into five kinds: the Definite *Śrāvakas,* the Definite pratyekabuddhas.

the Definite bodhisattvas, the Indefinites, and the Beings Devoid of Nature. Of these, the Definite bodhisattvas and the Indefinites are said to be able to attain Buddhahood, but the others are without promise. For details see s.v. YOGĀCĀRA.

The Tathāgatagarbha School

The Tathāgatagarbha School is based on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.* This sūtra states that the *Dharmakāya* is permanent, that the Buddha-nature exists in all beings and that *icchantikas* can attain Buddhahood. Where the *Dharmakāya* flows out in transmigration, there sentient beings take form. Therefore, the Buddha-nature is in all beings, and even the *icchantikas* attain Buddhahood. This idea, accepting the *Dharmakāya* in all beings and *tathatā* in *saṃvṛti* (phenomenal existences), means, in philosophical terms, that the *absolute* does not exist except in the *relative*— the *relative* is the revelation of the *absolute.* The *Dharmakāya* or the *tathatā* thus under cover of the *kleśas* is also called Buddha-nature and *tathāgatagarbha.* The *Śrīmālā-siṃhanāda sūtra,* written about the same period, contains similar ideas.

An amalgamation of this idea of *tathāgatagarbha* with that of the Yogācāra resulted in the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-śāstra.* According to this *śāstra,* the quintessence of the sentient mind is *tathatā.* Essentially, *tathatā* is neither created nor annihilated and is beyond explanation by speech ; non-essentially, it has appeared in this world of creation and annihilation. The essentiality, which in spite of its appearance in creation and annihilation, does not lose its own *śūnya*-nature, is called the *tathāgatagarbha* ; the non-essentiality is called the 'Mind, created and annihilated.' The faculty that functions from creation-annihilation to the *tathāgatagarbha* and from the *tathāgatagarbha* to creation-annihilation is termed *ālayavijñāna.*

As a means of practice, this *śāstra* encourages alms-giving, good conduct, patience, untiring effort and meditation. 'Calling upon the name of Buddha' is also among the exhortations. To deny creation and annihilation by means of these practices and turn back to the essential 'one mind' of *tathatā* is the attainment of Buddhahood.

The Esoteric School

In the last period of Buddhism in India, what proved to be the dominant religious influence was Esotericism that had arisen about the middle of the seventh century. It developed around the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and *Vajraśekhara-sūtra.* The *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* took form in the west of India and the *Vajraśekhara* in the south. The former is closely related to the Mādhyamika and the latter to the Yogācāra.

Esotericism developed around its Buddha, Mahāvairocana and popular creeds of the preceding ages. It set forth the truth in symbols and maintained that it was possible to realise in one's personality a secret identification of the actual and the ideal, thus obtaining the ultimate *bodhi* and attaining Buddhahood.

Esoteric Buddhism travelled from India to Tibet and China, and from China to Japan. It was Kūkai (774-835 A.C.) of Japan, who not only completely united the thought of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and that of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* which had affected each other, but also brought the doctrines and practices of Esoteric Buddhism to a higher synthesis. He maintained that if one should deliberately look into the meaning of the truth that Buddhahood and sentient beings are one and equal, form one's hands in the *mudrā,* which is the symbol of the Buddha's vow, open one's mouth in the utterance of the mantra, which is the Buddha's words, and keep one's mind in *samādhi,* which is the Buddha's mind, then one is sure to realise Buddha's *Dharmakāya* in one's personality, i.e. attain Buddhahood bodily.

In harmonising theory and practice, in being free from the body-despising tendency to which Buddhists are often liable, and declaring that mortals can attain Buddhahood with the body they are born with, Kūkai's teaching had a particular significance in Buddhism.

The Zen School

In the fifth century, Bodhidharma, coming from India to China, introduced Zen and became the first patriarch of the School which was to come into being much later. He set forth what he called *'Pi-kuan'*—Wall Meditation, which means steady meditation— as the right way of pacifying the mind, i.e., attaining Buddhahood. This practice of Zen was based on the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.*

Zen maintains that the inner witness of *satori* (*bodhi* : Enlightenment) is not communicable by letters or words, but knowable only by direct experience.

In the early days of Zen, the way of practice was to keep the mind calm by sitting in the *zazen* position and through a deeper training of it attain Buddhahood. After Zen became an independent

sect, several devices were invented to expedite practice. One of them was the emphasis laid on the sitting itself. Another device is the *Kun-an* (pronounced *Kōan* in Japanese), giving a theme or problem to be solved by the disciple in meditation.[22]

Zen was introduced from China to Japan, where the Sōtō sect maintains the tradition of emphasizing *zazen*, while the Rinzai sect holds the tradition of resorting to the means of *Kōan* as well as *zazen* to attain Buddhahood. The following four lines explain the characteristic spirit of Zen :

Apart from doctrine, a special communication;
No use of books or phrases either.
It points straight to the heart of man :
'See own nature' One attains Buddhahood.

(See also Pls. XLII-XLIV; XLIX-LII).

G.P.M.*

BUDDHA (2), a previous birth, as a king, of Vacchapāla (Pāyāsadāyaka) thera. See VACCHAPĀLA.

BUDDHĀ, sister of Upendradatta of Ujjain and of Himadattā, and the donor of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I, as mentioned in a third century B.C. inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 245, 271).

BUDDHA-AVATAṂSAKA-NĀMA-MAHĀVAIPULYA-SŪTRA, name of a Sanskrit text which is preserved in its Tibetan translation, under the title *Saṅs-rgyas phal-po-che shes-bya-ba śin-tu rgyas-pa-chen- poḥi mdo*. The author of this work is unknown. The translators are known as Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde. This work has been revised by Vairocana (*TM*. No. 44; *Nanjio*, Nos. 87, 88). See also AVATAṂSAKA-SŪTRA.

I. K.

BUDDHABĀD. Wat Pra Buddhabād (Buddha-Pāda), famed for its footprint of the Buddha, is a royal temple of the highest class, and is situated about twenty kilometres south of Lopburi in Thailand (See Pl. LIII). Here among picturesque hills is a rocky slope containing the footprint, a depression five feet long, twenty-one inches wide, and eleven inches deep. Its discovery in 1620 A. C. was prompted by a remark made by some Ceylon monks to Thai pilgrims to the effect that one of the Buddha's footprints was to be found in Siam. In support of this statement they cited the *Punnovāda Sutta* which told of a bhikkhu of Saččapandh (Pali. Saccabaddha: q.v.) hill who persuaded the Buddha to leave his footprint at that place. This hill was thought to be in Siam.

The story goes that upon hearing this, king Soṅdharm ordered a search to be made, whereupon Nai Boon, a hunter, reported finding a footprint that contained healing water. The king came from the nearby capital of Ayudhyā, examined the footprint and, accepting it as authentic, established the immediate area covering one hundred square miles as a religious sanctuary. He built a square *maṇḍapa* over the footprint, constructed an uposatha hall, a vihāra, a lecture-hall, dwellings for monks and a residence for himself.

The temple received royal support from succeeding kings of the Ayudhyā dynasty, such as Prāsāt Tong, Pra Narai, Süa, Tāi Sra and Pra Boromakos. Royal visits to this shrine were in the nature of annual military exercises conducted by river and by land. New buildings were added from time to time and old buildings repaired and improved. In the 1900's a narrow gauge railway was built to the shrine, later a highway; these brought thousands of pilgrims to the annual temple festival-fairs held in February and March.

The footprint is now covered with gold leaf, likewise the ornate canopy above it. The floor is covered with a woven mat of silver. The four doors of the *maṇḍapa* are decorated with scenes from the Rāmakien, by means of mother-of-pearl inlay. They were made during the reign of Rāmakien, (Rāma I : 1781–1809) according to a design dating from the reign of Boromakos (circa 1740). The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is of great beauty, an intricate seven-tiered crown of 'meru-stone' rising to a slender finial and umbrella. Because of disastrous fires in past years, the new roof is of ferro-concrete, coloured, and trimmed with gold. It was dedicated on 9 March 1952 by king Bhumibol Adulyadej.

The main approach to the central *maṇḍapa* is by a long staircase flanked by five-headed bronze *nāgas* which date from the time of Boromakos. At the

22 In the Nichiren sect is set forth the *juji-jōbutsu* (attainment of Buddhahood by receiving and upholding). It is maintained that when one believes in the title of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* and keeps reciting '*Namu-myōho-renge-kyō*' (My trust in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka) one attains Buddhahood by virtue of all the excellent merits contained in this recitation of the title.

* In the preparation of this article, use has been made ... ation supplied by various contributors to the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism. Their assistance is gratefully

ground level are two brick and stucco buildings; one of them, a former palace used by the king on royal visits, is now a museum. This thick-walled building is a good example of the old-style construction. At a higher level is the 'treasury vihāra,' originally built by Soṅdharm to house valuable gifts to the temple. Now it is a sanctuary much frequented by Chinese worshippers. A bronze statue of this king was erected in a pavilion near the *maṇḍapa* and dedicated on 6 June 1960. The large temple area established by the same king now covers several acres and contains a complex of cetiyas, vihāras, bell-towers, caves and pools, and a village of shop-keepers.

K.E.W.

BUDDHA-BALAVARDHANA-PRĀTIHĀRYA - VIKURVAṆA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA (or *Ārya B°*), the title as given in the Sde-dge edition (TM. No.186) of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rygas-kyi stobs bskyed-paḥi cho-ḥphrul rnam-par ḥphrul-ba bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo.* The Sanskrit title as quoted in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 34, No. 853 is *Ārya-buddhabalādhāna-prātihārya.* The name of the author and translator are not given in either edition.

The text describes a miraculous display of the power of the Buddha.

The Buddha, it is said, was once residing on the banks of the river Nerañjarā, in the company of bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi and *śrāvakas* like Kāśyapa, Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana. Gods, kings, ministers and householders assembled there on that occasion. The Buddha preached a religious sermon, exhorted them and caused them great delight. Then he went to Benares along with his retinue, by his magic power. He arrived at the Āmrapālī grove, when there appeared instantly an exquisite throne made of seven kinds of precious things. The Buddha sat on it in meditation and addressed the bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi.

He asked them to exercise their great magical power and the power of meditation, go to the Sahālokadhātu and the world-systems of the ten directions, and cause all the sinful and evil-minded people, who had not seen the light (of the Dharma), who did not know righteous behaviour and who had no faith in the *Triratna*, to assemble at that grove. As soon as they heard this, the two bodhisattvas entered into a state of meditation (samādhi), whereupon miracles, like earthquakes, occurred. A radiance emanating from the bodies of the bodhisattvas illuminated the world-systems. A divine voice announced the presence of the Buddha in Āmrapālīvana, praised him and exhorted the residents of the world-systems to worship him. As soon as they heard this voice, the residents of the world-systems became rid of their sins. Desirous of listening to the doctrine, they arrived at Āmrapālīvana and paid obeisance to the Buddha. A large multitude assembled there on that occasion.

The bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi rose from their samādhi, approached the Buddha and circumambulated him three times. They spoke in praise of the many skilful methods of the Buddha and announced that a large number of people had assembled, of whom many had reached the maturity of mind required for emancipation. The Buddha said that it was indeed true that the Buddha possesed many skilful methods. He further said that the Buddha preaches the doctrine knowing the inclinations and potentialities of his audiences. He described the manifold methods through which people could be disciplined. He dwelt at length on the extraordinary powers of Buddhas. There is nothing that the Buddhas do not know, see or hear. They know the past, the present and the future. They see the behaviour of all people. They can cure beings of all their ailments. Knowing the different aptitudes of various people, they promote their salvation in different ways. They make them transgress their evil deeds. They refresh them with the shower of the doctrine and make them attain Enlightenment.

At that moment, a doubt arose in the mind of a god of little intelligence. The bodhisattva Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta knew his mind, spoke in praise of the skilful methods of the Buddha and dispelled his doubt. The bodhisattva spoke at length on the good effects of making offerings of flowers and the like to the Buddha. He said that people would get rid of all sorrow by doing so. The gods impressed by the wisdom of Mañjuśrī thought that he too would become a Buddha in the future and deliver others from sorrow. Knowing their minds, Mañjuśrī said that it indeed was so. The gods and all the others who were present at that assembly made offerings to the Buddha and recited stanzas in praise of him. They reached various stages of spiritual attainment and benefitted immensely.

King Prasenajit then sought permission from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to ask a question. This being readily granted, he asked how people in the

world-systems escaped from sufferings in hells, the animal worlds etc., as soon as they heard the name of the Buddha, worshipped him and honoured him.

In reply, Mañjuśrī enumerated the names of a large number of world-systems and the Buddhas who lived in them. He explained that anyone who offered obeisance to the relics, images, etc., of these Buddhas, even after their demise, by offering flowers, lights and the like, were saved from evil existences and born in good existences. This, he said, was due to the virtues of the Buddhas and their teaching. He admonished the king on the benefit of worshipping the Buddha and his teaching. The assembly praised his speech.

A bodhisattva in that assembly then asked the Buddha what merit a person acquired by learning the doctrine or expounding it. The Buddha described at length the numerous benefits of doing so, and summed them up in several stanzas. The assembly gave their applause at the end of the sermon.

R.H.

BUDDHABHADRA(C. 152 ; 395 - 429 A.C.), a native of North India. His family belonged to the Śākya clan descended from king Amṛtodana and lived in Kapilavastu. As his grandfather carried on business over the regions in North India he removed his abode there from his original place. When Buddhabhadra was five years old his parents died in succession and he was brought up in his uncle's home. He left home and became a monk in his seventeenth year; then he showed extraordinary cleverness and capacity in reciting the Scriptures, often finishing one month's lessons in a single day. After receiving the ordination of a bhikṣu, he was even more diligent. He had a comprehensive understanding of canonical texts and was particularly famous for his cultivation of dhyāna and Vinaya. Later, he went to Kāśmīra and devoted more strenuous efforts under the instruction of Buddhasena, a great master of dhyāna at that time. It was there that he met the Chinese monk Chih-yen(C. 153). The latter asked him to go to China to propagate Buddhism; as this was just what he had long wished for, he immediately complied. In their journey to China the two of them were beset with many difficulties; at first they proposed to go along the road over the Pamirs; but afterwards they changed their idea and decided to travel by the sea route. After meandering for three years they reached Tung-lai district (now Yeh-hsien of Shantung Province) of Ch'ing-chou. Having heard that Kumārajīva was then in Ch'ang-an (q.v) they went there to get acquainted with him. This was in the fourth year of I-hsi (C.154) of the Tsin dynasty (408). Buddhabhadra took his abode in the Palace monastery (also called Ch'i-Kung monastery). At first he and Kumārajīva were on very friendly terms. In intellectual pursuits they often had discussions together and mutually explored some of the abstruse implications of canonical texts. But later they breathed different intellectual atmosphere as their scholastic lineages apparently derived from separate origins. Kumārajīva devoted himself to disseminating the teachings of sūtras, particularly the Mahāyāna doctrine of Nāgārjuna, and was favourably recognised by Yao-hsing (C. 155), the ruler of Yao-ch'in dynasty. He and his disciples, more than two thousand in number, could freely go in and out of the palaces and courts. On the other hand, Buddhabhadra strictly adhered to the modes of teaching of the Sect of Elders (Sthaviravāda) of the Śrāvakayāna, cultivating meditation and concentration, living a plain and simple life without any display or show. Among his hundreds of disciples, Chih-yen Pao-yuen (C. 156), Hui-kuan (C. 157), etc., are some of the best known. Of course, Kumārajīva also taught menthods of contemplation; but he recommended only some essentials of dhyāna of the old masters of the Sect of Elders without giving them an orderly and systematic formulation. Buddhabhadra's methods, however, were those handed down from master to disciple for generations and therefore kept their purity intact. With regard to Buddhabhadra's scholastic lineage Sê ng-yu(C. 158) kept a record (See in *The collection of the Records of translations of the Tripiṭaka*, [C. 159] fascicle 12). Owing to such divergencies, gradually there arose discord between the disciples of the two masters. In the seventh year of the I-hsi reign (411), Buddhabhadra's casual remark that he seemed to have some supernormal power immediately strirred up a big storm. The disciples of Kumārajīva such as Sêng-liao (C. 160) Tao-hêng (C. 161) and others, all blamed him as being guilty of telling a lie —thus breaking a fundamental commandment—and relying upon the support of the masses. This compelled him to leave Ch'ang-an. His pupils suddenly threatened by such unfavourable conditions, almost all dispersed. Only Hui-kuan and a little more than forty adherents followed him southward to Lu Mountain. At that time, the monk Hui-yüan (C.162) was living there, who had heard of Buddhabhadra's fame. On meeting Buddhabhadra, he was greatly delighted. Being of the view

that it was unfair to drive away the Indian monk, Hui-yüan wrote a special letter to Yao-hsing and the monks in the capital, intervening on his behalf and asking them to revoke the sentence of pronouncing him guilty of breaking the commandment.

During his residence at Lu Mountain, Buddhabhadra at Hui-Yüan's request, translated the special work on dhyāna, *Yogacaryā-bhūmi-sūtra*, 2 fascicles (*Taishō*. No. 618) and thus gave him very great help in his meditation and contemplation. But the Indian monk's wish was to go to different places to propagate the Buddha's teaching ; one year later in the autumn of the eighth year of I-hsi period (412), he left Lu Mountain and went westward to Ching-chou where he was greatly honoured by the T'ai-wei (the highest military officer), Liu Yü (C.163), who was staying there temporarily. In the next spring he followed Liu Yü to Yang-tu (now Nanking) and stayed in Tao-ch'ang monastery also called Tou-ch'ang monastery, outside the Chung-hua gate of Nanking. As it was built by the donation of Ssū-k'ung, one of the highest civil officers, Hsieh Shih (C.164), it was later also named Hsieh Ssū-k'ung monastery. His plain manners and refined airs earned him the respect of all the local monks.

After his arrival at Yang tu, Buddhabhadra, as of old, still taught his methods of dhyāna ; his residence, Tao-ch'ang monastery, for a time became known as ' the cave of Masters of dhyāna. ' Not long after, Fa-hsien came back from his travels in India. Then they began to co-operate in doing translation work. From the twelfth to the fourteenth year of the I-hsi period (416–18) they translated the Sanskrit manuscripts brought back by Fa-hsien, viz. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, 6 fasciles (*Taishō*, No. 376), *Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya*, 40 fascicles (*Taishō*, No. 1425), *Mahāsaṃghika BhikṣuPrātimokṣa-sūtra*, fascicle, (*Taishō*, No. 1426), *Mahāsaṃghika Bhikṣunī Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 1427) and *Kṣudraka-sūtra*, 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 745). Having accumulated a great deal of experience in translation, Buddhabhadra accepted in 418, the request of Meng I (C.165) and Ch'u Shu-tu (C.166), and worked together with more than one hundred *śramaṇas* including Fa-yeh (C.167), Hui-yen (C.168) and others. In the course of three years he completed the translation of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāmamahāvaipulya-sūtra*, 50 fascicles (later it was re-divided into 60 fascicles and called *Sixty Hua-yen* [C. 169] *Taishō*, No. 278). The Sanskrit text of this great sūtra, containing 36,000 ślokas, was brought back from Khotan by the *śramaṇa* Chih Fa-ling (C.170) of the Tsin dynasty and left untranslated. Only when Buddhabhadra organized the power of a group of men and partially adopted Kumārajīva's style of translation did he accomplish this great task (Kumārajīva had translated the chapter on ' Ten Stages ' of *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Buddhabhadra used this entire translation ; the other chapters were well articulated with it and were of course also influenced by his style). Buddhabhadra was very careful in the choice of words and in the interpretation of meanings and thus made the version coincident with the original text. As this sūtra later exerted a very great influence on the development of Buddhist teaching in China, the place where the translation was done was called ' Hua-Yen (Avataṃsaka) Hall' in memory of this great undertaking. Buddhabhadra died in the sixth year of the Yuanchia reign of Liu-Sung dynasty (429) at the age of seventy one.

Besides the seven works already mentioned, his other translations now extant are :

1. *Anantamukhanīhāra-dhāraṇī*, 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 1012)
2. *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra*, 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 666)
3. *Samantabhadracarī-praṇidhāna*, 1 fascicle (*Taishō*, No. 296)
4. *Buddhadhyāna-samādhisāgara-sūtra*, 8, fascicles (*Taishō*, No. 643)
5. *The Pure Six Pāramitā Sūtra*, 1 fascicle, was also translated by him.

So the total translations were 12 works comprising 113 fasicles. The estimate given in *The Biographies of Eminent Monks* (C. 171) is erroneous. Again, according to *the K'ai-Yüan Catalogue* (C.172), among Buddhabhadra's translations are included *New Amitābhavyūha*, 2 fascicles, and *Upāyacitta-śāstra*, 1 fascicle ; but the former is a duplicated entry of Pao-yuen's translation while the latter is a misnomer for the *Yoga-caryā-bhūmi*. As to *the Sūtra of the cause and effect of the past*, 1 fascicle, it is not taken into account because its origin is rather doubtful.

Though Buddhabhadra's translations touched upon different aspects of Buddhism, his special attention was concentrated on the methods of meditative contemplation. According to the Preface to *the Dhyāna-sūtra* (viz., *Yogacaryā-bhūmi*) written by Hui-Yüan, he had translated the works of both Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena on the

methods of dhyāna. But the *Dhyāna-sūtra* now extant only gives an account of the methods of graded cultivation of Buddhasena. It begins with the two methods of the 'ambrosial truths,' i.e., the counting of breath and meditation on the impurity of the body; it then proceeds to the contemplation of the four immeasurables, the five *skandhas*, the twelve *āyatanas* and the eighteen *dhātus*, in order to realize the principle of dependent origination, and finally to attain dhyāna and samādhi, reaching to the ultimate, beyond emotion or thinking. As to the details of Dharmatrāta's method of contemplation we know practically nothing. (But people still regard Buddhabhadra's translation as the *Dhyāna-sūtra* of Dharmatrāta). The stages of contemplation as taught by Buddhasena had originally belonged to the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* of the Sect of Elders and were introduced to China since the time of An Shih-kao (C.173). Buddhasena went a step further. He 'selected and collected the essentials from the sūtras and encouraged the learners to aspire to Mahāyāna' and therefore brought them close to that of the Yogācāra School. Thus, Buddhabhadra's translations have unexpectedly become the precursor of the east flowering of the Yogācāra doctrines of Mahāyāna and this has its porper significance in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

L. C.

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BUDDHABHAGAVAD—AṢṬAŚATA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ, the title of a text containing a magic formula. The Tibetan version of the text occurs twice in the Rgyud ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur according to the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. Nos. 532, 873; See also *TT*. Vol. 6, No. 161). The Tibetan title is as follows: *Saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan-ḥdas-kyi mtshan brgya-rtsa brgyud-pa gzuṅs sṅags daṅ bcas-pa.*

The *dhāraṇī* in this text is a formula which is probably addressed to the Pravara (Tib. *Thub-paḥi mchos*) Buddha. It is said to have been recited by a number of most excellent *bodhisattvas* of the past, one hundred and eight times (presumably the name of the *dhāraṇī*, *Aṣṭaśata*, owes its origin to this fact). Excerpts from the *dhāraṇī* are quoted below:

> *Oṃ bho hāṃ hūṃ hāṃ hūṃ hāṃ hūṃ hī hī śiva śiva śānti śānti śam śam śai ? ma pa ya Tathāgata anugata svabhāva abhāva samudatāya asamabala ......birala bala amṛta bala atibala ghruṃ ghruṃ ....bhedu bhedu hā hā hī hī bhagavantaka ura tabhoga mahā śāntikara pāpa ....ki....śina śa gā svāhā.*

Having begun the text with a salutation addressed to all the teachers (Buddhas), the author gives a full description of Pravara Buddha. The Compassionate Buddha, he says, whose body is smeared with sandalwood (Skt. *candana*, Tib. *tsan–dan*) is handsome and possessed of a bright and a healthy complexion. His face is like a full-blown lotus and his feet are like lotuses. The teeth are white and well-set. He is the benefactor of all beings in the entire world and is capable of destroying all evil (Tib. *ñes-pa*). Further, the author declares that this Tathāgata is endowed with the ten kinds of strength (Skt. *daśabala*, Tib. *stobs-bcu*) and the secondary marks of perfection (Skt. *anuvyañjana*, Tib. *dge-byad*).

Having given the instructions as to how the magic circle should be prepared and the ceremony carried out, the author mentions the benefits that one would enjoy after performing the ceremony. According to him, one would become wise and would attain the third stage of the *bodhisattva* perfection. He would also be devoid of lust and all miseries. All his moral evils (Skt. *pāpa*, Tib. *sdig-pa*) would be destroyed and he would be possessed of the three blessings (Skt. *trisampanna*, Tib. *phun-gsum-tshogs*), namely, grace, glory and wealth.

I. K.

BUDDHA-BHĀṢITA, 'spoken by the Buddha.' In the Chinese titles of many Buddhist texts these words (*Fo-shuo* or *Fu-shuo*: C. 181) form a very common prefix, which although retained by Nanjio, is rightly omitted in the *Taishō* catalogue. For practical reasons the prefix has been omitted also in this Encyclopaedia and the relative texts will be dealt with under their proper title. Thus, the sūtra, as spoken by the Buddha on sixty-two

views of the net of Brahma (*Fo-shuo-fang-wang-liu-shih-êrh-chien-ching*) will be found under BRAHMA-JĀLA SŪTRA, instead of Buddhabhāṣita-brahmajāla Sūtra, with a cross-reference under FAN-WANG-LIU-SHIH-ÊRH-CHIEN-CHING, omitting the prefix *Fo-shuo-* (*Buddha-bhāṣita*).

BUDDHABHĀṢITA-SAMANTAJVALAMĀLĀ-VIŚUDDHASPHUṬĪKṚTA CINTĀMAṆIMUDRĀ-HṚDAYĀPARĀJITA - DHĀRAṆĪ - PRATISARA MAHĀVIDYĀRĀJA, the restored Sanskrit form of the Chinese *Pu'-pien-kuang-ming-(yen-man-) ch'ing-ching-ch'ih-shêng-ju-i-pao- yin-hsin-wu-nêng - shêng-ta-ming - wang - ta - sui - ch'i t'o - lo-ni - ching* (C.182) which is a translation of a Sanskrit text believed to to be of Buddha origin. This work is also referred to as *Mahāpratisara-dhāraṇī* and *Mahāpratisara-vidyārājñī*, and is included in the sūtra section of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Amoghavajra (746–71 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A.C.) is mentioned as the Chinese translator of the Sanskrit text (*Nanjio*, No. 1042 ; *Taishō*, No. 1153).

The Tibetan version of the text, a translation attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde revised by Gshun-nu dpal, occurs in the Rgyud ḥbum (100,000 Tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa rig-paḥi rgyal-mo so-sor ḥbraṇ-ba chen-mo*, the corresponding Sanskrit title of the text quoted therein being *Ārya-Mahāpratisarāvidyā-rājñī* (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 179 ; *TM*. No. 561).

E. H. P.

BUDDHĀBHIṢEKA-NĀMA-STOTRA, the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Bstod-tshogs (*stotra*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, under the title *Saṅs-rgyas dbaṅ-bskur-ba shes-bya-baḥi bstod-pa*. The translator of this work is known as Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra), but the author is unknown (*TM*. No. 1161; *Cordier*. II, p. 11, No 50 ; II Vol. 46, No. 2050).

The author begins this text with a salutation addressed to the All-knowing One (Buddha, Tib. *Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa*). The entire text is devoted to a description of the birth of Gotama the Buddha and the manner of his anointment (Tib. *dbaṅ-bskur-ba*, Skt. *abhiśeka*) by the gods.

The great gods, travelling in a golden mansion, approached the Buddha, who is said to have crossed over to the other side (Tib. *pha-rol-phyin*) of *saṃsāra*, praised him and requested him to preach the noble doctrine. On listening to his teaching, the gods worshipped him with clasped hands for three days, and offered him pearl garlands, baskets filled with diamonds, and nectar (Tib. *bdud-rtsi*, Skt. *pīyūṣa*).

Thereupon, the Buddha departed from the deva-world and took conception in the womb of the noble lady, Māyā (Tib. *Sgyu-ḥphrul*), the queen of king Śuddhodana (Tib. *Ba-yi-bdag-po-zas*) of the Chandravaṃśa (*ñi-maḥi-rigs*). It is mentioned that Māyā was dressed like the wife of Indra (king of the gods), the only difference being that the former moved her eye-lashes (in winking). Māyā, whose splendour is compared to that of the moon-beams, entered the Lumbini grove with her female attendants (Tib. *slas*, Skt. *sahacārī*) and gave birth to the Buddha under the branch of a tree at an auspicious hour. Seven lotuses emerged from the earth at that time, and the little prince trod on them and uttered words to the effect that he had put an end to transmigratory existence etc. Then, he surveyed all the directions of the world. With the lustre of the prince's body Jambudvīpa was illuminated. At that moment, two streams of hot and cold water flowed down from the sky. When the prince sat on a high seat, decked with a variety of jewels, the gods anointed him with a golden vase full of water from the celestial river. The echo of the various musical instruments penetrated through the entire area, and masses of Mandāra flowers rained from the sky. The entire place was covered with camphor (Tib. *ga-bur*, Skt. *karpūr*) and sandalwood powder. The mountains and the oceans moved like the attire of a dancer and earth-quakes occured in the six directions of the earth. There was prosperity (Tib. *bkra-śis*, Skt. *maṅgala*) everywhere. The blind regained their sight, the dumb started to talk, the deaf gained the power of their hearing and the sick recovered from their illnesses. Poisonous serpents moved to and fro without harming anyone.

At the conclusion of the text, the author mentions that all those who wish to acquire merit by anointing the Buddha, would obtain the three blessings: grace, glory and wealth (Tib. *phun-sum-tshogs*.) Further, he says, such people would live long without any illness, be without enemies and become famous in the world.

I. K.

BUDDHABHŪMI-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA(var. *Ārya-B°*), the name of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rgyas-kyi sa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Prajñāvarṇa are said to have

translated the work into Tibetan (*TT*. Vol. 37, No. 941).

The Chinese version of the text, a translation attributed to Hsüan-tsang (645 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A. C.), occurs in the sūtra section of the Chinese Tripiṭaka under the title *Fo-ti-ching* (C.183, *Taishō*. No. 680; *Nanjio*. No. 502).

The text contains a sermon on five types of wisdom said to be characteristic of a buddhabhūmi. The venue of the sermon is described at the outset of the work. The Buddha, it is said, was residing in a palace made of seven kinds of jewels, which emanated a radiance that filled the world-systems. Whilst there, he gladdened, through his sermons, the bodhisattvas, monks, gods, nāgas, rākṣasas, asuras and all other beings assembled there.

On one occasion, he addressed the bodhisattva Śin-tu ḥdus and spoke of five types of wisdom, viz., the wisdom of the sphere of religion (*drama-dhātu-jñāna*), the mirror-like knowledge (*ādarśa-jñāna*), the knowledge to be acquried through equality (*samatā-jñāna*), the wisdom acquired through reflection (*pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna*), and the wisdom acquired through consideration (*kāryakara-jñāna*).

The text contains a detailed description of each of these types of *jñāna*.

R. H.

BUDDHA-BHŪMI. See TATHĀGATA-BHŪMI.

BUDDHABHŪMI-SŪTRA-ŚĀSTRA (*Taishō*, No. 1530), in seven fascicles, composed by Bandhuprabha (C.184) and others, and translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang of the T'ang dynasty. In the Bstan-ḥgyur section of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, there is a work by Śilabhadra known as the *Āryabuddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna* (or the *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rgyas-kyi saḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa* in Tibetan), which is similar to this *śāstra* in its fundamental parts.

After his arrival at Ch'ang-an on the 24th day of the first month in the 19th year of Chên-kuan (645 A.C.), Hsüan-tsang started his translation on the 2nd day of the fifth month. At first he translated the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra* in twenty fascicles, and on the 15th day of the seventh month he translated the *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra* in one fascicle(which was written down by Pien-chia: C.185). It is evident that he took these two sūtras as the guidinglines of the practices and the training of a bodhisattva. Afterwards, he translated the *Prakaraṇārya-vācā*, the *Samyuktasaṃgīti*, the *Yogācaryā-bhūmi*, the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*, the *Hetuvidyā*, the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*, the *Triṃśikā-vijñaptikārikā*, the *Vijñāna-kāya-pāda* and some other *śāstras*. After having completed the translation of these works in the eighth month of the 23rd year of Chên-kuan (649 A.C.), he started to translate the *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra-śāstra* (which was written down by Ta-chêng-kuang (C.186), between the 2nd day and the 24th day of the twelfth month in the same year). From this it is evident that Hsüan-tsang took this *śāstra* to be a conclusive work of the theories of the Yogācāra school.

The exposition of the Buddha fruit (*Buddhaphala*) in this *śāstra* is an elucidation of the theory of the three bodies (*trikāya*). Although the theory of the three bodies had emerged quite early in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the state of the Buddha-fruit became clear only after the publication of this *śāstra*; and with the explanation of the doctrine of 'transforming the dependence' (*āśraya-parivṛtti*), the realization of the Buddha-fruit appeared to be more substantial and concrete.

The state of the Buddha-fruit is analysed in detail in this *śāstra*, and the five dharmas are employed to comprehend the Buddha-stage (*Buddha-bhūmi*). In the works of Maitreya and Asaṅga, the so-called Buddha-fruit is comprehended under two categories: the fruit of cutting off the results of former karma and the fruit of wisdom. But in this *śāstra* the pure Dharmadhātu is considered to be the fruit of such cutting; it included the non-active (*asaṃskṛta*) merits in the Buddha-bhūmi and the pure Dharmadhātu is but another name for *tathatā*. In the sūtra there are ten parables of space (*ākāśa*) to explain the subtle teachings and in the *śāstra* an extensive elucidation is given accordingly. Furthermore, the fruit of wisdom is divided into four parts to include the active (*saṃskṛta*) merits in Buddha-bhūmi. The first is the Great Round Mirror Wisdom (*ādarśa-jñāna*), which is transformed from the eighth consciousness (*vijñāna*) and is capable of sustaining all the merits in Buddha-bhūmi, without discontinuance in the endless future. The parable of ten round mirrors is used to manifest its meaning. The second is the Wisdom of Equality (*samatā-jñāna*). It is transformed from the seventh consciousness and is always in conformation with great mercy (*mahāmaitrī*) and great pity (*mahākaruṇā*). The non-abiding Nirvāṇa is established upon this wisdom, and the phenomena of the *Sambhogakāya* and its realm are also manifested by it. It is the exclusive basis of the Wisdom of Profound Insight (*pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna*), and the ten aspects can be perfectly achieved only through the practices of the ten stages. The third part deals with the

Wisdom of Profound Insight, which is transformed from the sixth consciousness and is capable of sustaining all the gates of dhāraṇīs and the gates of samādhis, and it enables one to preach the Dharma and to solve doubts in a great assembly. There are given ten causes to discriminate its characteristics. The fourth part is the wisdom of performing one's duty (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*), which is derived from the first five consciousnesses and is able to manifest the incarnations of a Buddha according to the circumstances in all worlds in order to benefit all sentient beings. The *Nirmāṇakāya* of a Tathāgata is formed by the functions of this wisdom, and there are ten transformations to explain its characteristics.

At the beginning of this *śāstra*, it is explained that a possessor of the supreme Enlightenment is a Buddha, who possesses the thre-efold *kāya* (body), namely, the *Dharmakāya*, the *Saṃbhogakāya* and the *Nirmāṇakāya*, and that the Buddha-bhūmi is the state on which the Buddha-body depends, which is included in it and in which the Buddha-body acts. When all the merits of the Buddha-bhūmi are included in the five dharmas and explained in this *śāstra*, the meaning of the three bodies of a Buddha is naturally fixed. This is a great theoretical development, as compared with the simple literal explanations of the Buddha-body in old writings which are empty expositions.

In fascicle VII of this *śāstra* there are two different explanations about the interrelationship of the five Dharmas with the three bodies, as are shown in the following tables:

Explanation I.

The *Dharmakāya* —the pure Dharmadhātu
—the Great Round Mirror Wisdom.

The *Saṃbhogakāya* —the Wisdom of Equality
—the Wisdom of Profound Insight.

The *Nirmāṇakāya* —the Wisdom of Performing One's Duty.

Explanation II.

The *Dharmakāya* —the pure Dharmadhātu.

The *Saṃbhogakāya*—the *Saṃbhogakāya* for a Buddha's own use.
—the *Saṃbhogakāya* for the spiritual benefit of others.
(The nature of the four Wisdoms are latent in both these forms of *Saṃbhogakāya*, which are partially shown to a bodhisattva who is above the initial stage of a bodhisattva's development).

The *Nirmāṇakāya* —this form of body is partially and briefly shown to a bodhisattva before he enters into the bodhisattva-bhūmi.

The fact that there were divergent theories concerning the interrelationship between the three bodies and the five dharmas show that the doctrines of the *Buddhabhūmi-sūtra-śāstra* had already been highly developed among the teachings of the Yogācāra School in India, before the sixth century A.C., or even earlier, and had given rise to different explanations among scholars. Bandhuprabha, the author of this *śāstra*, having access to the results of these researches, composed this work and explained the merits of a Buddha in his stage of fruition to such perfection as had not been understood before. This is the most prominent feature of this work. Afterwards, more perfect elucidations about the problems of the Buddha-land are found in the writings of K'uei-chi (C.187), who was a disciple of Hsüan-tsang.

At the end of the sūtra there are four stanzas summarising the teachings contained in it, and in the *śāstra* one fascicle is devoted to the exposition of these stanzas in detail. There are many excellent explanations in it, and such dubious theories as those concerning *tathatā*, the two hindrances, the cutting off of delusions, the Buddha's way of transformation, the differences of the three bodies, the shapes and dimensions of the three bodies, the similarities or dissimilarities of the three bodies of a Tathāgata, the similarities or dissimilarities of the edifications of a Tathāgata, etc., which were obscure and caused much controversy in the past, are clarified in this *śāstra*. As for the four stanzas, their texts are also found in the tenth chapter on bodhi in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

From a comparative study of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra* and the Tibetan version of the *Ārya-buddhabhūmivyākhyāna*, we may infer that the doctrines contained in this *śāstra* were initiated by Dharmapāla, completed by Śīlabhadra and extensively developed by Bandhuprabha. According to the development of Buddhism in India, Mahāyāna Buddhism was a unitary teaching without variant

theories for several hundred years from the time of Nāgārjuna to that of Dignāga, and this *śāstra* is a mature work concerning the problem of the Buddha-fruit which prevailed during that period. After Hsüan-tsang translated this *śāstra* into Chinese, Ching-mai (C.188) of the T'ang dynasty composed a commentary on it in six fascicles, of which a copied edition still exists. There were also a commentary by Chih-jên (C.189) in fourteen fascicles, and another by Shên-t'ai (C.190) in four fascicles, but both are now lost.

K. Yu.

BUDDHABHŪMI-VYĀKHYĀNA, a Sanskrit text extant in Tibetan. See BUDDHABHŪMI-SŪTRA ŚĀSTRA.

BUDDHABODHISAMĀDHI VIṢAGHĀTADĪPA-NĀMA, the restored Sanskrit title of the text, *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi byaṅ-chub bsam-gtan-gyi dug sel-bar-byed-paḥi mar-me shes-bya-ba,* found in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM*. No. 2101 ; *Cordier,* II, p. 190, No. 10 ; *TT*. Vol. 67, No. 2952). The text, which begins with a salutation addressed to Mañjuśrī, deals with a discussion on meditation. It discusses in detail the wonderful effects of destroying the poison of misery (Skt. *duḥkha,* Tib. *sdug-bsṅal*), ignorance (Skt. *avidyā,* Tib. *ma-rig-pa*), and excessive desire (Tib. *gduṅ-ba*). It is also mentioned here that whosoever destroys desire and ignorance by the practice of meditation would gain wisdom and become the wisest of all, namely, he would attain Buddhahood.

I. K.

BUDDHA-CAKKHU, the Buddha-eye, the Buddha's vision especially into the nature of other beings. It is by this 'eye' that "the Buddha sees beings whose minds are little defiled (*apparajakkha*), or much defiled (*mahārajakkha*), beings whose faculties such as faith are blunt (*mudindriya*) or sharp (*tikkhindriya*), beings of good disposition (*svākāra*) and of evil disposition (*dvākāra*), beings who can be easily convinced (*suviññāpaya*) and those who can be convinced only with difficulty (*duviññāpaya* : *D*. II, pp. 38–9 ; *M*. I, p. 169 ; *S*. I, p. 138 ; *Vin*. I, p. 6).

It is clear from this description that the term *Buddha-cakkhu* has been employed in the early texts of the Pali canon in a very simple way to denote a special knowledge possessed by the Buddha. But, when the monks started developing the studies into the nature of the Buddha's knowledge, we find the term being treated in a scholastic manner. Thus, in the *Niddesa,* the *Buddha-cakkhu* constitutes one of the five 'eyes' possessed by the Buddha.

In explaining the word *vivaṭa-cakkhu* (*Sn. v.* 921), meaning the one whose vision is unobstructed, i.e,. the Buddha, the *Paramatthajotikā* says that the Buddha is endowed with five eyes (*SnA*. II, p. 563). The *Mahāniddesa,* explaining the same word, gives the list of five eyes and explains them in detail (*Nd*. I, pp. 354–60). Similarly, in explaining the word *cakkhumā* (*Sn. v.* 992), meaning the one who has eyes, i.e., the Buddha, the *Culla-niddesa* adopts the same method of treatment (*Nd*. II, pp. 133–40).

The *Niddesa,* after giving the same explanation of the *Buddha-cakkhu,* as is found in the early suttas and in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga,* adds that the Buddha by his Buddha-eye recognises people by their nature : he realises whether a particular person is of a greedy nature (*rāga-carita*), of a hateful nature (*dosa-c°*), of a dull nature (*moha-c°*), of a ruminating nature (*vitakka-c°*), of a faithful nature (*saddhā-c°*) or of an intelligent nature (*ñāṇa-c°* : *Nd*. I, pp. 359–60 ; *Nd*. II, pp. 137–8).

The *Saddhammapajjotikā* which identifies the *Buddha-cakkhu* with the two types of knowledge of the Buddha, namely, the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* and the *āsayānusaya-ñāṇa* says that the Buddha by this eye distinguishes between the four types of persons classified according to their ability to acquire insight, namely, (1) *ugghaṭatiññu,* one who during a given explanation of the Dhamma comes to penetrate the truth, (2) *vipacitaññu,* one who realises the truth after a detailed explanation of the Dhamma, (3) *ñeyya,* one who, through advice and questioning, wise consideration and frequenting noble-minded friends, comes to penetrate the truth and (4) *padaparama,* one who, though having learned much, speaking much and knowing many things by heart, does not realise the truth in that life (*NdA*. II, pp. 383 ff.).

We thus find these three descriptions of persons given in explaining the *Buddha-cakkhu,* namely, (1) beings of little defilements etc. (in the early suttas), (2) beings of the six-fold nature (in the *Niddesa*) and (3) persons of four types (in the *Saddhammapajjotikā*). All these descriptions are attempts, from different standpoints, at explaining the various characters, and the different types of nature, of sentient beings. The *Buddha-cakkhu* is a particular kind of knowledge possessed by the Buddha by which he understands the nature and the abilities of people. This knowledge is very

useful because it helps him distinguish between different types of persons and instruct them accordingly.

As far as the identification of the *Buddha-cakkhu* with the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* and the *āsayānusaya-ñāṇa* is concerned, it is clear that the latter two kinds of knowledge are those given in the *Paṭisambhidā-magga* (pp. 121 ff.). As these two kinds of knowledge are mentioned under the single name of *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* in the *Vibhaṅga* (p. 340), the *Buddha-cakkhu* of the *Saddhamma-pajjotikā* (*NdA*. II, p. 383) is identical with the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* of the *Vibhaṅga* which constitutes one of the ten powers of the Buddha (*dasa-bala*).

U. K.

BUDDHACARITA, a biography of the Buddha written in Sanskrit by Aśvaghoṣa (q. v.) about the second century A. C. The extant text consists of seventeen cantos and ends with the Buddha's visit to Lumbini in his native country. Of these seventeen only thriteen are claimed to be by Aśvaghoṣa, the last four cantos being an attempt, in 1830 A.C., by a Nepalese author named Amṛtānanda to supply the loss of the original. Also a manuscript discovered by Haraprasada Sastri goes as far as the middle of the fourteenth canto (*JASB*. New Series, Vol. V, pp. 47 ff.).

But, as the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Buddhacarita* contain twenty-eight cantos, we may conclude that the original Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* consisted of twenty-eight cantos and that the extant Sanskrit text consisting of seventeen (or thirteen to be exact) cantos is only a torso. This conclusion is irressitible also in view of the fact that the seventeenth, i.e., the last, canto of the extant text ends, not with the Buddha's *parinibbāna*, as one might expect it to end, but with his visit to Lumbini in the early years of his Enlightenment.

However, even in the torso which has come down to us, we have for the first time an actual epic of the Buddha created by a poet who, filled with intense love and reverence for the exalted figure of the Buddha, and deeply imbued with the truth of his teachings, was able to present the life and doctrine of the Buddha in a language that is noble and artistic and not artificial.

The first canto of the text describes the birth of the bodhisattva while his childhood, education, youthful life and marriage are related in the second canto. The next two cantos describe how he became disgusted with the pleasures of the senses, on seeing a sick man, an old man and a dead man. The cantos five and six describe how, on seeing an ascetic, he renounced the world, in search of true happiness. In the next canto, Śuddhodana, his father, sends out councillors to trace the bodhisattva and persuade him to come back. The bodhisattva tells the councillors who meet him that he would not go back until and unless he attains Enlightenment, the only means to true happiness. This is told in the ninth canto. The next canto relates that he visited Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, that he met the king of Magadha, and that the latter requested him to stay with him. The bodhisattva refused to grant his request and went forth in search of truth ; this is told in the eleventh canto. The twelfth canto describes how he met Arāḍha Kālāma and Udraka and how, on leaving them, undertook self-mortification as a means to Enlightenment. It also says that after six years, he gave up self-mortification realising that it is not the path to Enlightenment, and finally went to an *aśvattha* tree, with a firm resolution. The next canto deals with his struggle with and final victory over the hosts of Māra, the evil one. His attainment of Buddhahood is described in the fourteenth canto. In the next canto, the two merchants named Trapusa and Bhallika visit him and pay their homage, after which the Brahma visits him and invites him to preach the doctrine he discovered. He accepts the invitation and proceeds towards Vārāṇasi. The sixteenth chapter records his first sermon, the famous *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra*. And in the last, seventeenth chapter the Buddha went to Lumbini, meeting and converting on the way the famous Kāśyapas at Uruvilvā.

The *Buddhacarita* calls itself a *mahākāvya*, a great poem, i.e., ornate epic poem in the technical sense, and it is composed in the so-called *Kāvya* style, the beginnings of which are found in the *Rāmāyana*.

Aśvaghoṣa is not only moderate in language and style, but he also uses restraint in the presentation of miracles in the Buddha-legend. He always keeps himself far removed from such exaggerations as we find, for instance, in the *Lalitavistara*. In contrast with the chaotic disorder in texts like the *Mahāvastu* or the *Lalitavistara*, we find in the *Buddhacarita* a well-planned, artistic arrangement of the material. Although the poet is quite familier with the older texts, he nevertheless assumes a certain amount of freedom in his attitude towards them.

I-tsing, speaking of the *Buddhacarita*, says that it was a voluminous poem which recounted the life and works of the Buddha from the time when he was still living in the royal palace till his last hour in the park of the *sāla*-trees. "It is extensively read in all the five parts of India and in the countries of the south sea. The author clothed manifold notions and ideas in a few words which so delighted the heart of his reader that he never wearied of perusing the poem. Moreover, it was regarded as a virtue to read it inasmuch as it contained the noble doctrine in a neat and compact form" (*A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archepelago*, the English translation of *I-tsing's Records*, by Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 165 ff.).

Most probably, the *Buddhacarita* which I-tsing came across, was its Chinese translation by Dharmapakṣa between 414 and 421 A.C. This Chinese version called *Fo-so-hsing-tsang-ching* (C. 191) has been translated into English by Samuel Beal and published in the *SBE.* as volume XIX.

The Tibetan translation by Sa-dbaṅ-bzaṅ-po (Bhūmindrabhadra) and Blo-gros rgyal-po is found under the title *saṅs-rgyas-kyi spyod-pa* (*Buddhacarita-nāma-mahākāvya*) included in the skyes-rabs (*Jātaka*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. Its author's name is given as Rta-dbyaṅs (Suvarṇākṣiputra, another name of Aśvaghoṣa, meaning 'the son of Suvarṇākṣi', Suvarṇākṣi being the name of Aśvaghoṣa's mother : *TM.* No. 4156 ; *Cordier*, III, p. 421, No. 1). It is also published in *WZKM.* as volume VII, pp. 193 ff.

The extant Sanskrit text comprising seventeen cantos has been edited and published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan series, as volume I, Oxford, 1893 ; and translated into English and published in the *SBE.* as volume XLIX, pp. 1–201. Both the edition and the translation are by E. B. Cowell.

The Chinese and Tibetan translation of cantos xv-xxviii and their English translation by H. H. Johnston have been published in the *Acta Orientalia* as volume XI.

U. K.

BUDDHA - CARITA - SAṂGRAHA - SŪTRA, the Chinese version of *Buddhacarita-saṃgraha-sūtra* (C. 192 : *Taishō.* No. 190), 60 fascicles, was translated by Jñānagupta between the 7th year and the 11th year of K'ai-huang (587-91 A. C.) of the Sui dynasty. Sêng-t'an (C. 193), Fei Chang-fang (C. 194), and Liu-P'ing (C. 195) helped in the translation work. There was originally a preface by Yen-tsung (C. 196), but it is lost now.

This sūtra is a comprehensive work on the life of the Buddha, chiefly based on the tradition of the Dharmagupta School, as well as those of the Mahāsaṃghika, the Sarvāstivāda, the Kāśyapīya and the Mahīśāsaka Schools and the different legends of the Avadānas, and its title has been borrowed from the Buddhacarita of the Dharmagupta School. Thus, it is known as *Buddhacarita-saṃgraha-sūtra.* It was probably in Udyāna and its neighbouring regions in ancient India that the five Vinaya Schools of Dharmagupta, etc., were propagated contemporaneously (vide *The Record of the Western Regions* : (C. 197), fasc. iii. and *The Records of the Inner Law sent back from the South Seas* (C. 198) fasc. i.). Therefore, it is possible that this work, consisting of the legends of the five Vinaya Schools, was compiled at that place. The Sanskrit text of this book has not yet been found, and its original name was probably *Buddhacarita-saṃgraha.*

This sūtra, with sixty chapters, is the most elaborate of all the works about the life of the Buddha. It may be roughly divided into two parts. The first part consists of three chapters, from the 'Chapter on Cherishing the Mind to Make Offerings' to the 'Chapter on the Royal Lines of the Bhadrakalpa,' in which the two genealogical lines of Śākyamuni Buddha are narrated : (1) the religious genealogy of the Buddhas and (2) the royal genealogy of worldly kings. The second part consists of fifty-seven chapters. From the 'Chapter on the Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven' to the 'Chapter on the Nidānas of Ānanda' are depicted the deeds of Śākyamuni Buddha during his life up to the sixth year of his career after attaining Enlightenment as well as some stories of his past lives, and the events of his disciples whom he had converted during the six years and the causes of their conversion, are also narrated therein.

In the religious genealogy of the first part there are four different systems. (1) Beginning from the group of thirty *koṭi* Buddhas, all of whom were known as Śākyamuni, and ending with the group with only one Buddha named Prātihārya-dhvaja Tathāgata, without counting the 88,000 *koṭi* pratyekabuddhas, there were sixteen groups of Buddhas, most of whom Śākyamuni Buddha had met and to whom he had made offerings when he was a Cakravartirāja in one of his previous lives. To some of them Maitreya bodhisattva had also made offerings in his past lives. This system was revealed at the

request of Maudgalyāyana, and it is quite similar to that of the *Sarva-buddha Sūtra* (C. 199 : *Taishō.* No. 439), translated by Dānapāla of the Sung dynasty, only with some variations in the numbers and names of the previous Buddhas. It was not without reason that Chih-shiu (C. 200) of the Ming dynasty said that the *Sarva-buddha Sūtra* and the first chapter of the *Buddhacarita-saṅgraha-sūtra* were translated from the same original text (vide *Guide to the Tripiṭaka* : [C. 201] fasc. xxix). This system is also seen in the *Mahāvastu*, fasc. i.

(2) The second system contains the religious genealogy of ninety-nine groups of Buddhas with their successive predictions, beginning from Indradhavja Tathāgata and ending with Vijayī Tathāgata. Among these groups, except that of Kauṇḍinya, which had one hundred Buddhas, that of Sikhī, which had sixty-two Buddhas, and that of Jinendra, which had three hundred Buddhas, each of the remaining groups had only one Buddha. This system was given in answer of the question of Ānanda, and it is also contained in the *Mahāvastu*, fasc. iii.

(3) The third system relates how Śākyamuni Buddha saw with his power of clairvoyance the way in which the bodhisattvas of the Buddha-lands in the ten quarters first cherished the mind of *bodhi*, received their respective predictions, attained Enlightenment and converted beings. Here an episode is especially introduced about the career of Dīpaṃkara bodhisattva, how he made offerings to Ratnāṅgi Tathāgata, obtained the prediction of Prabhākara Tathāgata, attained Enlightenment, preached the Dharma, taught beings, etc. The story is based upon the account of the *Dīpaṃkara-bodhisattva-carita-sūtra.* The origin of Dīpaṃkara Buddha is also recorded in the *Mahāvastu*, but in a shorter form. In this section of the sūtra there are also mentioned the different versions of the Dīpaṃkara legend of various Schools. For instance, the Kāśyapīyas said that on the first day of his preaching the Dharma, Dīpaṃkara Buddha converted 600 *koti* of people and on the seventh day 50 *koṭi*, all of whom attained arhantship. In the second seven days, he edified 100 *koṭi*, and in the third seven days, 75 *koṭi*. This Dīpaṃkara Buddha lived in the world for one *kalpa*, and together with the *śrāvakas* he did beneficial things for worldlings. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that Dīpaṃkara Buddha lived in the world for one *kalpa*, from the time when he first planted the good root of *bodhi* till he rotated the Wheel of Dharma, to edify living beings. The Mahīśāsakas said that Dīpaṃkara Buddha preached the Dharma and saved 68 *koṭi* and a hundred thousand people, with whom he stayed in the world to edify all living beings. The legends told by the three Schools are not the same.

(4) The fourth system consists of an account of Śākyamuni Buddha in his previous birth when he was named the 'Cloud Youth,' relating how he made offerings to and obtained prediction from Dīpaṃkara Tathāgata. He also made offerings to and obtained predictions from a succession of fifteen Buddhas, beginning from Dīpaṃkara to Kāśyapa (the names of these fifteen Buddhas vary slightly as they appear in different places of the translated text of this sūtra). The fifteen Buddhas include the first three of the four Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa (Krakucchanda, Kanaka-muni and Kāśyapa), and they are identical in the main with the 24 Buddhas in the tradition of Southern Buddhism (vide the Pali *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, etc.). After that, the sūtra also mentions the offerings made to Maitreya bodhisattva. Thus, the fifteen Buddhas of the past, the Śākyamuni Buddha of the present and the Maitreya Buddha of the future are all linked together.

The portion on the royal genealogy in the first part begins with an enumeration of the thirty generations of cakravartins from Mahāsammata to Mahīsumeru ; thence it goes on to relate the seventeen groups of minor Cakravartins, from the first group of 101 minor Cakravartins who were the progenies of Mahāsumeru to the last group of 84,000 minor Cakravartins who were the descendants of Maheśvara. After that it relates the thirty-six generations from Kalyāṇa to Mahākuśa among the numerous cakravartins. The line of the Mahākuśas continued for 108 generations. The last Mahākuśa had no son, and the legend tells us that, after he became a monk, he was attacked by an assassin, and that from the drops of his blood which fell on the ground there grew up a sugar-cane which brought from its inside a child, later known as the King Ikṣvāku (meaning sugar-cane). The legend further relates the story of the banishment of the four princes caused by the intrigue of Ikṣvāku's second queen, and hence the origin of the Śākya clan. The fifth generation of the fourth prince was Śākyamuni Buddha. This royal genealogy also appears in a number of more or less similar forms in the *Ta-lou-t'an-ching* (C. 202, *Taishō*. No. 23, fasc. vi.), the *Ch'i-shih-ching* (C.203, *Taishō*. No. 24, fasc. x), the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (*Taishō*. No. 1428, fasc. xxxi), the *Saṅgha-bhedakavastu* (*Taishō*. No. 1450, fasc. i-ii), the *Mahāsammata-sūtra* (*Taishō*. No. 191, fasc. i-ii) and some other literature.

The second part of this sūtra relates the events of Śākyamuni Buddha's life and their causes in his past lives—his entering into his mother's womb, his birth and education, his contests to secure his queen, his renunciation and ascetic practices, his triumph over the Māras and his attainment of Enlightenment, the turning of the Wheel of Dharma at the request of the devas, as well as his preaching activities during a period of six years and the conversion of his disciples, such as, Yaśoda, Pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra, Nālada, Sabhiya, the three Kāśyapa brothers, Upasena, Mahākāśyapa, Bhadra, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, the five hundred bhikṣus, Udāyin, Upāli, Rāhula, Nanda, Bhadrika, Maṇiruddha, and Ānanda. The events related in this sūtra generally agree with those in other works about the life of the Buddha, but in this sūtra the different traditions of the various Schools are also mentioned and the original stories, e.g., the stories of previous lives of the Buddha and his disciples, are also narrated in detail. This may be considered a salient feature of this sūtra.

In mentioning the different traditions of the various Schools, this sūtra particularly points out that about the life of the Buddha each of the five Schools has its own scripture bearing a special title. The Mahāsaṃghikas called it the *Mahāvastu*, the Sarvāstivādins the *Mahāvyūha*, the Kāśyapīyas the *Jātakanidānas*, the Mahīśāsakas the *Vinayapiṭakamūla*, and the Dharmaguptas the *Śākyamuni-Buddhacarita* (vide this sūtra, fasc. lx.). This theory is attested by the extant Sanskrit text of the *Mahāvastu* in which it is explicitly referred to as a work of the Lokottaravādin School, which was a branch of the Mahāsaṃghika School. Moreover, the T'ang translation of the *Vaipulyamahāvyūha Sūtra*, namely, the *Lalitavistara* (*Taishō*. No. 187), still bears unmistakable tinges of the Sarvāstivāda School. From this evidence the statement quoted above appears to be true beyond doubt. As regards the variances in the traditions of different Schools, there are mentioned 12 items of the Mahāsaṃghikas, 1 item of the Sarvāstivāda (this School did not have many variations, probably because its tradition was similar to that of the Dharmagupta School, which constituted the fundemental part of this sūtra), 11 items of the Kāśyapīyas, 5 items of the Mahīśāsakas, and 5 items which the four Schools held in common. The tradition of the Dharmaguptas themselves although not plainly stated, can be discerned from the above variations.

The differences observed among these traditions chiefly concern the following events: (1) Except the Sarvāstivāda, the other four Schools held that after the birth of the prince, Mahāmāyā could enjoy no more the protection of the devas and the bliss which she experienced while the prince was in her womb, and so she became emaciated and died. Some others said that she died because the span of her life ended on the seventh day after the prince's birth. The Sarvāstivādas were of the opinion that the bodhisattva's mother was so happy to see the good features of her son that she died of a fit of overjoy (fasc. xi). (2) It is said that after jumping over the city-wall the Buddha rode on a horse and went speedily to the village of Rāma, and from mid-night to the appearance of the star Venus, he travelled two *yojanas*. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that he travelled twelve *yojanas* ; some others said that it was one hundred *yojanas* (fasc. xvii.). (3) After attaining Buddhahood the Buddha sat under the bodhi-tree for seven days and then received the food offered to him by two merchants of North India. The Mahāsaṃghikas put the event on the seventh seventh-day after his Enlightenment. Some others put it on the second seventh-day or the third seventh-day, and still others put it in the fourth seventh-day (fasc. xxxii). (4) After receiving his food from Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Buddha went to the forest of Kṣiriṇikā, where he stayed spending his time in walking about. The Mahīśāsakas said that the Buddha knew but too well that Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa did not wish him to manifest supernatural powers at the sacrifice lest he might take away part of the offerings made by the worshippers, and therefore he rose in the air and went to Uttarakuru to beg for his food. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa fearing that the people attracted by the sight of the Buddha, would neglect preparing food for him and his followers, advised the Buddha to take up his abode at some lonely place away from the noisy multitude. The other Schools held that for several nights when the devas came to pay homage to the Buddha their radiance lit up the whole forest. Although Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa had learned of the event from the Buddha, still he doubted the Buddha's arahantship. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that the Buddha showed Uruvīlvā-Kāśyapa and his followers five hundred kinds of supernatural powers, but they refused to believe that the Buddha had attained arahantship (fasc. xli & xlii). (5) The Mahīśāsakas said that king Bimbisāra offered the Bamboo Grove to the Buddha and the Saṃgha of the four quarters, but the Kāśyapīyas said that it was offered by the elder Kalandaka (fasc. xliv & xlv). (6) Concerning the birthplace of Mahā-Kāśyapa, one of the Schools said that not far from nor near to Rājagṛha there was a village named Mahātiṣṭa,

while the Mahāsaṃghikas said that in the city of Rājagṛha there was a place called Mahāsṭhila, and at that place there was a brāhman village bearing the same name (fasc. xlv). (7) The Mahāsaṃghikas said that Upasena went to Rājagṛha to beg for food and that he was the best in demeanour, but the other Schools said that it was Aśvajit (fasc. xlviii). (8) The Mahāsaṃghikas said that Aśvajit told Upadeśa : "The Master has taught the Dharma of causes and conditions and the path of liberation. Such Dharma the Master has said in a *pada*." The Kāśyapīyas said that Aśvajit related his Master's teaching thus: "All Dharmas arise from causes, and they will disappear with the disappearance of the causes. Such arising and disappearance of all Dharmas is what I have heard from the Mahāśramaṇa." The other Schools said that it was, "All Dharmas that arise from causes will disappear with the disappearance of the causes. The disappearance of the causes and conditions is the Path, and such is taught by the Master" (fasc. xlviii). (9) The Mahāsaṃghikas said that, after having converted Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the Buddha travelled from Magadha, and passing through various villages and towns he finally returned to Rājagṛha. The Kāśyapīyas said that the Tathāgata travelled to the mountainous regions in the south and after visiting various places he returned to Rājagṛha (fasc.xlix). (10) The Kāśyapīyas said that king Śuddhodana offered food to Udāyi, who in turn offered the food to the World-honoured One. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that the king, following the advice of Udāyi, prepared pure and delicious food and requested the latter to offer it to the World-honoured One (fasc. lii). (11) Concerning the conversion of Rāhula, this sūtra, basing itself on the tradition of the Dharmagupta and other Schools, said that he was born six years after the Buddha's renunciation. Thus, when the Buddha came back, Rāhula was bid to leave home at the age of six. The Mahāsaṃghikas said that Rāhula was the best in observing the Vinaya rules. The Kāśyapīyas said that Rāhula became a śrāmaṇera at the age of fifteen. Furthermore, one of the five Schools (which of the five is unknown) said that the bodhisattva renounced his home two years after Rāhula was born and that he attained Enlightenment after six years of ascetic practice. Another seven years later he returned to Kapilavastu. (In this case Rāhula must have left home at the age of fifteen). Some other Schools held that the World-honoured One returned to Kapilavastu twelve years after he had attained Supreme Bodhi (fasc. lv.).

This sūtra preserves a number of variant traditions about the life of the Buddha from the Vinaya scriptures of different Schools. It is very useful for making comparative studies of those extant works of unascertained sectarian origin on this subject. For instance, in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita-kāvya* (*Taishō*. No. 192) it is said that Mahāmāyā died of over-joy on seeing that her son was as handsome as a heavenly boy, and she was reborn in the heavens (fasc. i). This is similar to the tradition of the Sarvāstivādas as mentioned in this sūtra, and probably it was a tradition of the Sarvāstivāda School. In the *Atītapratyutpanna-hetuphala-sūtra* (*Taishō*. No. 189) it is said that the Buddha knew the mind of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and went to Uttarakuru in the north where he stayed for seven days and nights without making his appearance, and that king Bimbisāra offered the Bamboo Grove to the Buddha (fasc. iv). Both these agree with the tradition of the Mahīśāsakas, and thus they might have been derived from this School. Similarly, as the tradition in the *Madhyama-ityukta-sūtra* (*Taishō*. No. 196) that Karanda offered the Bamboo Grove to the Buddha agrees with the tradition of the Kāśyapīyas, it might have been derived from the Kāśyapīya School. These few instances may serve to illustrate the usefulness of the sūtra in this respect.

L. A.

BUDDHĀCCHAMBHITA-VYŪHA-VIKRAMA-VIJṚMBHITA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 37) this is mentioned as the 7th of the 100 bodhisattva-samādhis. The same statement is found in the classical Chinese versions of the sūtra, though their equivalents and the number of the samādhis do not agree always. They differ in some details from the above and from each other as well (*Taishō*. No. 287, Vol, 9, p. 684b ; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 328a ; No. 293, Vol. 10, p. 672a).

S. Mo.

BUDDHAḌĀKINĪ, name of a yoginī in Tantric Buddhism, closely associated with the deity Heruka and sometimes regarded as his consort. In her four hands she bears the same weapons as Heruka, viz., a skull (*kapāla*), an arrow, a staff with a skull at its top (*khaṭvāṅga*) and a bow. Her face is described as being of red, yellow, white and green in colour. When represented as embracing Heruka, they are surrounded by four goddesses. Oblations are offered to her. She is said to spring from the germ-letter (*bījākṣara*) *Auṃ* (*auṃkārodbhavayā Buddhaḍākinyā*).

She is sometimes referred to as Vajrayoginī. In this form she is represented as having four hands and holding her head, which had been severed by herself, in her left hand and also as carrying a knife in the right. Of the other two hands, the left is raised up and the right one bent down. The right leg is thrown forward and the left drawn back. The drops of blood oozing from her severed head is shown dropping into her mouth. She is naked (*vāsaḥ śūnyā*) and is attended by two goddesses, named Vajravarṇanī and Vajravairocanī.

Sometimes the name Sarvabuddhaḍākinī is also given to her. The term *Ḍākinī* is used, in Buddhist Tantras, to mean any goddess who may be associated with the male god in embrace (*yuganaddha*). Thus, she is called Sarvabuddhaḍākinī because she embraces Heruka, who is considered to be the embodiment of the five Dhyānibuddhas, the group that is technically known as Sarvabuddha (*Sādh.* II, pp. 455, 460, 461, 462, 483, 484, and 486 ; B. Bhattacharyya, *Buddhist Esotericism*, Oxford University Press, 1932, see Index under Buddhaḍākinī, Vajrayoginī and Sarvabuddhaḍākinī).

S. K. N.

BUDDHAḌĀKINĪ-SĀDHANA, the restored Sanskrit title of the text, the *Dpal-saṅs-rgyas mkhaḥ ḥgro-maḥi sgrub-thabs*, found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (*tantra* commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authorship of the work is attributed to Nag-po (Skt. Kṛṣṇa ; var. Nag-po spyod-pa-ba) and the translators are Karmavajra and Gshon-nu tshul-khrims (*TT.* Vol. 57, No. 2507 ; *TM.* No. 1635).

The text, the opening salutation of which is addressed to Avalokiteśvara, describes the procedure of propitiating one of the five kinds of goddesses of wisdom (Tib. ye-śes kyi mkhaḥ ḥgro-ma), namely Buddhaḍākinī (q.v.) whose form is described, the other forms being, Vajraḍākinī, Ratnaḍākinī Padmaḍākinī and Karmaḍākinī (Saratchandra Das, *Tibetan English Dictionary*, Darjeeling, 1915, p. 180).

The worshipper is enjoined to acquire the thought of Enlightenment(Skt. *bodhicitta*, Tib. *byaṅ-chub-tu sems bskyed-pa*), pay reverence to all the lamas, the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas, take refuge in the Triple Gem (Skt. *Triratna*, Tib. *dkon-mchog gsum*), meditate on the voidness (Skt. *śūnyatā*, Tib. *stoṅ-pa-ñid*) of all phenomena while chanting the formula, *Oṁ śūnyatājñāṇa-vajra-svabhāvātmako'haṃ*, and then propitiate Buddhaḍākinī (q.v.). The mantras to be chanted in propitiating this goddess are quoted in the text.

I. K.

BUDDHADĀSA, king of Ceylon, famed in history as a very skilful surgeon and physician. His reputation for the practice of medical science is unequalled in the country's annals. Cures which have a blend of the miraculous are recorded of him in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Aside from such extraneous matter there are cures described which are within the experiences of modern medical men. Once the king applied the principle of an emetic when he made a bhikkhu patient bring out impure milk. He showed knowledge of prenatal care of expectant mothers when, in the case of a pregnant woman, he corrected the abnormal presentation of the foetus. An ill-tempered leper patient he treated by what we now call psychotherapy. These instances of a king's medical practice, though over a millenium ago, cannot but be real.

Buddhadāsa practised his knowledge under the inspiration of Buddhism. He provided in every village refuges for the sick, the crippled and the blind, physicians for them and for soldiers ; for elephants and horses he had a veterinary service. He wrote " a summary of the essential content of all the medical text-books (*Sāratthasaṅgaha*) and charged one physician with the care of twice five villages and gave the physicians the produce of ten fields as livelihood " (*Mhv.* xxxvii, *v.* 146).

He was responsible for purely religious works, too. In the Mahāvihāra (q.v.) he built the Moraparivenạ and gave it an endowment of two villages. In like manner he assigned revenues and servants to bhikkhus who preached in public. He built vihāras and parivenạs and endowed them with the four requisites for bhikkhus ; reservoirs and alms-halls were also provided for their convenience. He set up images and in the well-known stone image of the Buddha in Abhayagiri-vihāra, he placed an eye-jewel. It was in this king's reign that Mahādhammakathin translated the suttas into Sinhala, the language of the country.

King Buddhadāsa is dated B.E. 880–908 (337–65 A.C.), in the chronology revised by S. Paranavitana (*EZ.* Vol. V. Pt. 1, p. 109). On this reckoning, Mahādhammakathin cannot be identified with Ta-mo-chin who was living in the country when Fa-Hsien visited it.

D.T.D.

BUDDHADATTA, famous author and commentator. He is one of the foremost scholiasts after the pre-eminent Buddhaghosa who contributed towards Pali commentarial literature. Unlike most others of his day, he has left behind some information about himself in the colophons to his works. He was a South Indian by birth and spent most of his time in South India. He was, however, a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura in Ceylon, where he spent some time.

Buddhadatta is the author of the four manuals—*Abhidhammāvatāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga, Vinaya-vinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya* and the *Madhurattha-vilāsinī,* the commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa.* In the colophons to the *Abhidhammāvatāra,* the *Vinayavinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya* he describes himself as a native of Uragapura. We are told that he compiled the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Madhuratthavilāsinī,* while residing in the great monastery situated in the Kāveripaṭṭana and built by Kaṇhadāsa (var. Khandhadāsa). Additional information is contained in the *Vinayavinicchaya.* He hailed from Tambapaṇṇi (this is also mentioned in the *Uttaravinicchaya*) and he composed that work in the monastery built by Veṇhudāsa (var. Piṇḍidāsa) in Bhūtamaṅgala, on the bank of the Kāveri, in the central part of the Coḷa kingdom, during the reign of the Kalamba or Kalabbha king Accutavikkanta or Accutavikkama. Although Tambapaṇṇi was a name for Ceylon in ancient times, here it would refer to the area of the Tāmraparṇi river in Tinnevelly (See V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India,* Clarendon Press, 1928, p. 143 ; *BM.* II, p. ix). Uragapura has been identified with modern Uraiyyur situated on the southern bank of the Kāveri, near Tiruchirapalli (Trichinopoli), and referred to as Orthoura, the Coḷa capital, by Ptolemy (D.R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka,* University of Calcutta, 1925, p. 38). Thus, Buddhadatta was a native of Uraiyyur and an inhabitant of the Coḷa kingdom, situated on the Kāveri. Kāveripaṭṭana has been identified with Puhar also known as Pukar and Kāveripaddinam at the mouth of the Kāveri (V. A. Smith, op. cit. p. 144). Bhūtamaṅgala has been identified with the modern village of Pallivṛtti Bhūtamaṅgalam in the Mannarguḍi division in the Tanjavur (Tanjore) District, situated on the bank of the Vennar, a tributary of the Kāveri (C. Minakshi in *Current Science,* Feb. 1938, p. 401 ; A. P. Buddhadatta, 'The Great Author of Summaries, Contemporary of Buddhaghosa' in *UCR.* Vol. III, April, 1945, p. 38). B. M. Barua has expressed the view, on the other hand, that the references appear to be to the same monastry and Maṅgala-Bhūtamaṅgala was the same as Kāveripaṭṭana or a suburb of the same '(Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa : Their Contemporaneity and Age' in *UCR.* Vol. III, Nov. 1945, p. 78). Nothing is known of Veṇhudāsa or Kaṇhadāsa, the builder of the monastery. But, in this connection Barua draws our attention to the tradition preserved in the *Skanda Purāṇa* of an unnamed prosperous king of Coḷa, ruling from Kāñcipura, during whose reign Viṣṇudāsa, a pious Vaiṣṇava saint, stood against the performance of cruel Brahmanical sacrifices (B. M. Barua, op. cit., p. 82 ; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa, JBRAS.* Monograph Series, pp. 24 f.).

King Accuta, or Accuta-vikkanta (Acyuta-vikrānta) or Accuta-vikkama (Acyuta-vikrama) of the Kalabhra or Kadamba dyansty remains unidentified. No contemporary king of this name has so far been traced of either the Kalabhra or Kadamba dynasty. However, the Kalabhras are known to have held sway over the Coḷa territory before they were defeated by the Pallava king, Siṃhaviṣṇu in late sixth century A. C. But it cannot be established beyond doubt that the king referred to was a Kalabhra, in view of the tradition of the Acyutarāyas maintained by the Kadambas up till a late period (B. M. Barua, op. cit. p. 77). The identification of the king would have enabled us to give a definite date to Buddhadatta and thus valuable information has been missed. Buddhadatta has not mentioned where he wrote the *Uttaravinicchaya.* It may be possible that he wrote it in Ceylon, as it was written at the request of Saṅghapāla Mahāthera of the Mahāvihāra, unless it can be shown that Saṅghapāla himself spent some time in South India. Buddhadatta, a native of Uraiyyur and a citizen of the Coḷa kingdom, came to Ceylon and was ordained at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura and thus belonged to the Mahāvihāra fraternity.

It has generally been accepted that Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa were contemporaries and that Buddhadatta was the elder of the two.

In the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (q.v.) the tradition is recorded that Buddhadatta had visited Ceylon and on his return voyage to India he met in mid-ocean Buddhaghosa who was proceeding to Ceylon. When Buddhadatta hears of Buddhaghosa's mission to translate into Pali the Sinhalese commentaries (erroneously referred to as texts in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*), he informs Buddhaghosa that he, too, had been deputed to translate the commentaries, but that he could not obtain them and he had been

able to compile only the *Jinālaṅkāra*, *Dantavaṃsa*, *Dhātuvaṃsa* and the *Bodhivaṃsa*. He encourages Buddhaghosa in his mission and requests him to execute it thoroughly as he himself would not live long. It is said that Buddhadatta died shortly after his return to India (*Bup.* chap. iv). There may have been some basis for the nucleus of this story but the details in this legendary account cannot be accepted. As far as we know, Buddhadatta wrote none of the works mentioned here. This same meeting in mid-ocean with slight differences is recorded in the *Vinayavinicchaya Ṭīkā*. According to this, Buddhadatta parted with the request to Buddhaghosa to send him his translation of the commentaries so that he (Buddhadatta) may summarise his labours. The *ṭīkā* continues to say that Buddhaghosa complied with this request and Buddhadatta summarised the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and those on the Vinaya in the *Vinayavinicchaya* (*BM.* I. pp. xiii f.). The details here too, do not appear to be reliable, for it is noteworthy that neither Buddhaghosa nor Buddhadatta mentions each other in their works. If Buddhadatta had summarised Buddhaghosa's works he would have acknowledged this. Although it is true that the *Vinayavinicchaya* appears to follow the *Samantapāsādikā*, and the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Visuddhimagga* have some points in common, it is difficult to believe that Buddhadatta would have lived long enough after his return to India to compile these works after Buddhaghosa himself returned to India with his translations. The more plausible explanation is that Buddhadatta came to Ceylon before Buddhaghosa studied the Sinhalese commentaries and summarised them in Pali. The similarity in the contents of their works could thus be explained by the fact that they drew their material from the same sources (*BM.* II, pp. vii, xi). However, the fact of their contemporaneity can be established from evidence in their own works. Buddhadatta has stated that he wrote the *Uttaravinicchaya* at the request of Saṅghapāla. Buddhaghosa has written the *Visuddhimagga* also at the request of Saṅghapāla. But, there is a difference in the manner they refer to him. While Buddhadatta's reference is to a revered fellow elder, Buddhaghosa's reference is to a most venerable teacher. This would indicate that Buddhadatta was the senior contemporary of the two (B. M. Barua, op. cit. p. 79; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, *JBRAS* Monograph Series, pp. 24 ff.). Buddhaghosa lived during the first half of the fifth century A.C. and thus Buddhadatta is to be dated earlier, about the same period.

Reference to Buddhadatta's works has already been made. He wrote two manuals on the Abhidhamma—the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, two manuals on the Vinaya—the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* and the commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa*—the *Madhuratthavilāsinī*. The *Gandhavaṃsa*, mentioning him after Buddhaghosa attributes to him three of these works, omitting the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* (*JPTS.* 1886, pp. 59 f.). But, elsewhere, it includes the *Jinālaṅkāra* also among his works (ibid. p. 69). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (p. 33) has ascribed to him the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, the *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary, leaving out the *Uttaravinicchaya*. Gray, who has edited the *Jinālaṅkāra*, has attributed this work to Buddharakkhita and a *ṭīkā* on it to Buddhadatta, following a post-script attached to the *ṭīkā*. But both the *Jinālaṅkāra* and its *ṭīkā* are to be dated much later than the time of Buddhadatta and it is impossible that they could have been written by him (G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, pp. 110 f.; see also *Bup.* Introduction, pp. 19 f.).

It has already been observed that Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa drew material for their works from a common source—the Sinhala commentaries. The statement in the *Vinayavinicchaya Ṭīkā* that Buddhadatta summarised the works of Buddhaghosa, is not borne out by a scrutiny of their works. A comparison of the commentaries on the Abhidhamma with the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and those of the Vinaya with the *Vinayavinicchaya* would reveal that there is no common order or similarity in the treatment of the subjects. Buddhadatta has rather summarised the commentaries on the texts. He has written in elegant and easy prose and verse, mostly in verse, probably for easier memorising (A.P. Buddhadatta, 'The Great Author of Summaries, Contemporary of Buddhaghosa' in *UCR.* Vol. III, April, 1945, p. 35). Of Buddhadatta Mrs. Rhys Davids has remarked: " According to the legend Buddhadatta recast in a condensed shape that which Buddhaghosa handed on, in Pali, from the Sinhalese commentaries. But the psychology and philosophy are presented through the prism of a second vigorous intellect, under fresh aspects in a style often less discursive and more graphic than that of the great commentator, and with a strikingly rich vocabulary, as is revealed by the dimensions of the Index" (*BM.* I, q.v). Elsewhere she says: "In one respect at least he represents, perhaps better than

Buddhaghosa, the earlier type of the classification ....Thus, whereas Buddhaghosa expounds his psychology in terms of the five aggregate division, Buddhadatta opens his scheme with the fourfold division of the Compendium viz., mind, mental properties, material quality, Nibbāna....It is probably right to conclude that they both were but handing on an analytical formula, which had evolved between their own time and that of the final closing of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka" (C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1924, pp. 174 f., 179). Like Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta too has made use of the simile of the blind and the lame helping each other to walk, to explain the relation between *nāma* and *rūpa* (*BM*. I, p. 115). Buddhadatta's division of terms into *samūha* and *asamūha* (ibid. p. 83) shows an advance on the older classification found in the *Puggala Paññatti* commentary (*Pug*. p. 173 ; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, *JBRAS*. Monograph Series, pp. 60 ff.). His second manual on the Abhidhamma, the *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, although a very short work, is important as being the precursor of Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. Sāriputta Saṅgharāja, in writing the Sinhala commentary on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, has followed Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* in the treatment of some subjects and has quoted verses from it (*BM*. I, p. xii.).

Buddhadatta has made a notable contribution especially to the study of Abhidhamma. He was evidently held in high esteem for his scholarly attainments by those who came after him. The author of the *Vinayavinicchaya Ṭīkā*, Vācissara, pupil of Sāriputta Saṅgharāja, has referred to him as a great poet who had won the praises of the celebrated Buddhaghosa himself. He also quotes a statement made by another author : "*mādisāpi kavī honti Buddhadatte divaṅgate*" (When Buddhadatta has passed away we also shall be recognised as poets : loc cit.).

L. R. G.

BUDDHADATTA, AMBALANGODA POLVATTE, a reputed monk scholar of Ceylon. He was born at Polvatta, Ambalangoda, Ceylon, on 23rd July, 1887, youngest of a family of four children. Having entered the Order of monks at the age of eleven as a pupil of Porambe Dharmārāma thera, he received his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) at the Konhat temple in Burma,in 1907. He received his early education in Burma under several reputed Abhiddhamma teachers and in 1923 he was appointed as Pali teacher at Ānanda College, the leading Buddhist school in Ceylon at the time. In 1935 he was appointed as a lecturer in Pali at the Ceylon University College. When Vidyālaṅkāra Pirivena was elevated to the position of a University, he was appointed Professor of Buddhist Philosophy there, which post he held till his death.

He wrote his first book in 1908 at the age of twenty-one and by the time he died in 1962, aged seventy-five, he had to his credit eighty-seven books, in addition to about a hundred and fifteen articles he contributed to various journals in Sinhala and English.

He was associated with the Pali Text Society for over fifty years, during which time he edited for that Society (1) *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, (2) *Abhidhammāvatāra*, (3) *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, (4) *Vinayavinicchaya*, (5) *Uttara-vinicchaya*, (6) *Sammohavinodanī* (commentary to the *Vibhaṅga*), (7) *Saddhammapajjotikā* (commentary to the *Mahā Niddesa* and *Culla Niddesa*), all in Roman script. He also prepared an English-Pali Dictionary for that Society.

Some of his other outstanding works are : an edition of the *Visuddhimagga*, *Kalyāṇavaṃsa Nikāya* (a history in three parts), *Kalyāṇi Śilālipi* (a collection of documents), *Kalyāṇi Śāsanavaṃsaya* (a history), *Hsuan-tsang bhramaṇa vṛttāntaya* (a translation), *Bhāratīya bauddhācāryayo* (biographical sketches of leading Buddhist teachers of India), *Samīpātītayehi bauddhācāryayo* (Buddhist teachers of the recent past), *Aṭuvāparīkṣaṇa hā aṭuvā kathāvatthu* (a comparative and critical analysis of Pali commentaries), *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* (an edition), *Śrī Buddhadatta caritaya* (an autobiography), *Correction to Geiger's Mahāvaṃsa*, *Itāpārani Siṃhala baṇakathā* (an edition), *Sīhalavatthu* (an edition), *Sahassavatthu* (an edition), *Theravādī bauddhācāryayo* (Theravāda teachers), *Theravāda bauddha darśanaya* (Theravāda doctrines), *Abhidhammatthavikāsinī* (an edition), *Pāli sandesāvalī* and *Pāli sāhityaya* (History of Pali literature, in two parts).

His *New Pali Course* for beginners deserves special mention. Commenting on this work E. J. Thomas says : " I consider it the best grammar in existence for beginners who wish to learn Pali through the medium of the Roman alphabet. It is thoroughly practical as well as grammatically sound and up to date. " To help the student of Pali further, he wrote *Pāli pāṭhāvalī* (a selection of Pali passages for translation), *Pāli vākya vivecanaya* (a critical examination of Pali sentences) and *Pāli vākyaracanāva hā parivartanaparicaya* (aids to Pali composition and translation).

Last, but not least, mention must be made of his *Tripiṭaka sūciya.* It is an invaluable index to all the *suttas* (discourses) and *gāthās* (verses) included in the Pali canon.

He was one of the leading monks in the delegation from Ceylon to the sixth Buddhist convocation held in Burma, and he presided over several of its sessions.

He was the *Mahā Nāyaka* (the chief prelate) of the *Kalyāṇavaṃsa Nikāya* from 1955–62.

In recognition of his services in the field of literature he was awarded the title of *Aggamahā-paṇḍita* by the government of Burma, the title of *Puṇḍit* by the *Prācīna bhāṣopakāra samitiya*, Ceylon, the *Sāhityasūri* degree (Ph.D) by the Vidyodaya University, Ceylon, and the *Sāhitya cakravartin* degree (D. Litt.) by the Vidyalaṅkāra University, Ceylon.

He was also a member of the Advisory Board of the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism.*

W.G.W.

BUDDHADEVA, a monk belonging to the Mahiṃsāsaka sect. He was one of the three theras—the others being Atthadassī and Buddhamitta—at whose request the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* was written (*J*.I, p. 1).

BUDDHA-DHARMĀCINTYA-NIRDEŚA (or *Ārya-B°*), the name of a Sanskrit work of unknown authorship, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rgyas-kyi chos bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa bstan-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 34, No. 854).

The text contains an exposition of the 'incomprehensible qualities' of the Buddha.

On one occasion, at an assembly of bodhisattvas, some bodhisattvas are said to have reflected on the incomprehensible nature of some of the Buddha-kṣetras, the previous vows of some of the Buddhas, the lineage of others, the bodies (*kāya*), the voices, the wisdom, the miraculous powers, the unattached behaviour and so forth of yet others. Knowing the thoughts of these bodhisattvas, the Buddha, exercising his magical power, bestowed upon the bodhisattva Utpalagarbha the wisdom of a Buddha. Thereupon Utpalagarbha shone like a Buddha. Being endowed with the qualities of a Buddha, he then addressed the bodhisattva Padmagarbha and spoke at length on the various excellent qualities of the Buddha, the qualities that distinguish his teaching and wisdom etc. Most of the qualities so described are listed in this text in groups of ten.

R.H.

BUDDHA-GADYA, the title, popularly accepted by the oriental scholars of Ceylon, of a poetical tract in eulogy of Buddha Gotama. The text describes itself as *dharmarājasya gadyam,* Dharmarāja or Lord of Dharma being an epithet of the Buddha. The Sanskrit word *gadya* (Pali *gajja*), from the point of view of derivation, means an 'utterance' or 'something articulately spoken,' and, in the terminology of literature, is widely used and accepted in the sense of a prose composition (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* Oxford, 1899, p. 344 b & c). Therefore, it seems strange that the present title of the work, composed *in verse* as it is, came into vogue and was readily accepted by scholars, who, perhaps not to be unfair by the author and his labours, strained the meaning of the word *gadya* to justify the title to indicate 'utterances in praise of the Buddha.' E. Hardy ('On Some Stanzas in Eulogy of the Buddha,' *JPTS*. 1897–1901, pp. 43–54) revised *gaddyāmi* and *gardyāmi*, found in the manuscript available to him, into *gṛdhyāmi*, which too, is hardly explicable in the present context.

The name of the author is not mentioned in the text and even literary tradition is silent on the subject. Hardy (op. cit. p. 43) says that the work was 'probably composed by a pious member of the Order.'

The date of composition of the *Buddha-gadya* is traditionally assigned to the Polonnaru period (1017–1215 A.C.), when the study of the Sanskrit language and its literature exerted a great influence on the writers of the day and days to come. But, as pointed out by O. H. de A. Wijesekera, there is no conclusive evidence to establish this (University of Ceylon, *History of Ceylon,* Vol. I, part ii, Colombo, 1960, p. 589).

Analysing the text, as edited and revised by himself, Hardy (loc. cit.) infers that the language is a strange mixture of a corrupted Sanskrit with Pali forms. But, a subsequent edition in Sinhala characters with a Sinhala paraphrase by Toṭagamuwē Vimalañānatissa thera (Sudarśana Press, Colombo, 1922) amends the text as a poem, entirely in Sanskrit. The technique of singing the praises of the Buddha is closely akin to that adopted by Jayadeva in his classic lyric, the *Gītagovinda.* The general style of the poem, mainly in the use of elaborately contrived epithets to describe the

Buddha, is reminiscent of the Sanskrit *stotras* (eulogia), found in abundance in the *Purāṇas*.

Composed in fourteen different metres, the poem consists of forty-one stanzas which are full of alliteration and assonance, almost all of which have syllabic rhyme at the end of every foot. The *Buddhagadya*, along with several other works of its class, like the *Anuruddhaśataka* and the *Nāmāṣṭa-śataka*, had been used for several centuries in Buddhist temples of Ceylon as a Sanskrit reader for beginners (Dehigaspē Paññāsāra. *Sanskrit Literature*, published by W. D. Hewavitarane, Colombo, 1958, pp. 171 ff.).

K.D.S.

BUDDHAGĀMA VIHĀRA, a monastery in Ceylon, enriched by king Sena II, 853–87 A. C., with the grant of a village for its maintenance (*Mhv.* li, *v.* 74). Buddhagāma, mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (lviii, *v.* 43; lxvi, *v.* 19; lxix *v.* 9 ; lxx, *v.* 311 ; lxxii, *v.* 178) as a strong-hold of Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110 A. C.), and also of Parākramabāhu I (1153–86 A.C.), was probably the region where the monastery was situated and it is also probable that it survived their reigns. Among the Sīgiri graffiti is a verse inscribed by the chief administrator of the Budgamu vehera (Buddhagāma vihāra) and another inscribed by a resident of Budgamiya (S. Paranavitana, *Sigiri Graffiti*, II, University Press, 1956, Nos. 49, 551). A fragmentary inscription of the 9th or 10th century discovered at a site of an ancient monastary at Māṇikdena in the Mātale district recording the grant of paddy fields and gold to Budgam vehera by a resident of Kobayateliya has led to the identification of this site as that of the ancient Buddhagāma vihāra (*ASCAR*. 1908, pp. 13 ff.). No reference to the original foundation of the Buddhagāma vihāra has come to light . See also MĀṆIKDENA.

H.R.P.

BUDDHAGAYĀ (var. Bodhgayā), present name of the place where the Buddha attained Supreme Wisdom (*sambodhi*). Buddhagayā lies six miles to the north of the ancient town of Gayā, which presently is also the site of a Hindu pilgrimage known as Brahmagayā. Hindus have probably added ' Brahma' to their site to distinguish it from Buddhagayā (S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India, Si-yu-ki*, Indian edition, Calcutta, 1958, Vol. III, p. 343, n. 61 ; T. Bolch, 'Notes on Bodh Gayā,' *ASIAR*. for 1908–09 p. 139, n. 1).

Buddhagayā is now a thriving village bounded on the north by Haripur, on the east by Mastipur, Dhondowa, Bhalua and Turi, on the south by Rampur and on the east by river Lilajan which is a corruption for the old Pali: Verañjā, Nerañjā (Sanskrit : Nairañjana ; see Rajendralāla Mitra, *Buddhagayā*, Calcutta, 1878, p. 2).

The word Buddhagayā does not occur in the early Buddhist texts. But terms like Bodhimaṇḍala, Bodhirukkha, Gayā, Gayāsīsa are found in the early Buddhist texts when reference is made to the place where the Buddha attained Enlightenment (*Vin.* I. pp. 1, 8, 34 f.; *A.* IV, pp. 302 ff. ; *S.* IV, pp. 19 ff. ; *J.* I. p. 182 ; *Mhv.* xvii, *v.* 47 ; xx, *v.* 1; xxix, *v.* 41). It only occurs for the first time in the apocryphal inscription of Amaradeva.

It is probable that earlier terms used to refer to the sacred Bodhi tree, for example, Bodhimaṇḍa etc., had influenced the coinage of names like Buddhagayā, Bodhigayā, Bodhgayā (See. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Uktal, 1958, p. 5). The Anagārika Dharmapāla (q.v.), the great Buddhist revivalist of Ceylon, who fought to regain Buddhagayā for the Buddhists from the Hindu Mahant has left a noteworthy explanation of this, in his account of the sacred site. "Bodhimaṇḍa was the term used by the ancient Buddhists, and according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* the site was then called Gayā. In the '*Visuddhi Mārga*' the place is named Gayā. Fa-Hsien, called it Buddha Gayā, but Buddhaghosa who visited Ceylon in 412 A.C., in the reign of Mahānāma, called it Gayā. The term Brahmayoni for Gayā Sirsa was in vogue in Fa-Hsien's time, for he has used that term in his 'travels.' Possibly the term came into use about the second century A.C. The Buddhist term Bodhimaṇḍa was too equivocal for universal use, so the term Buddhagayā must have been adopted " (A. Guruge, *Return to Righteousness*, Ceylon, 1965, p. 587).

The fame of Buddhagayā as the sacred site where the Buddha attained *sambodhi* goes back to very early times. Apart from Buddhist canonical references, archaeological evidence takes the history of Buddhagayā to the pre-Christian era. Of these the foremost are the Rock Edicts of emperor Asoka. In Rock Edict VIII, Asoka mentions his pilgrimage to the sacred site at 'Sambodhi, ' i.e. Buddhagayā (B. M. Barua, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, University of Calcutta, 1943, p. 186 ; R. Basak, *Asoka Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 42).[1]

1 This incident is also referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap. xvii, *v.* 47), and by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fa-Hsien and Hsüan-tsang (S. Beal, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 41 ; Vol. III, pp. 346 f.). At Sāñci, the bottom lintel of the eastern gateway depicts Asoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree (B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953, Pl. 21 ; *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. XV).

Although Fa-Hsien states that the city of Gayā was desolate, his reference to that site of the Bodhi (Peito), indicates that it was crowded with towers (stūpas). He further states that there were three Saṅghārāmas wherein resided Buddhist monks who scrupulously observed the rules of Vinaya (Beal, op. cit. p. 19).

Hsüan-tsang (cir. 629 A. C.) has left us a more graphic record on Buddhagayā which gives clear evidence of the past splendour of this sacred site. His record is important as it tallies closely with the excavations executed at the site by A. Cunningham in the last century.

Having mentioned the remains of the town of Gayā, Hsüan-tsang speaks of the sacred Bodhi-tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west and short from north to south. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairañjana river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access. The northern gate opens into the great Saṅghārāma.

In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the Bodhi-tree, is the Vajrāsana (diamond throne: See Vol. III, Pl. XXI). Then Hsüan-tsang, proceeds to record the other edifices in the Buddhagayā compound, beginning with the great Mahābodhi Temple, the Buddha's Sacred Promenade (*caṅkamaṇa*), the pond where he bathed, the place where he accepted Sujātā's milk rice, and various other sacred spots (op. cit. pp. 350 ff.). He further records the Great Monastery (see below) outside the northern wall of the Buddhagayā Temple complex (S. Beal, op. cit. Vol. III. pp. 343-60).[2]

I. *The Bodhi-tree*

The sacred Bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the central point of attraction at Buddhagayā, existed till the end of the 19th century when it withered and finally collapsed. This may not be the original tree under which the Buddha attained *sambodhi*, but undoubtedly an offshoot of the same (See Pl. LVII : Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, London, 1892, pp. 30 ff. ; *Eastern India*, I, p. 76 ; see BODHI-TREE).

With the extension of the dimensions of the original shirne built by emperor Asoka, the position of the Bodhi-tree, too, could have been shifted. Moreover, there are references to the destruction of the original Bodhi-tree by Asoka himself and subsequently by his queen and still later by king Sasāṅka of eastern India (Cunningham, loc. cit. ; S. Beal, op cit. Vol. III, p. 546).[3]

II. *The Shrine built by Asoka*

The principal objects of worship at Buddhagayā being the sacred Bodhi-tree, it was natural to find it surrounded by a wall. Hsüan-tsang mentions the building of the Bodhi Shrine by Asoka. Although no vestiges of such a shirne are now visible, it is possible to visualise what type of a shrine Asoka had built through the representation of the Bodhi-tree shrine in the Bhārhut stūpa sculptures (See Vol. III, Pl. XXXIII and also Pls. XX & LIV: s. v. BHĀRHUT; A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bhārhut*, new edition, India, 1962, Pl. XXX; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*, Paris, 1935, Pl. LX). Here the inscription in Brāhmi helps to identify the shrine as that of the Śākyamuni Buddha's Bodhi-tree. The Bhārhut sculptures depict a structural edifice built round the Bodhi-tree with the entrance from the side of the 'Vajrāsana.' This type of edifices built round bodhi-trees are not uncommon in Buddhist lands[4] (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 33, figs. 46, 55, 70).

While carrying out repairs to the floor of the present temple, Cunningham discovered beneath the foundation of the later structure the remains of old walls, and a semi-circular stone slab at the entrance.[5] This could be nothing other than the

2 Apart from the records of Fa-Hsien and Hsüan-tsang, inscriptional evidence makes it clear that the site was a common destination of pilgrims from Ceylon, China, etc., from a very remote period, probably from the pre-Christian era, (*ASIAR*. 1908–09; pp. 155ff. ; *JRAS*. (New Series), 1880–81, pp. 552f.). Further records in inscriptions are found, which prove the visits of pilgrims at subsequent periods to the site from various places outside India (Barua, *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 186 ff. ; Beal, op. cit. pp. 358 f. ; A. Cunningham, op. cit, pp. 58f.; Fleet, *CII*. III. pp. 277 ff.).

3 While carrying out excavations, Cunningham discovered two large pieces of an old pipal tree below the later additions to the Buddhagayā temple. These pieces he believes to be part of the tree destroyed by Sasāṅka-rāja, king of Gauḍa (Cunningham, op. cit. p. 31).

4 *Bodhighara* (q. v.) is the term used for such shrines in early texts. The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions a Bodhighara that housed the sacred Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* xxxvi, *vv* 103, 126). This is probably in imitation of such an edifice originally built at Buddhagayā. Although traces of architectural and epigraphical evidences are found (*UCR.* Vol. XVI, 1958, pp. 1–5) for the existence of Bodhigharas, the only example of a Bodhighara with most of the architectural designs intact, dating from the early period (6th or 7th century A. C.) is found at Nillakgama (Ceylon), which could be considered as the only surviving example of such a monument today (*ASCAR*. 1954, pp. 25ff ; *History of Ceylon*, University of Ceylon publication, Vol. I, part I, Pl. XVII[6]).

5 This could be taken as the world's earliest extant representation of the 'Saňdakaḍapahana,' the architectural device elaborated in early Anurādhapura shrines, from the original stepping stone at the entrance to Buddhist shrines.

old foundation of the original edifice of Asoka. This was further corroborated by the discovery of two stone seats, one of polished sandstone, with four short pilasters in front, (exactly as depicted in the Bhārhut bas-relief) beneath the present floor. Cunningham believes that the polished sand-stone slab could be the original Vajrāsana Throne of the Buddha. (See Vol. III, Pl. XXI). Whether it was the original throne or a later casing, there is no doubt that Cunningham has discovered the exact place where once stood the original shrine of Asoka which was built round the original Bodhi-tree and sheltered the Vajrāsana Throne (for details see, Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 4 f., Pl. II).

III. *The Vajrāsana Throne*

The Vajrāsana presently found behind the western wall of the great Mahābodhi temple is now considered to be a stylised stone-facing of the original Vajrāsana found inside the cella of the shrine. This is of grey sand-stone 7 ft. 10 inches by 4 ft. 7½ inches broad and about 6 inches thick. The surface of this was carved with geometric designes, all the four outer faces too are richly carved (See Cunningham, op. eit. pp. 19 f.). The discovery of the foundation of a very ancient edifice beneath the present floor of the great temple, together with two stone slabs, which occupied the central position of this early edifice, makes it possible to believe that the decorated stone slab, with its brick platform, was placed in its present position many years later, after the construction of the Mahābodhi temple, during the post Christian centuries, by a ruler of the Kuśāna royal house (See A. Cunningham, op. cit. Pl. XIII ; s. v. BODHIPARYAṄKA). This was proved further by an inscription of the Kuśāna period, carved on the edges of this slab.

IV. *Caṅkamana, the cloistered walk of the Buddha*

Hsüan-tsang says that to the north of the Bodhi-tree was a spot where the Buddha walked after he had obtained Enlightenment. He walked there east and west for a distance of ten paces or so. Miraculous flowers sprang up under his foot-traces to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this space was covered in by a brick wall about three feet high (S. Beal, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 350).

Cunningham, when he visited Buddhagayā in 1879, found the remains of the cloistered-walk (promenade) with its 22 pillared bases still *in situ.* This Caṅkamana-cetiya, or the Shrine of the Cloistered Walk, was to the north of the Bodhi-tree shrine. With the construction of the Great Mahābodhi temple which totally covered the original Bodhi-tree shrine of Asoka, the Caṅkamana-cetiya too, was partly hidden behind the northern wall of the great edifice. The promenade was in this situation, when Cunningham observed its partial appearance with the southern row of pillar-bases, partly hidden under the basement of the great temple, which had been built over them, on a slightly different alignment (Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 8 f).[6]

V. *Railing*

Of the structural remains at Buddhagayā those of a stone railing antedates all others (See Pl. LV, Fig. 2). In all probability it does not occupy its original position today. The railing, it is believed by most scholars, had once enclosed the original shrine of Asoka round the Vajrāsana and the sacred Bodhi-tree. With the disappearance of the original Bodhi-tree, the railing too was shifted from its original position, and it now lies with additions and alterations at a place given to it either by the builder of the Mahābodhi temple or its later renovators.

The pillars and cross-bars of the railing depict rich carvings of the earliest phase of Buddhist art (See Pl. LV, Fig. 2). Amongst the pillar carvings, the two most important are the one depicting Indra in the guise of Brahmin Sānti and the other the representation of the sun god in a horse driven chariot (B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London, 1953, Pl. 19 ; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, op. cit. figs. 40 and 61). Among the smaller reliefs in medallions or half-medallions, are found the illustrations of Yakkhī Assamukhī, the Jetavana purchase scene, the Indrasāla guhā, the *Chaddanta Jātaka*, the *Mātuposaka Jātaka* the *Padakusalamānava Jātaka*, and several other unidentified scenes, mingled with erotic *mithuna* couples, the Gajalakṣmī motif and the stūpa with Triratna motifs (See Pl. LVI ; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā*, Paris, 1935, Pls. XLVI to LVI; Cunningham, loc. cit.). Along with these archaic sculptural remains, the great antiquity of the railings is proved by the fragmentary inscriptions found carved on the coping and pillars

6 Cunningham's supposition that the Caṅkamana cetiya is represented in a Bhārhut carving is very probable (Cunningham, op. cit. p. 8, Pl. V.Id. *Bhārhut stūpa*. Pl. XXXI. 4).

Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 14 f.; T. Bolch, 'Notes on Bodhgayā,' *ASIAR*. 1908–09, pp. 147 f).[7]

VI. *The Great Mahābodhi temple.*

The most important monument at Buddhagayā to-day, is unquestionably the Great Mahābodhi temple. Next to the remains of the Asoka period (the stone railing), it is the oldest edifice at Buddhagayā (Rajendralala Mitra, op. cit. p. 234; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 33 ff.; Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 17f.).

The reference made by Fa-Hsien to towers constructed at the site, and the recent discoveries of similar types of monuments (e.g., the stūpas discovered at Peshawar and other Gandhāra sites, Nālandā stūpas, the Bodhgayā plaque found at the Kumrahār site, Patnā), show that temples of this kind might very well have been built as early as the 2nd century A. C. It has already been suggested that the great monument that exists today is a later structure built on the spot where once existed the Bodhi shrine of Śākyamuni Buddha built by Asoka.

The great temple has been renovated several times and most recently by the Burmese mission in the final decades of the previous century, sent by king Kyanzitha of Burma (R. le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge University Press, 1938, p. 100). From the description of Hsüan-tsang, it would appear that the temple, essentially in its present shape and appearance, existed already in the seventh century A.C. As it now stands, it is approximately 170 ft. high and, consists of a straight pyramidal tower of nine storeys (See Pl. LVIII). The main structure is surmounted by a stūpa-shaped dome and at the base of the main tower there rises a turret at each of the four corners, a miniature replica of the main edifice. Niches are carved into the body of the entire edifice for the placing of Buddha images and other cult images of the Mahāyāna pantheon (B. Rowland, op. cit. Pl. 52; A. Rajendralala Mitra, op. cit. p. 76; Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 17 ff.; A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. p. 81; *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā*, pp. 11–12).[8] In subsequent centuries the Great Mahābodhi temple has been considered as the ideal prototype for Buddhist temple-architecture by several countries outside India (A. Griswold,' The Holy Land Transported,' *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, ed. by N. A. Jayawickrama, Colombo , 1965, pp. 173 ff.).

VII. *Monuments in the temple courtyard*

Within the rectangular temple compound of the Mahābodhi shrine lie innumerable architectural remains, beautiful sculptures and richly decorated votive stūpas scattered all around it, still continue to attract the admiring gaze of pilgrims. To quote Hsüan-tsang " within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions, here and there are stūpas, in another place vihāras. The kings, princes and great personages, throughout all Jambudvīpa, who have accepted the bequethed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these memorials " (S. Beal, op. cit. p. 345).[9] A unique discovery in this compound by Cunningham are the broken pieces of a *toraṇa* gateway now restored, (Pl. LV, Fig. 1; see Cunningham, op. cit. Pl. XVII, for the present position of the reconstructed *toraṇa*). It stands nearly 17ft. high and is dated in the 4th and 5th centuries A.C. Another important find is a plaque depicting the Buddha with an attendant figure on either side (Cunningham, op. cit. Pl. XXVI a). Cunningham erroneously identifies this as the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and calls it a Triratna symbol. It is possible to take this plaque (Pl.LVI, Plaque No. 2) to be a representation of Mahāyāna symbolism depicting the Buddha flanked by attendant bodhisattvas. Hsüan-tsang refers to figures of bodhisattava Avalokiteśvara placed within the premises of the Mahābodhi Temple complex[10] (S. Beal, op. cit. Vol. III, p, 345).

VIII. *The Saṅghārāma*

The earliest literary evidence for the existence of the great Monastery (Saṅghārāma) at Buddhagayā is found in the records of Fa-Hsien who mentions the existance of three Saṅghārāmas, in all of which

7 However, there are a few exceptions in the pillar carvings, where later reconstructions and additions, probably after the Gupta era, distinguish the archaic form of early art from that of the sophisticated Mahāyāna art. The railing presupposes a wooden prototype and, apart from the restorations mentioned above, there are still later futile attempts to superimpose carvings, which are traceable in shallow reliefs, probably by the tantric believers after the Pāla period of Bengal art and also by Hindus who later appropriated the site (A. K. Coomaraswamy, op. cit. Pls, VI, Face interieure, 8, Face exterieure).

8 For a detailed account see MAHĀBODHI TEMPLE.

9 The votive stūpas and other replicas as found in the courtyard today would be a good guide to a study of the evolution of the stūpa in various Buddhist countries from the early Christian era to mediaeval times (See A. Cunningham, op. cit. Pls. XVIII, XIX).

10 Marie-Therese De Mallmann has identified the two figures flanking the Buddha as those of Avalokiteśvara on to right and Tārā on to left (M. T. De Mallmann, *Introduction a Létude D'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 133 f.).

were found bhikkhus who scrupulously observed the Vinaya (S. Beal, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 39). It is again the records of Hsüan-tsang which give a correct and a trustworthy picture of the Saṅghārāma. "Outside the northern gate of the wall of the Bodhi-tree is the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma. It was built by a former king of Siṃhala (Ceylon). This edifice has six halls with towers of observation of three storeys. It is surrounded by a wall, thirty or forty feet high. The utmost skill of the artist has been employed, the ornamentation is in the richest colours" (S. Beal, op. cit. III. pp. 357 ff. ; Watters, *Si-yu-ki of Hiuene-tsiang*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 121).

Although the great Monastery is no more there, its foundation and other remains of the basement have been discovered by Cunningham in 1885 (Cunningham, op. cit. pp. 43 f.) and these remains well tally with the descriptions available in other records (T. Bolch, *ASIAR.* op cit. p. 155).[11]

The construction of the monastery was attributed to a king of Ceylon. Two Sanskrit inscriptions tell us about one Mahānāma (a bhikkhu) from Ceylon who offered an image of the Buddha and constructed a storeyed building (*prāsāda*) at this place (J. F. Fleet, *CII.* III. pp. 274–278 ; *IA.* Vol. XV, pp.356-357). Hsüan-tsang too gives a record of the inscription by the Sinhala Bhikkhu (S. Beal, op.cit. Vol. III. p. 357). This agrees with the text of the rediscovered inscription of Mahānāma and helps to prove the identity of the great Monastery and at the same time the trustworthiness of the records of the Chinese pilgrim.

In the Chinese source *Hing-tchoan of Wang Hiuen-tse,* it is related that two bhikkhus sent by Chi-mi-kia-po-ma (Sirimeghavanna, cir. 301 A.C.), king of Ceylon on a pilgrimage to the sacred Bodhi-tree reported to the king on their return the great inconvenience they had to undergo owing to the lack of suitable accomodation in the vicinity. Thereupon, the king is said to have sent an embassy to the court of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, with presents, asking for permission to build a monastery there. This request was granted and at the time Wang-Hiuen-tse visited the place the monastery was the abode of many pilgrims. ((*JCBRAS.* XXIV ; Bhikkhu D. Sumaṅgala, 'A Sinhala Monastery at Buddhagayā,' *The Buddhist*, Vol. XLII, no. 2 for 1971, pp. 95f; *University History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt, I, Colombo, 1959 p p. 288).[12]

Buddhagayā which thrived as a centre of attraction to Buddhists all over the world till the thirteenth century A. C. was destroyed and pillaged by the Moslem invaders who caused destruction to all the centres of worship in India, both Buddhist and Hindu. For centuries Buddhagayā remained neglected, when in the eighteenth century, the place came under the custody of Saivite Mahants (A. Guruge, op. cit. pp.617 ff.).

When Cunningham discovered the site in the 19th century it was in a much deteriorated condition. He initiated restoration work at the site.

About the year 1885, Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of *The Light of Asia*, wrote a number of articles in '*The Telegraph*,' the London periodical of which he was the editor, and drew attention to the neglected state of the temple at Buddhagayā and its surroundings. These articles caught the eye of Anagārika Dharmapāla who was deeply moved by them and had launched the struggle to regain Buddhagayā to the Buddhists. He dedicated his life to the restoration of the Mahābodhi temple. In pursuance of his resolve Anagārika Dharmapāla set forth for India and paid his first visit to Buddhagayā in January 1891. He was heart broken at what he saw of the temple and the condition of the Buddha image in it. He returned to Ceylon and in May 1891, founded the Mahā Bodhi Society in Colombo. Under the auspices of this Society an international conference was held at Buddhagayā. The object of this was to draw the attention of the Buddhist world to the state of affairs at Buddhagayā, as it was realised that the movement for the restoration of the temple started by the Mahā Bodhi Society could not succeed without the support and co-operation of Buddhists throughout the world (P. V. Bapat, op. cit. pp. 472 ff.; A. Guruge, op. cit. pp. 593 ff.).

A new chapter opened for Buddhagayā with the dawn of freedom in India. The interminable litigation with the Mahant in which the Mahā Bodhi Society was involved had produced no result. Now the Government of Bihar came forward with legislation for the management of the temple and had the Buddhagayā Temple Act, 1949, passed. Under this Act, a committee called the Buddhagayā Temple Management Committee, consisting of 4 Buddhists and 4 Hindus, was constituted. The committee is entrusted with the management and

11 The description as given by Cunningham of the rediscovered monastery plan and that of Hsüan-tsang could well be compared with the monastic structures at Anurādhapura and also with the Gandhāra field monasteries, as at Taxila.

12 In his Allahabad pillar inscription Samudragupta mentions the Saiṃhala people among his allies, probably an indication of his alliance with the Sinhala monarch of Ceylon (*CII.* III, p. 8).

control of the temple. Thus, after sixty years of hard struggle, the Mahā Bodhi Society has partly succeeded in one of its main objectives—the restoration of the temple to Buddhists.

Buddhagayā to-day is a place of attraction of the entire Buddhist world and groups of pilgrims come to visit it all the year round. As if by a miracle, Buddhagayā, erstwhile an insignificant village, was transformed overnight. It now hums with life and bids fair to be the centre of the Buddhist world once more (See also A. Guruge, op. cit. chaps 70, 71, 72 ; P. V. Bapat, op. cit. pp. 472 ff.).

A. D. T. E. P.

BUDDHAGHOSA was the most famous commentator of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. Born in India, he was brought up in the Brahmanic tradition. He was well acquainted with Indian literature and was conversant with the grammatical system of Pāṇini. Before he embraced the Buddhist faith, he was a follower of the system of Patañjali. Not only the *Yoga* but the *Sāṃkhya* system was also known to him. He thoroughly studied Abhidhamma literature. He enriched Buddhist literature by drawing new materials from other sources. He ably studied the literature of Ceylon and was one of the greatest celebrities of the Mahavihāra at Anurādhapura. He studied Buddhism deeply and was one of its great exponents. Mahāyāna Buddhism was known to him as *Vedalla-vāda* or *Vetullavāda* and he was acquainted with its main philosophy as the doctrine of the great void (*mahāsuññatāvāda*). In his commentaries Buddhaghosa has introduced an important mass of legends and fables, folk-tales and traditions, history and biography, besides verbal glosses and philological discussions. His commentaries may be regarded as a huge store-house from which the historian of ancient Indian sociology can draw without end.

Mrs. Rhys Davids says that Buddhaghosa apparently resembled the European philosophers prior to Hume and Hartley, so far as the problems of representative cognition or of the association of ideas is concerned. As long as Buddhism remains a living faith among mankind, Buddhaghosa will be remembered with reverence and gratitude. He did for the Pali *Tripiṭaka* what Sāyana did for Vedic literature or Silāṅka for the Jaina Āgama. His was a useful career. He lived long to see his labours rewarded and to enjoy the wide fame he so well deserved.

According to the Burmese tradition Buddhaghosa was born in northern India in the 5th century A. D.[1] Not far from the great Bo-tree at Gayā was a village named Ghosa or Ghosagāma, because—it was inhabited by a large number of cowherds. A king ruled at that time and had a brahmin chaplain named Kesī. Kesī's wife was named Kesinī.[2] Buddhaghosa was their son. His name was Ghosa. At that time it was difficult to understand the teachings of the Buddha as they were written in Sinhalese. It is said that when Ghosa was seven years old, he acquired mastery over the three *Vedas*.[3] Kesī used to give instruction in the *Vedas*. One day he went to the king with his son and while instructing the king, he came across a passage in which some knotty points were involved. He could not make out their meaning and returned home with the king's permission. Ghosa helped him in finding out the meaning of those points and Kesī was greatly pleased.

Ghosa requested a great thera (elder) to recite the three *Vedas*. He was charmed by his recitation and wanted to know his cult. The Mahāthera then recited the contents of the *Abhidhamma*, with special reference to *kusaladhamma*, *akusaladhamma* and *abyākatadhamma*. He also explained some difficult problems of Buddhist philosophy. While listening to the exposition of the Buddha's teachings, Ghosa was greatly pleased and informed his parents of his intention to renounce the world. He said, " I shall take ordination from the Mahāthera, learn the cult of the Buddha, and then I shall come back home, having disorbed." Ghosa was ordained and was given the *tacakammaṭṭhāna*.[4] He meditated thereon and became established in the three Refuges. Later, he practised the ten precepts, having acquired a firm faith in the teaching of the Lord. According to the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, it was Revata who gave him ordination, after he had embraced Buddhism.[5] Ghosa had wandered through Jambudīpa and defeated everybody by answering questions put to him. He then came to a monastery which was an abode of many monks; of these the thera Revata was the foremost. Ghosa was one day chanting the *mantras* and the thera listened to his recitation and said, " who is this braying like an

1 Hackmann, *Buddhism as a religion*, Probsthain, 1910, p.86.

2 *Sāsv.* p. 29.

3 ibid.,

4 It means meditation on hair, nails, teeth, and skin ; ibid., pp. 42–45.
JPTS. 1890, pp. 51–52.

ass ? " Ghosa replied, " Oh monk, do you know the meaning involved in the braying of an ass ? " The thera said, " Yes, I know." He was thereupon asked knotty questions concerning the three *Vedas*, the *Itihāsas*, etc. The thera answered them correctly. The thera put a question to Ghosa from the *Cittayamaka* in the book of the *Yamaka.* Ghosa was unable to answer it and asked for ordination. The thera ordained him and accepted him as a novice. Once a thought arose in the mind of Ghosa about the superiority of his knowledge as compared with that of his preceptor. The preceptor read his thoughts and said to him, " If you think like that, it is unworthy of you." Ghosa begged his pardon. The preceptor replied, " I will pardon you, if you go to Ceylon, and render the teaching of the Lord into the Māgadhī language from the language of Ceylon."[6] Ghosa agreed to go to Ceylon, after he had removed the false belief of his father. He went to his father who enquired whether he would be a householder now. He remained silent trying to find means to make his father give up his false belief. He was successful in that and his father gave up his false beliefs and became a follower of the Buddha.[7]

After having established his father in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification (*sotāpatti-phala* Ghosa returned to his preceptor. As soon as he received permission from his preceptor, he sailed for Ceylon. On his way he met Buddhadatta (q.v.) who was then returning to Jambudīpa from Laṅkā. On his way to Ceylon, before he met Buddhadatta, Ghosa reached Nāgapaṭṭana.[8] Having reached Laṅkā, he met the Saṅgharāja Mahāthera, saluted him and sat on one side just behind the monks who were learning *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya.*[9] One day the chief of the congregation could not make clear the meaning of a knotty point. Ghosa knew all about it and wrote out on a blackboard its meaning. The Saṅgharāja was deeply impressed and after making inquiries asked him to teach the three *Piṭakas* to the monks. Ghosa refused and told him the purpose of his coming to the island. The Saṅgharāja thereupon asked him to write an exposition on the significance of a stanza uttered by the Buddha with reference to the three *Piṭakas.* Ghosa agreed and it is said that he saying, ' All right ,' completed the *Visuddhimagga* in a single afternoon. After writing it he fell asleep. Sakka, the chief of the gods, stole it. Ghosa wrote it out again, by lamplight. It was stolen by Sakka for the second time. Ghosa not finding it wrote it a third time and fell asleep, having tied the manuscript to the garment he wore. Sakka then left the two books, stolen by him, on his head.[10] Ghosa was delighted to see his books and showed all three copies to the chief of the congregation of monks[11] (See Pl.LIX). The three books were then recited.[12] It was found that all three were exact copies of each other in every detail.[13] The chief was very pleased and gave him permission to render the teaching of the Buddha from Sinhalese into *Māgadhī.* He spoke highly of the merits of Ghosa and from that time he became famous as Buddhaghosa among the inhabitants of Ceylon.[14]

While in Ceylon Buddhaghosa lived in the lower floor of a seven-storeyed building where he was engaged in daily translating the teachings of the Buddha. According to Spence Hardy, Buddhaghosa dwelt in the secluded Ganthākāra vihāra, occupied with the work of translating, according to the grammatical rules of Māgadhī, which is the root of all languages (*mūlabhāsā*), the whole of the Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathās* into Pali.[15] While he was in Ceylon he went out for alms every morning and collected fallen palm-leaves for the purpose of writing on them. This was noticed by a toddy-seller, who actually saw him engaged in writing on them. One day the toddy-seller took a potful of food and presented it to Buddhaghosa who asked him to go upstairs and present it to a superior thera living there. The toddy-seller did so and met the thera on the upper flat who said, " Buddhaghosa is worthier than we are. Daily he translates the teachings of the Buddha into Māgadhī. Give the food to him. " This was done. Buddhaghosa's task of translating was finished, it is said, in three months. The chief of the congregation praised him much and set fire to all the works written by

6 *Sāsv.* p. 29.

7 *Bup.* pp. 47-48 ; cf. *Sāsv.* p. 29.

8 *JPTS.* 1890, p. 53 ; Law, *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions,* Calcutta University publication, 1941, p. 73.

9 *Sāsv.* p. 31.

10 *JPTS.* 1890, p. 53.

11 Cf. *Sāsv.* p. 30.

12 *JPTS.* loc. cit.

13 *JPTS.* 1890, pp. 53-54.

14 ibid., pp. 52-53—"*Tatopaṭṭhāya so bhikkhu Buddhaghosatthero nāmātiloke pākaṭo ahosi.*"

4——CP 11345 (9/71)

Mahinda in Sinhalese. Buddhaghosa asked the congregation for permission to go back home and see his parents. When he was about to leave, the Sinhalese monks spoke ill of him, saying that he did not know Sanskrit. In the midst of the congregation he ascended the pulpit to display his knowledge of Sanskrit.[16] Since then the monks had no doubts as to his knowledge of Sanskrit.

One day two maid-servants of two brahmins fell out with each other. Buddhaghosa was the only person who saw them quarrelling. The matter was referred to the tribunal and the king decided the case, relying on the written evidence of Buddhaghosa. The king praised him remarking that he was a man of quick wisdom.[17] On his return from Ceylon, Buddhaghosa went to his preceptor in Jambudipa and informed him that he had written the *Pariyatti*. He then went to his parents who gave him excellent food.[18]

Some say that after having completed his work in Ceylon, Buddhaghosa went to Burma to propagate Buddhism there.[19] The Burmans ascribe the new era in their religion to the time when the great commentator reached their country from Ceylon. He is said to have brought over from Ceylon to Burma a copy of Kaccāyana's Pali grammar, which he translated into Burmese and also wrote a commentary on it. This is not mentioned by Moggallāna nor by the Prakrit grammarians, Hemacandra and others, and it must be reckoned amongst the works wrongly attributed to Buddhaghosa.[20] A volume of parables in the Burmese language is also attributed to him. The Burmese code of Manu is said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by Buddhaghosa. Although the chronicles of Ceylon and the Burmese inscriptions of the 5th century A. C. are silent on this point, yet his own works, the *Atthasālinī* and the *Visuddhimagga*, were well known to the Burmans, and held in high esteem by them from a very early time. Even now, Buddhaghosa is so greatly adored and worshipped by the Burmans that he might well have actually lived among them.

Dhammakitti, a Ceylonese monk, while giving an account of the reign of king Mahānāma, who was king of Ceylon in the early years of the 5th century A. C., narrates the story of the life and labours of Buddhaghosa.[21] In this he is described as a brahmin youth born in the neighbourhood of the the great Bo-tree in Magadha, who acquired the knowledge of the three *vedas* and possessed great aptitude in learning. He was indefatigable as a schismatic disputant and became a schismatic wanderer in Jambudīpa. He was in the habit of repeating at night the views of Patañjalī. Later, he came in contact with the great thera named Revata who converted him to Buddhism. He was profound in his eloquence like the Buddha himself. While he was in the Jambudīpa he composed the *Ñānodaya* and wrote the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅganī*. He was desirous of translating the *Aṭṭhakathā* into Māgadhī. When his ability was tested by giving him two *gāthās*, he was successful in the test and later composed the *Visuddhimagga*. He wrote a *Paritta* commentary, meaning either a commentary on the *Paritta* or, more probably, a concise commentary on the *Piṭakas*.

The name Revata does not occur in any of the personal references in Buddhaghosa's writings. From these references it is clear that Buddhaghosa dwelt at Kāñcīpura and other places in South India before he went to Ceylon. The *nigamanas* (colophons) do not suggest Bodh-Gayā as his birth-place. In the *Visuddhimagga*, Pāṭaliputta is twice referred to, but Buddhaghosa's knowledge about it was not very definite.[22]

According to Dhammakitti's account, the *Atthasālinī* preceded the *Visuddhimagga*, while the introductory verses of the *Atthasālinī* clearly presuppose the text of the *Visuddhimagga*. Buddhaghosa's colophon to the *Visuddhimagga* amply corroborates the account which associates Buddhaghosa with Saṅghapāla, the then leading thera of the Mahāvihāra. The *Cūlavaṃsa* (*PTS*.tr. Pt. II, intro. p.xi) is very definite about Buddhaghosa's staying in Ceylon at the time of king Mahānāma (A.C. 409–421). But, there is no epigraphic evidence to establish this synchronism. In the case of Buddhadatta, the reference is to an equal in rank who courteously and lovingly (*sakkacca sādaraṃ*) asked him to write the Vinaya manual. If this common reference be

16 *Bup*. p. 61.

17 ibid., pp.53–54.

18 ibid., p. 63.

19 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 125.

20 *IA*. Vol. XIX, 1890, April, p. 119.

21 Ed. G. Turnour, *Mahāvaṃso*, Ceylon, 1837, pp. 250–53; *Mhv*. Chap. 37, *vv*. 215–46 ; cf. Dines Anderson, *A Pail Reader* Copenhagen, 1910, pp. 113–14.

22 *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 312 ; ibid., II, 403.

taken as a sound basis of contemporaneity of the two Pali scholiasts, Buddhadatta will have to be regarded as the elder contemporary. There is no other direct evidence as yet to connect the two chronologically. But Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa are certainly represented as contemporaries. The former belongs to Uragapura (Uraiyur) near modern Trichinopoly. He himself speaks patriotically of the kingdom of Coḷa, and associates his literary activity with the reign of Accutavikkanta or Accutavikkama of the Kalabbha or Kaḷamba (Kadamba) dynasty.

Dhammakitti's account of Buddhaghosa's proficiency in the *vedas* and other branches of Brahmanical learning is substantially correct. Buddhaghosa makes mention of the four *Vedas*, namely, *irubbeda* (*Rigveda*), *yajubbeda* (*Yajurveda*), *sāmaveda* and *athabbaṇaveda* in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*(I, p. 247). He also shows his acquaintance with the details of vedic sacrifices. According to him, *yiṭṭha* is called the great sacrifice (*mahāyāga*) and *huta* is hospitality offered to persons attending the sacrifice. He refers to *aggihoma*[23] which derives its name from the fact that it is performed by burning sacrificial things in fire produced by wood. *Dabbihoma* is a kind of *aggihoma* and is so-called because this sacrifice is performed by putting husks into the fire by means of a wooden spoon. *Mukhāhoma* is a kind of sacrifice in which mustard seeds are thrown into the fire from the sacrificer's mouth. The *lohitahoma* is described as a kind of sacrifice. Tradition speaks of his familiarity with the system of Patañjali (*Patañjalimata*) which means the *Sāṃkhya-yoga* doctrine. This is corroborated by his discussion of the position of *avijjā* in Buddhism as compared with *pakati* (*prakriti*) of the *pakativāda* meaning the Sāṃkhya philosophy.[24] The term *samuna*, in his commentaries,[25] reminds us of his indebtedness to the *Yogasūtra* (III, p. 44) of Patañjali and Vyāsa's comment thereon.

Buddhaghosa's acquaintance with the Nyāya system is evident from the distinction in meaning made by him between the term *hetu* as employed in Theravāda Buddhism and the same term as commonly understood in the sense of the major premise in syllogistic reasoning.[26]

Buddhaghosa's prose style is in many respects like that of Patañjali. He has occasionally cited in Pali the grammatical sūtras of Pāṇini. Buddhaghosa's explanation of the word *indriya* in the *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 491–92) shows his indebtedness to Pāṇini.[27] Pāṇini has no objection to *āpatti* in the sense of *prāpti*. In this very sense *āpatti* is sought to be explained in the *Samantapāsādikā*. Buddhaghosa's anatomical description of the thirty two parts of the human body, as given by him in the *Visuddhimagga* (*PTS*. I, pp. 249–65; pp. 353–363),[28] shows his acquaintance with the science of medicine. Buddhaghosa's knowledge of the *Upaniṣads* is nowhere mentioned in his writings. The two great Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* are nowhere referred to by him in his works. His reference to the *Bhāratayuddha* and *Sītāharaṇa* in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, p. 84) is found in connection with his explanation of the word *akkhānaṃ*.

As regards his career in South India, Buddhaghosa while there acquired sufficient proficiency in the three *Piṭakas*. His change of religion and ordination as a monk helped him greatly to write a treatise by the name of *Ñāṇodaya* or 'the Awakening of Knowledge,' before going to Ceylon. He made it a supplement to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, which is the first book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. He wrote the *Atthasālinī*, which is a concise commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. He was then advised and persuaded to go to Ceylon by his teacher, Revata. His career immediately before his mission to Ceylon was confined to the Coḷa or Damiḷa country in the Deccan. He resided at Kāñcipura and other places with Jotipāla, at whose instance he undertook to write the *Sāratthappakāsinī* and the *Manorathapūraṇī*. He visited the Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana or Mayūrarūpapaṭṭana (probably identified with Mayavaram) on a middle distributary of the Kāverī. Here Buddhamitta asked Buddhaghosa to write the *Papañcasūdanī*.[92] Buddhaghosa's works remind us of the Andakas (Andhras) and Damiḷas (Draviḍas) who were regarded as non-Aryan peoples.[30] In his *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (pp. 387–88). Buddhaghosa refers to eighteen non-Aryan languages (*milakkhabhāsā*), such as Oḍḍa, Kirāta,

23 *DA*. I, p. 93.

24 *Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 525.

25 *Dhsa*. p. 71; *DA*. I pp. 167.

26 *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS) II, p. 532; cf, *KvuA*. pp. 153 ff., 158, 165–67, 181, 184, 198–99.

27 Vide Pāṇini's sūtra *v*. 2, 93; cf. *JPTS*. 1906–07, pp, 172–73.

28 Cf. *KhpA*., pp. 41–58; *Sammohavinodanī*, (SHB), pp. 49–63.

29 *MA*. V, p. 109.

30 *VbhA*. pp. 387–88; *VinA*. Vol. I, p. 255.

Andhaka. Yoṇaka and Damiḷabhāsā. In the *Samantapāsādikā*, the non-Aryan languages are typified by the Andhaka and Damiḷabhāsā.

After finishing the *Ñāṇodaya* and his career in South India, Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon which was known to him as Sīhala as well as Tambapaṇṇi. The language of Sīhala is counted in the *Suttanipāta* commentary among the non-Aryan languages (*milakkhabhāsāpariyāpannā*).[31]

Dhammakitti's account points out that Buddhaghosa left for Ceylon after being instructed by his preceptor, the thera Revata. From the epilogue to his *Manorathapūraṇī* we learn that he stayed with Jotipāla not only at Kāñcīpura and other places in the Coḷa or Draviḍa country but also at the Mahāvihāra in the island of Tambapaṇṇi.[32] This statement of Buddhaghosa, if it is authentic, may mean that Jotipāla did not remain content with urging him to go to Ceylon but himself took him there. Saṅghapāla thera was then the head of the Mahāvihāra. It is probably an exaggeration to say that Buddhaghosa was not allowed to use the Ceylonese commentaries before his merit was tested, that is to say, before he succeeded in producing the *Visuddhimagga*. A preliminary test of his erudition and intellectual capacity might have been held as a matter of course. It is possible that he was given two stanzas from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* to be explained, but it does not mean that the production of a masterly treatise like the *Visuddhimagga* was the immediate result. The internal evidence of the work proves that he wrote it out after having an ample opportunity to study the Ceylonese commentaries and to acquaint himself with the correct views of teachers attahced to the Mahāvihāra. The library of the Mahāvihāra was probably known as the Ganthākara, or perhaps Ganthā-gāra.

The four works he wrote immediately after his *Visuddhimagga* were the commentaries on the first four *Nikāyas*, which appear to have been followed by his commentaries on the seven books of the Abhidhamma. The *Visuddhimagga* was undertaken at the request of Saṅghapāla. Among the four *Nikāya* commentaries, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* was written at the request of Dāṭhanāga of the Sumaṅgalavihāra, the *Papañcasūdanī* at the instance of Buddhamitta of Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana and the *Sāratthappakāsinī* and the *Manorathapūraṇī* at the instance of Jotipāla. The Abhidhamma commentaries are said to have been written at the request of Bhikkhu Buddhaghosa, who is now identified with the Culla Buddhaghosa of the *Gandhavaṃsa* and regarded as the author of the *Paramatthajotikā*, a serial commentary on the four books of the *Khuddakanikāya*. Buddhaghosa's literary career in Ceylon ended with the writing of the Abhidhamma commentaries.

A critical study of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (q.v.) does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had very little authentic knowledge at his command. He simply collected the legends which centred round Buddhaghosa. From a historical standpoint those legends are mostly valueless. The accounts contained in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* about the birth, early life, conversion etc., of Buddhaghosa, bear a striking similarity with those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview that took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus : "I went before you to Ceylon to compile the Buddha's word, I am old, I have not long to live and shall not therefore be able to accomplish the task. You carry out the work satisfactorily."

In the sixth chapter of the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, we find that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into Māgadhī, and in the seventh chapter it is written that when after three months he completed his task the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. The author has made a mistake in the sixth chapter. Buddhaghosa translated the Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhī and not the texts themselves. Had it been so, there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. It is distinctly stated in the *Cūlavaṃsa* that only the Pali canonical texts existed in Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali.

Both Buddhaghosa and Nāgasena(q.v.) showed wonderful signs of intelligence in their boyhood. Both of them mastered the *Vedas* within a very short time. Both were converted at an early age. After conversion, the incidents connected with the lives of both these celebrities are similar. After ordination Nāgasena thought that his teacher must be a fool inasmuch as he instructed him first in the *Abhidhamma* excluding the other teachings of the Buddha. His teacher came to know what was

31 *SnA*. Vol, II, p. 397.

32 *Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta Jotipālena Kāñcī purādisu mayā pubbe saddhiṃ vasantena vara-Tambapaṇṇidīpe Mahāvihāre vasanakāle pi.*

passing in his mind and rebuked him. Nāgasena apologised. Buddhaghosa also thought thus, "Am I or my preceptor more advanced in the words of the Buddha ?" His teacher knowing his mind, rebuked him. Thereupon, he apologised.

The account of the conversion of Buddhaghosa also tallies with that of Moggaliputta Tissa as recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter v). The seat of Tissa was offered to a thera who used to pay his daily visit to his father's house. Tissa grew angry, seeing the thera sitting on his own seat. Tissa asked the thera to explain some knotty points in the *Vedas* which the thera explained. He was asked a question from the *Cittayamaka* which bewildered him. He asked the thera what that *mantra* was. When he came to know that it was *Buddhamantra,* he requested the thera to impart it to him. The thera said, " I impart it only to one who wears our robe." According to the *Buddhaghosuppatti,* Buddhaghosa became angry, when he saw a brahmin on his seat in the house of his father, Kesī. When the thera finished his meal, he asked him, "Do you know the *Vedas* or are you acquainted with any other *mantra* ? " The thera replied, " I know not only the *Vedas* but another *mantra*." And then he rehearsed the three *Vedas*. Buddhaghosa requested him to repeat his *mantra*. The thera recited some portions of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. When Buddhaghosa came to know from the thera that it was *Buddhamantra,* he desired to have a knowledge of it. He then had his head shaven with the permission of his parents and became a monk.

Buddhaghosa, after finishing all his duties in Ceylon, returned to Jambudipa to worship the great Bo-tree. The last days of his life he spent in retirement from his literary activity, observing the precepts. He spent the remaining days of his life at Bodh-Gayā where he breathed his last. He passed away peacefully and was reborn in heaven.

The exact time of his death was known to him and he thought thus, " Death is of three kinds, *samuccheda, khaṇika* and *sammuti*. Of these the first one is the death of a taintless person, the second is the momentary cessation of thought-production, and the last is the ordinary death of all beings. Of these am I to die the common death ? " Even at the last moment of his life he was in the habit of philosophising. Bearing in mind the precepts to be observed he expired and was reborn in the Tusita heaven. His commentaries are silent as to the place where he breathed his last.[33] The inhabitants of Cambodia think that Buddhaghosa died in their country in a great monastery called Buddhaghosavihāra. After his dead body was cremated, brahmins and other persons took the relics, buried them in sacred spots near the Bodhi-tree and erected stūpas over them.[34]

Predecessors and Successors

Buddhaghosa speaks of *Porāṇas* or *Porāṇakatheras* in connection with those who learn the Dhamma from their teachers and maintain the views of their teachers. They do not entertain any dogmatic view of thier own.[35] According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* they were the theras who took part in the proceedings of the first three Buddhist Councils and were evidently the earliest known commentators.

The *Porāṇācariya* is another name for the *Aṭṭhakathācariya*.[36] We cannot agree with Mrs. Rhys Davids that the *Porāṇas* represented a consistent School of philosophic thought. In the name of the *Porāṇas*, some traditional sayings of legendary or doctrinal character are cited by Buddhaghosa. The only saying which finds its place in a late canonical text like the *Parivāra,* is one regarding the line of Vinaya teachers traced from the thera Mahinda and his four companions.[37] This statement may be regarded as the prototype of those in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. According to the Ancients, the theras named Mahinda, Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla came to Ceylon from India and taught the *Vinaya,* the five *Nikāyas* constituting the *Suttapiṭaka,* and also the seven books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Buddhaghosa quotes the authority of the Ancients while explaining the doctrine of Dependent Origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*). One peculiarity about the *Porāṇa* citations is that they are all in the form of verse, the prototype of which may be traced in the *gāthās* attributed to the ancient theras and therīs.[38] The *Porāṇas* said " Morality is the ornament of a mendicant, it decorates him; being bedecked with morality the

33 Hackmann, *Buddhism as a religion*, Probsthain, 1910, pp. 65–66.

34 *Bup*. p. 66.

35 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), I, p. 99.

36 *JPTS*. 1886, pp. 58 ff.

37 *Vin*. V, p. 3.

38 Vide, Law, *Buddhaghosa*, Calcutta, 1923, p. 45.

mendicant becomes prominent."[39] A careful study of Buddhaghosa's commentaries will help us to be aware of citations of the *Porāṇas*.[40]

The *Bhāṇakas* used to preserve and transmit the canonical texts by an oral tradition. These texts were handed down from teacher to teacher (*ācariyaparamparāya*), until they were committed to writing in Ceylon during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi and in India during the reign of Kaniṣka. Buddhaghosa, in the general introduction to his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, connects the origin of the different Schools of the *Bhāṇakas* with the first Buddhist Council. As soon as the Vinaya texts were recited by Upāli, its president, Mahākassapa, entrusted him with the task of preserving them by chanting among his companions. The chanting of the *Dīghanikāya* was similarly entrusted to Ānanda and his companions while that of the *Majjhimanikāya* was entrusted to the 'School' of Sāriputta. The chanting of the *Aṅguttara* was entrusted to the companions of Anuruddha, while that of the *Saṃyutta* was kept in Mahākassapa's own custody.[41] The monk donors are expressly represented as being the *Bhāṇakas* in many of the votive inscriptions on the outer railings of the stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñcī. It may be easily inferred that there were the *Bhāṇakas* or reciters of the five *Nikāyas* while the *Milinda* (341 pp. ff.) includes the *Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, Khuddaka*, and *Jātaka-Bhāṇakas*.[42] The *Atthasālinī* (p. 18) mentions the *Dhammapada-Bhāṇakas*. The *Visuddhimagga* refers to three classes of reciters who were adepts in explaining higher knowledge and subjects for recollection.[43] Then came the *Aṭṭakathācariyas*, who were a class of teachers, literally, the 'commentary teachers' whose views were considered authoritative in the interpretation of doctrinal points, as for example, "the individual and the work by an individual are mutually settled according to them. A bodily act is called an act done by body. The body and the bodily act are mutually settled."[44] Some views are ascribed to them in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (III, pp. 13, 138).[45]

The *Aṭṭhakathācariya* is apparently a general term for referring agreed opinions (*ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā*) indefinitely to the theras, connected with the commentary tradition of Ceylon. In other words, the tradition of this class of teachers is really the tradition of the earlier commentaries in Sinhalese, which Buddhaghosa undertook to present in a critical Pali garb.

The earlier *Aṭṭhakathās* are listed by Mrs. Rhys Davids as six in number: (1) the commentary of the dwellers in the North Minster—the Uttaravihāra at Anurādhapura; (2) *Mūla* or *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* or simply the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the dwellers in the Great Minster—the Mahāvihāra, also at Anurādhapura; (3) the *Andha-aṭṭhakathā*, handed down at Kāñcīpura in South India; (4) the *Mahāpaccarī* or Great Raft, so-called because it was composed on a raft somewhere in Ceylon; (5) the *Kuruṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā*, so called because it was composed at Kuruṇḍaveḷu vihāra in Ceylon; (6) *Saṅkhepa-aṭṭhakathā* or Short Commentary which, as being mentioned together with the *Andha* commentary, may possibly be also South Indian.[46] The *Mahāpaccarī, Mahākuruṇḍiya* and *Andhaka-aṭṭhakathās* are quoted by name and discussed in the *Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya commentary (*PTS*. Vol. V, pp. 1098–99). It may be reasonably presumed that they were chiefly concerned with the interpretation of the Vinaya rules. The *Visuddhimagga* referes to an earlier *Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā* in Sinhalese. But from this fact alone it cannot be concluded that the *Mahākuruṇḍiya* and *Mahāpaccarī* commentaries, quoted and discussed in Sinhalese, were then in existence. The *Āgama-aṭṭhakathā*, on which Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the first four *Nikāyas* were based, and the *Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, on which the commentaries on the Abhidhamma books, the *Jātaka, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Apadāna* were built up, were parts of the *Mahā-aṭṭahkathā*. As an adherent of the Mahā-vihāra, Buddhaghosa strictly followed the commentary tradition of the Great Minster and refuted or discarded the views of the teachers of the

39 *DA*. I, p. 55.

40 Vide *Visuddhimagga*, I, p 270; cf. *MA*. p. 248; *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS) I, p. 275; ibid., II, p. 522, pp. 595–96, p. 618, pp. 637–38; *DA*. I, p. 61; ibid., I, 34; cf. *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS), I, p. 209; *VinA*. p. 62; *SA*. II, p. 43 ibid., II, p. 400; ibid., III, pp. 13, 50, etc.

41 *DA*. I, pp. 13, 15.

42 Vide Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, University of Calcutta, 1923; s.v. BHĀṆAKA.

43 *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS) p. 431; ibid pp. 275, 285; for further details vide *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS), pp. 36, 95–97, 313, etc.

44 *DhsA*. p. 85.

45 *MA*. I, p. 59; *DA*. pp. 481–82.

46 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, (RAS), 1923, p. xxvii.

Abhayagiri School. The *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā, Majjhima-aṭṭhakathā, Saṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā* and *Aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā* were the four main divisions of the *Āgama-aṭṭhakathā.* The *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā* was included in the *Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā.* The same remark applies with equal force to Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the Abhidhamma books, excepting the *Atthasālinī.* It is quite possible that the *Porāṇa-aṭṭhakathā* was another name for *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* as a whole. It could appear that this earlier Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathā* did not contain commentaries on all the books of the *Khuddakanikāya.*

The views quoted by Buddhaghosa in his works in the name of Nāgasena, are really the views contained in the *Milindapañha.* The discussions held between Nāgasena and king Milinda (Menander) as reported in the *Milindapañha,* are said to have taken place five centuries after the death of the Buddha, i.e., in the first century A. D. These discussions clearly presuppose the controversies in the *Kathāvatthu,* the date of which is assigned to the eighteenth year of the reign of Asoka and to 236 B.C.

Mahākaccāna was the putative author of two companion treatises, *Netti* and *Peṭakopadesa,* on the textual and exegetical methodology, which was developed in Theravāda Buddhism, side by side with the *Tantrayukti* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra,* the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* and other brahmanical works. Mahākaccāna was but a namesake of the great thera Mahākaccāna. Of the two works, the *Peṭakopadesa* is quoted by the name of *Peṭaka* in the *Samantapāsādikā.* Dhammapāla wrote commentaries on them. The historical connection between the two works and the *Milinda* is obscure. Buddhaghosa has not cited the authority of the two works in the name of Mahākaccāna. These two works stand in the same relation to the Theravāda canon as Yāṣka's *Nirukta* to the *Vedas,* and their methodology seems to have developed mainly on the lines of the *Niddesas* or *Vibhaṅgas* attempted by the great thera Mahākaccāna.

The need for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha's words was felt from the very first even while the Master was living. There was at that time the advantage of referring a disputed question for solution to the Master himself and herein we meet with the first stage in the origin of the Buddhist commentaries. All available evidences point to the fact that within a few years of the Buddha's Enlightenment Buddhist headquarters were established in places adjoining many cities and towns. At each of these places sprang up a community of monks under the leadership and guidance of one or other of the famous disciples of the Buddha. Following the rule of the wandering ascetics and teachers they used to spend the rainy season in a royal pleasure-garden or a monastery. Friendly interviews among themselves and occasional calls on contemporary sophists were not unknown. Among the various leaders of the monks some ranked foremost in Doctrine, some in Discipline, some in analytical exposition, some in ascetic practices, some in preaching, some in philosophy, some in poetry and so on.[47] Among the immediate disciples of the Buddha there were persons who came of the brahmin families and who had mastered the *Vedas* and the whole of vedic literature.

The itinerant teachers of the time wandered about in the country, engaging themselves wherever they stopped in serious discussions on matters relating to religion, philosophy, ethics, morals and polity.[48] Whenever an interested sophist spoke vehemently in many ways in dispraise of the Buddha, of the Doctrine and of the Order,[49] whenever another such sophist misinterpreted the Buddha's opinion,[50] whenever a heated discussion broke out in any contemporary brotherhood,[51] or whenever a monk behaved improperly, the monks were exhorted by the Buddha or by his disciples to safeguard their interests.[52]

A complete catechism of important terms and passages of exegetical nature is ascribed to Sāriputta and is familiarly known as the *Saṅgīti-suttanta*[53] of which a Buddhist Sanskrit version exists in Tibetan and Chinese translations under the name of the *Saṅgītiparyāya sūtra.* The method of grouping various topics under numerical heads and of explaining by means of simple enumeration

47 *A.* I, pp. 23 ff. ; *Mhv.* ch. iii.

48 Law, *Historical Gleanings,* Calcutta, 1922, ch. ii ; Rhys Davids,*Buddhist India,* London, 1963, p. 141.

49 *D.* I, p. 1.

50 *M.* III, pp. 207–8.

51 ibid., II, pp. 243–44.

52 ibid., III, pp. 202–6 ; *Nett.* p. 182 ; *Vbh.* pp. 285–92 ;. *DhsA.* pp. 64 ff.

53 *D.* III, pp. 207 ff. ; *JPTS.* 1905, p. 67.

followed by Sāriputta, characterises two of the older collections, the *Saṃyutta* and the *Aṅguttara* and some books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka,* notably the *Puggalapaññatti.*[54] Sāriputta does not exhaust the list. There were other renowned and profoundly learned disciples of the Buddha among whom some were women, who in their own way helped the process of the development of the commentaries. Take, for example, the case of thera Mahākaccāna who seldom indulges in mechanical enumeration and coining of technical terms as Sāriputta did. He confined himself to bring out the inner significance and true philosophical bearing of the Buddha's first principles. He was considered as a great authority on *Paṭisaṃbhidā* or methodology of the Buddha's analytical system. In the *Majjhima-nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 292), we meet with his disquisition on the characteristic marks or specific differences of current abstract terms. The first part of Mahākoṭṭhita's explanation may be said to be the historical foundation of the Lakkhaṇahāra in the *Nettippakaraṇa,* of some passages of the *Milinda-pañha* (p. 62) and some statements in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa.[55] Moggallāna, Ānanda, Dhammadinnā and Khemā made similar contributions.

The canonical texts containing the prose exegeses or word for word commentaries are broadly classed as *veyyākaraṇas.*[56] The Abhidhamma books with the single exception of the *Kathāvatthu* come within the definition of such *veyyākaraṇas.* The *Kathāvatthu,* which is a book of Buddhist controversies, connected with the time of Asoka, follows a line of development quite peculiar of its own. Through the controversies one can watch with interest a critical method of interpretation of various knotty and important points of Buddhism. The textual and exegetical methodology developed in the *Netti* and *Peṭakopadesa* may be regarded as a further step from the canonical stages of the *Niddesas* or *Vibhaṅgas,* so the discussions in the *Milinda* may be rightly held as a further step from the controversies in the *Kathāvatthu.* These two lines of the early commentary process were found at last in the *Aṭṭhakathās.*

Buddhadatta, Culla-Buddhaghosa, Buddhaghosa III, Dhammapāla, Upasena and Mahānāma were the noteworthy successors of Buddhaghosa (for particulars see s.vv.).

Works

There is much divergence of views regarding works whose authorship is attributed to Buddhaghosa. Among those works, about which there is general agreement, may be mentioned the following: *Ñāṇodaya* (written before going to Ceylon), the *Samantapāsādikā* (commentary on the five books of the Vinaya Piṭaka), the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (on the Pātimokkha), the *Visuddhimagga,* and, among commentaries on books of the Sutta Piṭaka, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (on the *Dīgha Nikāya*), the *Papañcasūdanī* (on the *Majjhima Nikāya*), the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*), the *Manorathapūraṇī* (on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*) and of books in the *Khuddaka Nikāya,* commentaries on the *Khuddhakapāṭha* and on the *Suttanipāta* (both called *Paramatthajotikā*). He also wrote commentaries on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka: the *Atthasālinī* (on the *Dhamma Saṅganī*), the *Sammohavinodanī* (on the *Vibhaṅga*) and the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* on the remaining five books (the *Dhātukathā,* the *Puggalapaññatti,* the *Kathāvatthu,* the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna*). It is generally agreed that the commentary on the *Dhammapada* was very probably written by Buddhaghosa, but not the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* on the *Jātaka,* though the colophon definitely ascribes the work to the great commentator. Particulars on these works are to be found elsewhere under their respective names.

Philosophy

Buddhaghosa studied the Pali Tripiṭaka from the thera Revata. This aroused in him a burning desire to know the religion of the Buddha, which eventually made him a devoted student of Buddhist philosophy. As already pointed out he has been an adherent of the system of Patañjali; throughout his writings he was against *pakativāda,* i. e., the Sāṃkhya and Yoga systems which believe in the dual principles of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti.* He always differentiates the Buddhist conception of *avijjā* from the Prakṛtivādin's conception of *prakṛti* as the root-cause of things.[57] He distinguishes the Buddhist conception of *nāmarūpa* from the common idea of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti.* In his works, he shows his previous predilection for the Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

54 B. C. Law, *A Designation of Human Types,* (PTS. Tr Series, No. 12).

55 *DA.* I, pp. 62–65.

56 One of the *aṅgas* of the Buddhist scriptures is *veyyākaraṇa* or exposition; it contains the whole of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka,* the *sūtras* having no *gāthās* and all the other words of the Buddha not included in the remaining eight *aṅgas* (Childers, *Pali Dictionary,* London, 1909, pp. 564, 565).

57 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 525

systems. He uses the very simile of the blind and the lame by which the concepts of *puruṣa*, and *prakṛti* are illustrated.[58] Buddhaghosa no doubt based his conception on the authority of earlier Buddhist thinkers, notably Nāgasena and Aśvaghoṣa. We agree with Oltramare in maintaining that the Buddhist conception of *nāmarūpa* was, from a certain date, steadily tending towards the Sāṃkhya conception of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. We can trace in Buddhaghosa's writings a characteristic trend of Buddhist thought which colours his philosophical outlook. His Abhidhamma treatise, *Ñāṇodaya*, or the Awakening of Knowledge, was a product of this Buddhist influence. The whole of Buddhist philosophy along with Buddhist religion rests on a psychological basis. Yet more marked is the psychological advance met with in the works of Buddhaghosa.[59] Buddhaghosa expounded his psychology in terms of the five aggregates (*khandhas*), these being material qualities, feeling, sense-perception, complexes of consciousness or co-efficients and consciousness itself.[59]

It was Buddhaghosa who developed and perfected the Buddhist system of thought. The explanation of the sacred texts, literary and philosophical, is really the explanation given by Buddhaghosa and his School. It is difficult to find out his own personal contribution to the ancient stock of knowledge, but, whatever it is, we are grateful to the celebrated commentator whose invaluablo labours have simplified much of what was complex and rendered intelligible what was abstruse and vague. Buddhist philosophy might have owed its origin from the utterances of the Buddha and a group of exponents and thinkers who followed him. But, Buddhaghosa gave it a perfect and final shape through his own comments and interpretations. The philosophical ideas scattered in the Tripiṭaka are to be found in a systematic form in his works.

An attempt has been made here to give in brief Buddhaghosa's views about some philosophical concepts of Buddhism. As regards *avijjā*, which is generally rendered as ignorance, Buddhghosa has raised a very interesting point. Can it be treated as an uncaused root-principle like the *mūla-prakṛti* of Sāṃkhya philosophy ? Buddhaghosa admits that in some texts *avijjā* may appear to be similar to the *mūla-prakṛti* of the Sāṃkhya system. With the exponents of Buddhism, *avijjā* is not conceived on the lines of the Sāṃkhya *prakṛti*.[61] In the chain of causation *avijjā* is the main link of the cosmic process of birth and death. Keith points out that ignorance in the chain has a purely limited sense and has no cosmic significance similar to that of ignorance in the *Vedānta*, through which the absolute passes into the empirical. It is desire or thirst which produces ignorance, and thirst in turn arises because the feelings which evoke it are permeated by ignorance.[62] The Buddha sought to account for the cosmic process of the cycle of births and deaths by mentioning two specific conditions of actions, namely, ignorance and desire for existence.[62] According to Buddhaghosa, *avijjā* involves the obtaining of that which is not to be obtained e.g., bodily sin and so on. It is thus at the root of our existence in this world. It is the *raison d'etre* of all *saṅkhāras* in sensual life and is at the back of formless existence (*arūpasaṅkhāras*).[63] The Buddha is represented as explaining to the monks the chain of causation which begins with ignorance and ends with birth, old age, and death.[64] In the chain of causation we find that the six senses originate from name and form.

According to Buddhaghosa, *citta* is that which cognises external objects. Its characteristic is recognition and it is pre-supposed by every sense-conception. Whatever one sees through his eyes, hears through his ears, etc., all these he recognises by *citta*.[65] Mind is connected with emptiness and absence of a living entity. After sense-perception, it recognises the objects and receives them and manifests the state of such reception. In the absence of mind there is no visual or other cognition.[66] According to the commentator, consciousness, thought and mind are the same in meaning (*cittaṃ*

58 Cf. the passage quoted in Vyāsa's commentary on *Yoga sūtra*, III, ed. V. G. Apte Ananda Ashrama Sanskrit Series, 1932, p. 44.

59 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, Quest Series, London, 1914, p. vi ; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, Gt. Britain, 1926, p. 63.

60 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, Quest Series, London, 1914,p 40.

61 *S* II, p. 186.

62 *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 99.

62 Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Leiden, 1937, p. 50.

63 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), pp 522 ff.

64 *S*. Vol. II, pp. 1–33.

65 *DhsA*. p. 112.

66 ibid., p.263.

iti pi mano iti pi viññānaṃ).[67] The variegated nature of consciousness should be understood by many of the characteristics of association, locality, object, the three degrees of comparison and dominance.[68] In the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, *citta* and *cetasika* are used to denote the same thing, that is, mind.[69] According to the *Visuddhimagga*, *citta* (thought) is the element of mind-consciousness. Keith says that intelligence appears under diverse aspects : as *citta* it accumulates action, as mind it synthesises, as *vijñāna* it forms judgements, as sense it has consciousness of objects.[70] Mind is the co-ordinating intellectual activity but the conception of the relation of sensation and mind is by no means clear of confusion.

According to the *Visuddhimagga* (Vol. II, pp. 462–72) thirty-six kinds of *saṇkhāras* arise from *kāmāvacara-paṭhama-kusala* and the same number arises from *kāmāvacaradutiya-kusala*. The same number without *amoha* arises from *kāmāvacaratatiya-kusala* and so on. Seventeen kinds of *saṅkhāras* arise from *paṭhama-akusala ;* the same number arises from *dutiya-akusala* and the same number without *micchādiṭṭhi* (false view) arises from *tatiya-akusala* and so on.

Saṅkhāra means aggregation. Mrs. Rhys Davids renders it as 'synergies.'[71] *Saṅkhāras* or confections of mind have the characteristic of composing, the function of combining and the manifestation of being busy. They are of three kinds, moral, immoral, and indeterminate. The vital point about a *saṅkhāra* is that it is *cetasika*, being the work of mind. *Abhisaṅkhāra* is used as a synonym of *saṅkhāra*.[72] *Saṅkhāra-khandha* has good many points in common with those of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. Both are referred to mind. *Saṅkhāra* is synonymous with *kamma* and is chiefly applied to *cetanā*. The *Visuddhimagga* (Chap. xiv) refers to 51 *saṅkhāras*.[73] S. Z. Aung opines that *saṅkhārakkhandha* means 'a group of volitions and other associated factors.'[74]

Khandha is used in the sense of mass. It is called aggregate. It may also mean group. Its Sanskrit equivalent is body, as in the phrase *dharmaskandha* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. The first is *rūpa* which simply denotes matter or material quality. Then comes *vedanā* or feeling. Then comes *saññā* or perception. Then comes the aggregate of dispositions (*saṅkhāra*) and knowledge or intellect (*viññāna*). The aggregation of the five *khandhas* constitutes the *Pudgala* (Pali. *Puggala*). *Rūpakkhandha* is of five kinds. It has two broad divisions, namely, phenomenal matter (*bhūtarūpa*) and secondary forms or matters derived from primary elements (*upādārūpa*).

Viññāna is consciousness which runs on and continues without break of identity.[75] It is cognising. *Viññānakkhandha* is consciousness as an aggregate. *Manoviññānadhātu* is called by three names : *mano* (mind) in the sense of measuring, *viññāna* (consciousness) in the sense of discrimination, and *dhātu* (elements) in the philosophical sense of ultimate reality or of absence of a living entity.[76] The difference between mere perception and consciousness should thus be understood according to Buddhagohsa. Thus, although perception, consciousness or cognition and understanding are the same as regards knowing, perception is the mere noting of objects such as blue, green, yellow ; it cannot reach penetration into characteristics as impermanent, ill, selfless, and so on. Consciousness knows objects to be blue, green, yellow and reaches penetration into characteristics.[77] Synonymous with *viññāna*, according to Buddhaghosa, are *citta* and *mana*. There are eighty-nine classes of consciousness in all, namely, moral, twenty-one ; immoral, twelve ; resultant, thirty-six ; inoperative, twenty.[78] A detailed account of the divisions and sub-divisions of terms connected with *viññāna* is given in the *Visuddhimagga* (PTS. Vol. II, pp. 452–60).

67 *S.* Vol. II, p. 95.
68 *DhsA.* p. 64.
69 Law, *The Debates Commentary,* (PTS), 1940, pp. 117–118; *JPTS.* 1889, p. 95.
70 *Buddhist Psychology,* op. cit. p. 246.
71 *Buddhist Psychological Ethics,* 2nd Ed. p. xi; Maung Tin, *Path of Purity,* Pt. III, Chap. xiv, p. 540, f.n.
72 Childers' *Pali Dictionary.*
73 Law, *Life and works of Buddhaghosa,* Calcutta, 1923, p. 148.
74 Trsl. S. Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy,* London, 1910, p. 274.
75 *M.* I, pp. 265 ff.
76 *DhsA.* pp. 140 ff.
77 *Visuddhimagga,* (PTS), p. 437.
78 ibid. pp. 452 ff.

Āyatana has been rendered as sphere by Mrs. Rhys Davids.[79] Some translate it as organ of sense and object of sense.[80] According to the *Visuddhimagga* (PTS. Vol. II, p. 481), *āyatanas* are twelve in number, the six senses having six different qualities for enjoyment, namely eye, form, ear, nose, smell, tongue, etc. The five sense-organs, e. g. eye, ear, nose, tongue and body, along with the mind, make up the *saḷāyatanas*. The twelve bases of mental action are the five senses, the five sense-objects, the mind and ideas.[81]

Phassa (contact) is due to the six sense-organs and objects of sense (*āyatana*). Buddhaghosa points out that the sense-organs are due to *kamma* and it is *kamma* which differentiates them.[82] According to Buddhaghosa, *phassa* means contact.[83] Its characteristic is touching, its function is to bring one in contact with an external object and its effect is to bring together. The object which comes in its way causes *phassa*. It is formless. It exists by sticking to some object. The relation between *phassa* and its object is the relation between eye and form, ear and sound, mind and object of thought.[84] One of the *saṅkhāras* is *phassa*. It is stated in the *Visuddhimagga* (Chap. xvii) that *phassa* is due to six *āyatanas*. *Phassa* is of six kinds : eye-contact, ear-contact, nose-contact, tongue-contact, body-contact and mind-contact. Contact has as its proximate cause an object that has entered the avenue of thought.[85] Contact is a condition precedent to all action. It is the root-cause of all sensations.[86]

According to Buddhaghosa, *vedanā* means whatever has the characteristic of being felt ; it consists of three classes according to origin—good, bad and indifferent (neither good nor bad), though these are of the same nature on account of being felt. According to its nature, *vedanā* is of seven kinds : *sukha* (happiness), *dukkha* (suffering), *somanassa* (delight), *domanassa* (despair), and *upekkhā* (indifference).[87] *Vedanā* means sensation or feeling, which is pleasurable or painful. From contact feeling arises. In the *Atthasālinī* (pp. 109–10)feeling is likened to the king, while the remaining associated states are like the cook. As there are six kinds of contact, so there are six kinds of feeling. As contact is the cause of feeling, so feeling is the cause of desire.[88] S. Z. Aung says that *vedanā* includes such emotions as joy and grief. It covers all kinds of feeling, physical and mental. *Vedanā* is either *kāyika* (bodily) or *mānasika* (mental). Under the aspect of feeling, *vedanā* is either pleasure or pain or neither pain nor pleasure.[89]

All things having the characteristic of perception are termed *saññākhandha* which is of three kinds : *kusala, akusala* and *avyākata*. *Saññā* cannot exist without *viññāna*. *Saññā* is only perception of external appearance of an object, while *viññāna* means thorough knowledge of the thing.[90] *Saññākhandha* is the third *khandha*. It is sub-divided into six, *cakkhu-sota-ghāna-jivhā-kāya* and *manosampassajjāsaññā*. Perception has briefness as manifestation, like lightning, owing to its inability to penetrate into the object.[91] *Saññā* is the name of a real thing (*sabhāva*). *Sañjānitattaṃ* shows the state of having perceived by noting.[92] The three processes are so closely interrelated that in practice it is not possible to distinguish one from the other by saying : ' This is perception, this is consciousness and this is understanding.'[93] It has the object conceived in the mind as the proximate cause.[94] Aung says that *saññā* in Buddhist psychology means the awareness of the marks, real or imaginary, by which an object either of sense or thought is or may hereafter be recognised.[95]

79 *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, London, 1923, p 27.
80 Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, p. 75.
81 *Abhs.* (PTS), VII, p. 8.
82 *Visuddhimagga*, pp. 444–45.
83 *DhsA*. p. 136—'*yo phusanakavasena uppanno so phassoti*'
84 *Visuddhimagga*, (PTS) p. 463.
85 *DhsA*. p. 109.
86 Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Leiden, 1937, p. 45.
87 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 460.
88 ibid. p. 567.
89 *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 14.
90 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 462.
91 *DhsA*. p. 110.
92 ibid. p. 140.
93 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, pp. 436 ff.
94 ibid. p. 462.
95 *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 15–16.

Kamma is defined by Buddhaghosa as volition and quotes the Buddha (*cetanā'haṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi.*)[96] An action is no action until the will is manifested in conduct. *Kamma* means consciousness of good and bad, merit and demerit (*kamma nāma kusalākusalacetanā*).[97] The seven factors of wisdom, like mindfulness, etc., may be said to be *kamma*, which being neither impure nor pure, productive of neither impurity nor purity, lead to the destruction of *kamma*.[98] Buddhaghosa says that volition which is morally indeterminate is without moral result.[99] There are four classes of *kamma* or action, namely, (1) action which produces result in this life; (2) action which produces result in the next life; (3) deeds which produce result from time to time;[100] and (4) past action. *Kamma* divides beings into low and exalted.[101] There is no originator of *kamma*, no sufferer of consequences; only phenomena continue (*kammassa kārako natthi*).[102] *Kamma* has its own individuality, its own inheritor; one has to reap the fruits of his *kamma*, be they good or bad.[103] No action passes from the past life to the present nor from the present to the future.[104] A *kamma* is void of its consequence (*vipāka*) which comes through *kamma*.[105] Buddhaghosa points out that some hold that the six sense-spheres have arisen through the doing of past actions and therefore they are the results. Others hold on the contrary that the mind-sphere may be such a result but the rest are only transmitted by action and are not results.[106] According to the *Atthasālinī* (p. 88), *kamma* is of three kinds, bodily action, action due to speech, and action springing from mind. It is *cetanā* and the states associated with it. The doctrine of *kamma* is inseparably bound up with that of renewed existence. The world exists through *kamma* and people live through *kamma* (*kammanā vattati loko, kammanā vattati pajā*). According to the *Kathāvatthu* commentary, there is a relation between *citta* and *kamma*. If mind be distracted, no *kamma* can be performed. When arahantship is attained, old *kamma* is destroyed and no new *kamma* is produced (*khīṇaṃ purāṇaṃ navaṃ natthi sambhavaṃ*).

The aggregation of the five *khandhas* constitute the *puggala* (*pudgala*). Individuality means body, the five aggregates. This is the usual way of speaking of individuals.[107] Buddhaghosa says that on the existence of *khandhas* such as *rūpa*, etc., there is the usage *evaṃnāma, evaṃgotta*. Because of this usage, common consent and name, there is the *puggala*.[108] The Buddha declares that there are four kinds of persons; he who applies himself to the good of another, not of the self, etc.[109] It is clearly no adequate answer to argue, as Keith shows, that in such expressions the self is nothing but the thought (*citta*), for that is merely a question of phraseology. An individual is nothing but a combination of the five constituent elements or the four primaries and matters derived therefrom. The point may well be illustrated by the simile of a chariot and its parts.[110]

In *Nāmarūpa* (name and form), *nāma* refers to the three aggregates, beginning with feeling, because they 'bend' towards objects. Matter is that which changes its state or condition due to four causes, heat or cold and the rest.[111] The concept of name and form arises from the dual idea of mind and matter. *Rūpa* or shape or form is so-called because it reveals itself. But *nāma* being subtle has to depend on a name to make itself known. Name is fourfold: (1) name given on a special occasion, (2) name given by virtue of a personal quality, (3) name given by acknowledgement and and (4) names which arise of themselves or

96 *DhsA*. pp. 88 ff.
97 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 614.
98 *DhsA*. pp. 88 ff.
99 Law, *The Debates Commentary* (PTS), 1940, p. 167.
100 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 601.
101 *DhsA*. p. 66.
102 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 602.
103 ibid. p. 601.
104 ibid. p. 603.
105 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 603.
106 Law, *The Debates Commentary*, p. 168
107 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), I, p. 310.
108 *KvuA*. pp. 33–35.
109 ibid. p. 8.
110 *PugA*. pp. 171 ff.
111 *DhsA*. p. 52.

spontaneously.[112] In the sense of causing to bend all four *khandhas* are 'name' for they cause one another to bend on to the object.[113] Jacobi and Pischel think that the concept of name and form is similar to the idea of individuation of the Sāṃkhya system. According to the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 443), whatever state has the characteristic of changing through cold, heat, hunger, thirst and so forth, all such states taken together are to be known as the aggregate of matter (*rūpaṃ*). Whatever form there is, all such may be explained in terms of the four great primaries and others derived from them. And so the explanation of name lies in the sense-organ of mind and the associated mental processes resulting therefrom. And this name and this form gives rise to the dual idea of name and form.[114] Depending on name, form proceeds and, depending on form, name proceeds. Of the two, either is powerless and is unable to proceed by its own effort. Separately they are unable to perform their various functions.[115]

Sīla means habit or conduct. It is the foundation of all good qualities. Purity of conduct (*sīla-visuddhi*), purity of mind (*citta-visuddhi*) and purity of knowledge (*ñāṇa-visuddhi*) are of no avail unless they lead to emancipation. In the *Attha-sālinī* (p. 77),[116] we find the following classification of virtue namely, positive virtue (*cāritta-sīla*), as opposed to negative morality (*vāritta-sīla*). The Buddha asked his followers to follow certain principles of conduct and to abstain from others.[117]

Conduct is of six kinds : conduct of lust, of hatred, of delusion, of faith, of intelligence, and of applied thought. By way of mixing and grouping, four others are also made out of lust and an equal number out of faith. Together with these eight we have fourteen types of conduct.[118] For all practical purposes six broad divisions of conduct are generally recognised. In the *Visuddhimagga* (Vol. I, pp. 56–58), we find Buddhaghosa recommending strict observance of the precepts (*sīla*) and enumerating the evil effects resulting from violation thereof. Abstention from taking life, from false, abusive or idle speech, from theft and use of intoxicants, are the prohibitive injunctions, while sexual purity forms a positive rule of conduct. The end of man, as Keith points out in his *Buddhist Philosophy* (pp. 115 ff.), is to free himself, if possible in this life, from the intoxicants, the lust of being born again in this world or in the world of subtle matter or in the world without matter, and ignorance of the Four Noble Truths. His aim is to break the chain of causation and to free himself from desire, aversion, and dullness. There can be no extinction of desire, if ignorance prevails, and therefore the extinction of ignorance is necessary. Conduct (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*) are all essential. Concentration, pervaded by conduct, is fruitful ; wisdom, pervaded by concentration is fruitful ; and the self, pervaded by wisdom, is freed from the corruption of desire, false views and ignorance. Concentration is attainable only through *sīla* or conduct. Conduct and wisdom are treated as an essential pair.[119]

See also CULLA BUDDHAGHOSA.

B.C.L.

BUDDHA GHOṢA, a house-holder whose gift of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded in a third century B.C. inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 239, 271).

BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI, also known as the *Mahābuddhaghosassa Nidānavatthu*, is a short work in Pali. It is written in prose and is divided into eight chapters. The author has given his name at the end of the work as Mahāmaṅgala thera. The book has been edited with a lengthy introduction, notes and a translation by James Gray (London, 1892). The Pali text runs into 30 pages.

As the title suggests, it is a biography of Buddhaghosa, the great commentator, and it is the longest account of Buddhaghosa that has come down to us. But the work is not of much value from a historical point of view as the author has been more interested in recording the legends that had grown round the pre-eminent scholiast, rather than the authentic facts about him. What he has given us is an

112 ibid., p. 392.
113 *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), II, p. 590.
114 *DhsA*. p. 390.
115 ibid. 595–96.
116 Cf. *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), I, p. 10.
117 ibid. p. 11.
118 ibid. pp. 101–102.
119 *D*. I. p. 124.

interesting legend about Buddhaghosa. The editor has aptly remarked that the work reads like 'an Arthurian romance.'

It is written in easy language and simple style. At the beginning of the work is a short introduction in verse. Of its eight chapters, the first deals with Buddhaghosa's boyhood, the second with his conversion to the teachings of the Buddha and his ordination, the third with the conversion of his father, and the fourth with his arrival in Ceylon. The fifth chapter describes him as being a witness to a quarrel between two slave women, the sixth narrates the account of his getting permission to translate the scriptures, the seventh deals with his achievements in Ceylon, and the last chapter describes his return to India and passing away there. The work ends with the author's aspiration, by reason of the merit of his work, to be born in the world of men endowed with wisdom, in the time of the future Buddha Metteyya, and to become one of his disciples.

This work is later than the *Cūḷavaṃsa* account of Buddhaghosa, which is much more reliable. Mahāmaṅgala appears to have borrowed incidents in the life stories of Nāgasena and Moggaliputtatissa from the *Milinda Pañha* and *Mahāvaṃsa* respectively, and incorporated them in his account of the life of Buddhaghosa. Thus, the description of Buddhaghosa's previous life as a deva in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven and his being reborn in the human world at the request of an arahant thera, for the purpose of translating the scriptures into Pali, recalls to mind the story of the birth of Nāgasena who, in his previous life, was a deva in Tāvatiṃsa and sought rebirth as Nāgasena at the request of certain arahant theras, in order to refute the heretical views of Milinda. Nor does the similarity end here. The accounts of their childhood, conversion and ordination are very much alike. We are told that Buddhaghosa once thought that he was more learned in the Buddha's doctrine than his preceptor and when Buddhaghosa asked for pardon for his unbecoming thought, his teacher agreed to forgive him only if Buddhaghosa translated the scriptures that were in Sinhala into Pali. This is an echo of the incident in the *Milinda Pañha*, where Nāgasena hurts the feelings of his teacher who refuses to pardon him until he defeats Milinda in religious debates (*Miln.* pp. 6–14). Similarly, the account of his conversion by the thera with whom he had first been annoyed for having sat on his (Buddhaghosa's) seat when the thera visited Buddhaghosa's father's house for alms, runs parallel to the account of the conversion of Moggaliputtatissa in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chap. v, *vv.* 137–53).

The *Buddhaghosuppatti* relates several incidents which are fanciful and incredible, e.g., the conversion of his father by locking him up in a room and opening the door only after he agreed to be a follower of the Buddha ; his picking dried palm leaves which had fallen under the trees, for his work of translating which he completed in three months ; and the writing of the *Visuddhimagga* in a single day. Although the Sinhalese commentaries are not extant today, it is impossible to believe that Buddhaghosa caused a bonfire to be made of them on the completion of his translation, as described in this work.

There is an error in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*. One is made to understand that Buddhaghosa translated the canonical works from Sinhala into Pali whereas it was the commentaries that he thus translated.

The *Buddhaghosuppatti* is a late work and evidently written at a time when a number of legends had grown round the celebrated figure of Buddhaghosa. However, the book is to be dated before the sixteenth century as it is referred to in the *Jinakālamālī* written in 1517 A.C. It is also quoted in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (pp. 30, 31).

Very little is known about the author apart from his name. Gray is of opinion that Mahāmaṅgala might have been a Ceylonese and B. C. Law is inclined to the same view. A.P. Buddhadatta, however, prefers to think that he might have hailed from Thailand or Burma as the error that Buddhaghosa translated the canonical works is not to be expected of a person from Ceylon, where the tradition of the translation of the commentaries was well known (A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, I, Ambalangoda (Ceylon), 1960, pp. 158, 164–7 ; II, pp. 386–7 ; B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 2, 13–5 ; *A History of Pali Literature*, London, 1933, II, pp. 558–60).

L. R. G.

BUDDHAGUHYA, one of the two Indian monks who were invited to Tibet by king Khri-ide gtsug bstan mes Ag-ts' oms in the eighth century A.C., the other monk being Buddhaśānta (q.v.). A letter from Buddhaguhya addressed to Ag-ts'oms' son, Khri-srong that appears in the Tengyur, Vol. XCIV, under the title, 'Epistle of the Master Buddhaguhya to the king of Tibet, Khri-srong Ide Btsan, to his

nobles and subjects' says, "You dispatched to India, Vairocana, Ska-ba-dpal brtsegs, Kluyi rgyal Mts'an, Yo shes sde, Armandju and others, to whom you entrusted much wealth of gold and silver, to get the Dharma, increase the little religion that was in your realm, and open the window which would let in the light on the darkness of Bod, and bring in its midst the life giving waters......." Buddhaguhya could not go to Tibet. He tells the king, "My body is wrinkled and I have no strength;" but wishing to serve him he gave the messengers this letter, in which he described the duties of a king, of his nobles and of the priesthood (Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, London, 1884, pp. 220 f.).

U.K.

BUDDHAGUPTA (1), (Tibetan: Saṅs-rgyas sbas-pa), an Indian Buddhist monk of the 16th cent., the teacher of Tāranātha. He is regarded as the last great 'apostle' of the Tibetans. He was a notable traveller and is presumed to have ranged over wide expanses both by land and sea. In his journeys to northern lands he covered some of the parts of the former North-West Frontier (Indian), Ladakh, Nepal and Bhūtān through which he entered Tibet. In the south he went as far as Ceylon, where he stayed for five years. Eastward he travelled by sea to parts of Siam and westward to some African islands, perhaps Zanzibar and Madagascar. Thus, he belonged to the line of the famous Buddhist monk-travellers who were profoundly interested in the position of the religion of their time.

Buddhagupta was born in south India, in Indraliṅga near Rāmeśvaram. His father was the rich merchant Kṛṣṇa. The young man was initiated into yoga by the ascetic Tīrthanātha and practised those special methods of *prāṇayāma* as expounded in *Haṭhayoga* and the Śaiva-Buddhist tantras connected with similar ideas, that is, of the *Sahaja-siddhi* category which so greatly influenced the lamaist form of Buddhism in Tibet. His culture was exclusively Tāntrist. For some time he also practised the Vajrayāna cult.

From his accounts, Mahāyāna, also in its sub-sects, was still being followed in parts of Burma, south India and in the African islands. He is best remembered in Buddhist history as a travelling pilgrim (G. Tucci, 'Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the sixteenth century' *IHQ*. VII).

D. T. D.

BUDDHAGUPTA (2) Mahānāvika. The great sea-captain Buddhagupta of the sixth century.

The discovery of a lithic record on a pillar, which is supposed to be a part of an ancient Buddhist shrine, has brought to light the religious character of a sea-farer who had identified himself in his record as Mahānāvika Buddhagupta. The discovery was made by Col. Low in the early part of the 19th century, in the district of the Wellesley Province of the Malay Peninsula (*JASB*. Vol. XVII, for 1848, pt. 2 pp. 64–72). The inscription is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 20).[1]

On comparative analysis a date in the sixth century A.C. has now been (approximately) assigned to the inscription of Buddhagupta (B. Ch. Chhabra, op. cit. p. 79 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 18).1

While proclaiming a salient tenet from the Dharma that through ignorance *karma* is accumulated and through perfect knowledge *karma* is reduced, he declares that by the gradual process of enlightened wisdom, *karma* and existence (*jāti*) could be extinguished. The great sea-captain also makes mentions of his identity. Unfortunately his place of origin mentioned in the inscription as *Raktamṛttika* is difficult to be traced, but tentatively it has been identified with *Chih-tu*, known from Chinese sources as a port on the coast of the gulf of Siam (See RAKTAMṚTTIKA. Also see R. C. Majumadar, loc. cit.).

Several other inscriptions with the same shallow carving of a dedicatory stūpa were discovered in the Malay Peninsula and other regions in S.E. Asia, but their authors were not mentioned unlike in the case of Buddhagupta's inscription (B. Ch. Chhabra, op. cit. pp. 53 ff.).

The full text and the translation of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta's lithic record is as follows :—

Ajñānāc-ciyate karma-Janmanah karma kāraṇa (m) jñānām-na-ciyate—

Karmma karmmābhāvān-na jāyate).

Mahānāvika-buddhaguptasya raktamṛttikavās (tavyasya).

1 The script itself proves that the record belongs to the period 6th to 8th century A.C. and the tentative date assigned to the record could be considered correct.

Sarvvena prakārena sarvvasmin sarvathā

sa(r)vva....siddhayāt(r)ā (h) santu.

Translation—

"Through ignorance *karma* is accumulated, the cause of birth is *karma* ; through knowledge *karma* is not accumulated, through absence of *karma* one is not (re)born.

Of the great sea-captain Buddhagupta, a resident of Raktamṛttika...by all means, in all, in respects... all...be (they) successful in their voyage."

A. D. T. E. P.

BUDDHAHṚADAYA - NĀMA - DHĀRAṆĪ-DHARMAPARYĀYA or (*Ārya-Buddha°*), the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which occurs twice in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur according to the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. VI, No. 149 ; Vol. XI, No. 479), and four times in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) and Gzuṅs-ḥdus (dhāraṇī) sections of the Kangyur (*TM.* No. 514, 515, 854, 855) in the *Sde-dge* edition and twice in the *Taishō* (Nos. 918, 919). The Tibetan title is (*Ḥphags-pa*) *saṅs rgyas-kyī sñiṅ-po shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs-kyi chos-kyi-rnam-graṅs* (sūtra of the dhāraṇī of the heart of Buddhas). Although the author of this text is unknown, the translation is attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde.

The text contains a magic formula called the *Buddhahṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī*, said to have been recited by the Buddha to a large number of bodhisattvas who visited him. The dhāraṇī, the first half of which mentions of the Buddhas runs as follows : *Buddhe buddhe subuddhe mahābuddhe iha* (?) *buddhe tantrabuddhe buddhe buddhe buddhamati buddhe sarvabuddha anumate sarvabuddha anujñāte buddhe buddhe buddha buddha buddha buddha buddha buddha buddha buddha.*

The Buddha is said to have declared that although there is no limit to the doctrine of the Buddha, it could be contemplated upon briefly, and then he had uttered the latter part of the magic formula in the following manner. *Śuddhe suśuddhe suśuddhe śodhanī saṃśodhanī nirmale mala avagate gati.....krame sama sare sarasara pari aśoke viśoka śokaśamani śante praśante avabhāse sarva....parimaṇḍite sarvadharma pratimaṇḍite hara hara mala hara tsar tsar saṃ tsar tsal tsal saṃtsal hala maha yasa matala rina rina rina surina rina maha lokadhare lokadharena dhara dhara ṭar ṭar rodha rodha mahā viṣaya bāhinī hana hana sarvabuddhe hri phre si sarva mahā pratibhāsampanne samante āloke buddha viṣaye buddha-pratimaṇḍite bhagavate sara sara prasara prasara visara visara prasara sarva ṣoṣa avagate svāhā.*

This dhāraṇī appears to be a magical adaptation of the central philosophical doctrine of the *Dharmakāya*, namely, reality considered to be both immanent and transcendental. The psychology of religion understands the philosophic truth of *Dharmakāya* in terms of anthropormorphic symbolism. Hence *Dharmakāya* transforms itself into the *Buddhahṛdaya*. Interpreted thus in religious terms, the *Buddhahṛdaya* lends itself easily to magical manipulation. The docetic interpretation of the Buddha, utilized in magical practice, caters to the popular need for vicarious salvation. The inclusion of the dhāraṇī in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur clearly explains its esoteric character and magical function.

Before reciting the magic formula, the Buddha is said to have spoken of the benefits of learning the doctrine, the vastness of which he has compared to the sands of the valley of the Ganges. The doctrine that he declares protects all beings from harm and averts disease, etc.

On completion of the utterance of this magic formula by the Buddha, the groves and the mountains are said to have bent in his direction as a mark of salutation, and one of the three world-systems namely, *stoṅ-gsum-gyi-stoṅ-chen-poḥi ḥjig-rṭen gyi khams* (Skt. *Trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*) also paid homage. The great ocean and the abode of Māra are said to have trembled. All beings who witnessed the miraculous veneration, paid homage to the Tathāgata three times. The gods offered him celestial Mandāra flowers.

At the conclusion of the text, the Buddha is said to have instructed the bodhisattvas, always to bear in mind the Dharma by remembering the mystic charm and to recite it softly innumerable times. The Buddha also declared that one must always recollect him (the Buddha) and practise meditations. Finally, he mentions that as a result of remembering this magic formula, one would be devoid of all one's mental and moral defilements (Skt. *āvaraṇa*) and would be able to enter into a deep meditation called *the padma-rnam par-bkod-pa* (?). Having listened to the Buddha's words, the bodhisattvas, the *mahāśrāvakas* (Tib. *ñam-thos-chen-po ;* those who bear and understand the Dharma), the gods, the

human-beings, the *asuras* (non-gods) and the *gandharvas* (Tib. *dri-za ;* celestial musicians ; a class of demi-gods supposed to originate from the zone of scents in Gandhamādhana in the Himālaya), are said to have rejoiced greatly.

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas.

A Chinese translation of this text occurs in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, known in Chinese as *Chu fo-hsin-t'o-lo-ni-ching* and translated by Hsüan-tsang of the T' ang dynasty (618–907 A.C). There is a later translaton of this sūtra, known by the same name which is also incorporated in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* (*Nanjio.* Nos. 489, 825 ; *TM.* No. 148).

I. K.

BUDDHA IMAGE PROCESSION. See PROCESSION

BUDDHAJĪVA, a Kāśmīrī monk of the fifth century A. C., credited with the translation of three Sanskrit works into Chinese (J. N. and P. N. Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh,* New Delhi, 1956, p. 73). The *Mahīśāsaka-nikāya-pañcavarga-vinaya* (*DCBT.* p. 174) perhaps is one of them. Buddhajīva is said to have gone to China by sea from Kāśmīr or Kabul and reached Nankin in 423 A.C. (*DCBT.* p. 229 b).

H. R. P.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA, a deity, representing a form of Heruka, the most popular deity of the Vajrayāna pantheon.

He is described as wearing an ornament made of bones, a garland of shaven heads (*muṇḍamālā*) and also as bearing the figure of Akṣobhya on his crown (*makuṭa*). He is said to have one face and four hands. In one of the right hands he carries a drum (*ḍamaru*) and in the other a small sword (*karttrī,* but the text reads *karttri*). Of the two left hands, one is described as carrying a bowl made of a human skull (*kapāla*) and the other as holding a staff with a skull at its top (*khaṭvāṅga*). The complexion of his huge body is blue. He is also described as being in a half seated dancing posture, ever embracing the goddess Citrasenā, who is naked and whose hair is loosened (*Sādh.* II, pp. 501–2 in *GOS.* XLI. See Pl. LX, Fig. 1).

Except for the absence of the figure of Citrasenā, the image preserved in the Baroda Museum tallies, to a great extent, with the description above and, therefore, can be identified with this deity (op. cit. pp. clix f.).

S. K. N.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA-MAHĀTANTRARĀJA-ṬĪKĀ-ABHAYAPADDHATI-NĀMA (or *Śrī B°*), the title in full of a commentary called *Abhayapaddhati* on the *Buddhakapāla-tantra* (See BUDDHAKAPĀLA-NĀMA-YOGINĪTANTRARĀJA). A Tibetan translation of this commentary is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Dpal saṅs-rgyas thod-paḥi-rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-poḥi rgya-cher-ḥgrel-pa ḥjigs-pa med-paḥi gshuṅ-ḥgrel shes-bya-ba.* The colophon cites the name Abhayākaragupta as that of the commentator, and Blo-gros brtan-pa as that of the translator (*TT.* Vol. 58, No. 2526).

R.H.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA-MAṆḌALAVIDHIKRAMA-PRADYOTANA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud (tantra) section (*TM.* No. 1657) and Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra-commentary) section (*TT.* Vol. 58, No. 2529) of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *Saṅs-rgyas thod-pa shes-bya-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-gaḥi rim-pa gsal-ba.*

The work, which begins with a salutation addressed to Buddhakapāla, deals with the methods of performing the rites of the magic circle in the name of Buddhakapāla. The author refers to Buddhakapāla as the king of a class of terrifying deities. He mentions further, that the Buddhas have declared in the past that a pupil who is firm, well disciplined, wise, forbearing, honest and possessed of great mental abilities, would be devoid of attachment. (Tib. *chags-bral ;* Skt. *vītarāga*) and ignorance (Tib. *gti-mug*). The author says that, in his opinion, to such students this magic performance should be explained fully, so that they would grasp it well.

Thereupon the author deals at length with how this ceremony should be carried out. He declares that at first the magic circle should be prepared in a cemetary and then the meditator should contemplate on all the Buddhas.

Several incantations to be chanted during the ceremony are quoted.

I.K.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA-NĀMA-YOGINĪTANTRARĀJA (or *Śrī B°*), the name of a tantra text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Dpal-saṇs-rgyas thod-pa shes-bya-ba rnal-ḥbyor-maḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po.* The author of the text is not known. The translation is attributed to Śrī Gāyadhara and Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer (*TT.* Vol. 3, No. 63).

The text consists of fourteen chapters. The first chapter gives the venue where the text was preached, outlines the main topics dealt in it and relates the *episode of the appearance of the text* from the skull of a Buddha, presumably the reason for its being called the *Buddhakapāla-tantra*.

The Buddha (Śākyamuni), it is said, was once living in the company of other Tathāgatas, yoginīs, arahats and a large number of bodhisattvas. At that time, a Buddha called Rdo-rjeḥi tshig (Vajragir), the chief of all Buddhas, passed away after expounding all tho tantras and mantras. Seeing this, all the bodhisattvas and the yoginīs were astonished. They looked at each other and expressed their grief.

Then a bodhisattva, called Vajrapāṇi, addressed the yoginīs and said that there was a method of elevating the nature of those with little merit. He said that there were a large number of yogatantras, yoginītantras, sūtrāntas and prajñāpāramitā texts which had been expounded by the noble sage. Further, he said that there could be no mastery of tantras without the use of magic formulae. The chanting of a large number of these spells, the number to be chanted depending on the degree of merit and disposition of each person, leads to (spiritual) accomplishment. Hearing this, the Vajrayoginīs looked inquiringly at the face of the Buddha. At this moment the hosts of Māra were afraid and they became subdued. Then, as soon as the chief yoginī looked at the Buddha, the following mantra issued forth from his mouth: "*Oṃ Buddha siddhe susiddhe amṛte araje buddhakapāle sphoṭanipate yatra svayaṃ hūm no phaṭ.*" Miraculous events followed. A large number of nāgas assembled there. At that time, the skull of the Buddha burst forth and a book appeared. Voices were heard in the air requesting the gods and goddesses to accept that book which was a great tantric text that would benefit all beings. The voice further announced that the book would be called the *Buddhakapāla*. The book was handed to the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi who accepted it.

The second chapter of the text, the *Sṅags-kyi leḥu* (*mantraparivarta*), contains a large number of mantras like the following: "*Oṃ buddhakapālini taṭa sphoṭaya sarvaśubhapradāyini hūṃ phaṭ,*" to be chanted while making offerings of flowers, incense, etc.

The third chapter, entitled *Lha-skyed-pa daṅ dbaṅ-bskur-baḥi leḥu,* describes the appearance of the deity Heruka and the ceremony of consecration. After giving some details about the maṇḍala of Heruka, the text describes his form. He is a single-faced, four-armed, blue-complexioned god, originating from the mystic syllable *hūṃ*. He displays a dancing attitude in a semi-cross-legged position (*ardhaparyaṅka*). He bears an angry expression. Clad in a tiger-skin, he wears a fresh garland (cf. the description of Buddhakapāla in *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 501–2). He is embraced by his consort, a red-complexioned goddess, who has a fearful grin on her face. The manner of propitiating Heruka and his eight attendant yoginīs and the consecration rites are detailed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter, called . .*ḥi sbyor-ba daṅ chuḥi sbyor-baḥi leḥu,* contains detailed instructions on the preparation of offerings. Mantras to be chanted at various stages of the ritual are quoted.

The fifth chapter, *Sman-bzaṅ-po daṅ dgoṅs-pa bśad-paḥi leḥu,* contains discussions on an efficacious medicine and on meditation.

The sixth chapter, *Slob-ma dbaṅ-bskur-baḥi leḥu,* contains instructions on the manner of initiating the devotee.

The seventh chapter, *Dkyil-ḥkhor daṅ Heruka bskyed-pa daṅ bsgom-paḥi leḥu,* deals with Heruka and his maṇḍala and the manner of meditation on him. This chapter contains a description of Heruka similar to that given in chapter three. Twenty four goddesses who surround him are named and described (cf. *Sādhanamālā*, loc. cit.)

Chapter eight, the *Sbyin-sreg-gicho-gaḥi leḥu,* contains magic formulae that are to be recited while making offierings, while the ninth chapter, the *Spyod-paḥi leḥu* discusses the ritualistic procedure.

The tenth chapter, called *Sman-chen-po khyad-par can daṅ mo-śam-gyi khrus-kyi cho-gaḥi leḥu,* has instructions on the manner of preparing an excellent medicine that would prolong life and a sprinkling rite that makes a barren woman bear children.

Chapter eleven, *Rig pa ḥdzin-paḥi sbyor-baḥi-man-ṅag des-paḥi leḥu,* contains instructions on the manner of acquiring knowledge while the twelfth chapter, called *Sṅags-sna-tshogs-kyi rab-tu sbyor-baḥi leḥu,* contains more magic formulae.

Chapter thirteen, *Sems rnam-par dag-paḥi leḥu,* contains rites to promote purity of mind. The last chapter, the fourteenth, describes the manner of pronouncing spells and making requests from the goddess Prajñā.

R. H.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA or (*Śrī B°*), the Sanskrit title of a *sādhana* text as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the (*Dpal*) *saṅs-rgyas-thod-paḥi sgrub-thabs shes-bya-ba*, found in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The Tibetan version attributes the authorship of the *sādhana* to Mahācārya Saraha and the translation to Gayādhara and Gyi-jo zla-baḥi ḥod-zer (*TT*. Vol. 58, No. 2527; *TM*. No. 1655; *Cordier*. II, p. 107, No. 7).

The Tibetan version of the text corresponds to that of the Sanskrit text of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* II, No. 254).

After paying obeisance to Buddhakapāla, the author begins his work, which deals with the procedure of worship for the invocation of the deity Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa (Buddhakapāla) who is a form of Heruka. The worshipper is enjoined to perform the preliminary rites at a chosen spot and then meditate on the voidness of all phenomena, utterring the mantra, *Oṃ śūnyatājñāna vajrasvabhāvātmako'ham.* Thereafter he is asked to meditate on Heruka, who is said to rise from the syllable '*hūṃ*' in the centre of the magic circle of the *Sūrya-maṇḍala.* Blue in colour, he is single faced and four-armed (For details see BUDDHAKAPĀLA).

The meditator is then asked to think of himself as Buddhakapāla, who is being embraced by his prajñā and surrounded by twenty-four goddesses, arranged in three circles. This number of goddesses tallies with that of the Tibetan version (*TT*.Vol. 58, p. 103). Although the Sanskrit *sādhana* mentions *the number as twenty-five, in actually naming the* goddesses it mentions only twenty-four. The first circle has the blue-complexioned Sumālinī in the east, the yellow-complexioned Kapālinī in the north, the green-complexioned Bhīmā in the west, and the white-complexioned Duriyā in the south. The next circle has Subhamekhalā in the east, Rūpinī in the north, Vidyā in the west and Kauverī in the south, Kāminī in the north-east, Mahodadhi in the north-west, Kārinī in the south-west and Mārinī in the the south-east. The outermost circle has Bhīmadarśanā in the east, Ajayā in the north, Subhā in the west, Ostārakī in the south, Surakṣinī in the north-east, Vikālarātrī in the north-west, Mahāyasā in the south-west, and Sundarī in the south-east. Besides these, there are the four guardians of gates : Sundarā in the east, Subhagā in the north, Priyadarśanā in the west and Nairātmyā in the south. All the goddesses are of blue complexion and possessed of two hands, one face and ornaments of bones and have brown hair. But they have no garlands of heads. They carry a skull (*kapāla*) in their left hand and a short crooked sword (*kartari*) in their right hand.

There are several magical formulas which are to be recited by the meditator in propitiating Buddhakapāla.

I. K.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA - TANTRAPAÑJIKĀ - JÑĀNAVATĪ-NĀMA (or *Śrī B°*), the title in full of a commentary called Jñānavatī on the tantra text, Buddhakapāla (See BUDDHAKAPĀLA- NĀMA-YOGINĪTANTRARĀJA). A Tibetan translation of this commentary is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Dpal saṅs-rgyas thod-paḥi rgyud-kyi dkaḥ-ḥgrel ye-śes-ldan-pa shes-bya-ba.* The authorship of the commentary is attributed to Saraha. Gayadhara and Zla-baḥi hod-zer (Chandraprabha) are named as the translators (*TT*. Vol.58, No. 2524).

R. H.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA-TANTRA-TATTVACANDRIKA-PAÑJIKĀ-NĀMA, the title of a commentary as quoted in the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. (*TM*. No. 1965). A slightly varying form of the title is given in the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 58., No. 2525) viz. *Buddhakapāla-tantrasya-pañjikā-tattvacandrikā-nāma*, i.e., the commentary called *Tattvacandrikā* on the *Buddhakapālatantra* (cf. *Buddhakapāla-nāma-yoginītantrarāja*). The Tibetan translation of this commentary occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the *Tengyur. Padma rdo-rje (Padmavajra) is cited as the name of the commentator.*

R. H.

BUDDHAKĀRAKADHAMMA, qualities (*dhamma*) that make (*kāraka*) a Buddha, a term used in the Pali commentaries as a synonym of *pāramitā.* The other terms used in the same meaning are *buddhakare-dhamme, buddhadhammā, bodhiparipācana-dhammā,* the qualities that cause wisdom to mature, and *bodhiparipācanā-buddhakārakadhammā* (*J.* I, pp. 19, 20, 25; *ApA*. pp. 22, 23, 28). See PĀRAMITĀ.

U. K.

BUDDHA-KĀYA (the Buddha-Body).

Origin of the theory Buddha-Body

It is likely that the enquiry on the Buddha-body originated in the explanation of the personality of Śākyamuni who had attained Buddhahood after the years of religious austerities. Śākyamuni

was an ordinary human being, it is true, but, as he was a great personage, the Enlightened One, he was looked upon already in his lifetime by the members of his Order as a superhuman being with divine virtues. The texts tell us that the Buddha-body is endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Superman, and again that the Tathāgata's body is made of diamonds and has ten powers and the four-fold 'fearlessness' (*D.* III, pp. 142 ff.). Thus his disciples put their absolute trust in Śākyamuni, and praised him with various appellatives (See s.v. BUDDHA). Śākyamuni himself said that he was the All-knowing and the Tathāgata, and acknowledged his own superhuman nature as the Enlightened One. After Śākyamuni's passing away at the age of eighty, his superhuman nature was greatly widened and enlarged, because, though his death showed his own human limitations subject to transiency, his devoted followers could not but look upon Śākyamuni as an super-human personage. Passages such as the following, "Ananda, if the Tathāgata so wishes, he can live for a *kalpa* or for the rest of the *kalpa* (*Ānanda Tathāgata kappaṃ vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā : D.* II, p. 116) and, "The Buddha put his golden foot out from the coffin" may be regarded as the expressions of the confidence of his followers who esteemed Śākyamuni as an imperishable, superhuman personality. Thus this superhuman nature of the Buddha was transmitted to later generations and enlarged with the passage of time and this led to the composition of Buddha legends like the *Jātakas*. According to such literature the Enlightenment of the Buddha was attained not only by means of his practice of austerities for several years, but also by dint of the immeasurable good words in his previous lives, during numberless *kalpas* : and Śākyamuni is described as a unique superhuman being who has the thirty-two signs of perfection and the eighty minor marks of excellence, and eighteen exclusive properties.

The view of the Buddha in early periods

Such a view of the Buddha-body was characteristic of the period of traditional Schools, the Sthaviravādin and the Mahāsaṃghika. And the Schools developed further these views. The Sarvāstivādins, along with the Sthaviravādins contended that the living-body of the Buddha contained impure elements, while the Mahāsaṃghika argued that the Buddha-body was free from impure elements. According to the *Samayabedoparacanacakra* (*Ibushūrinron*, ed. Enga Teramoso and Tememosougn Hiranatsu, pp. 4f.) the view that the living body of the Buddha is pure is a doctrine of the Mahāsaṃghika, the Ekavyavahārika, the Lokuttaravādin, and the Kurukulaka. This is described as follows :

(1) The Buddha, the Blessed One transcends all worlds, (2) the Tathāgata has no worldy substances (*Laukikadharma*), (3) all the words of the Tathāgata preach the Dharma, (4) the Tathāgata explians explicitly all things, (5) the Tathāgata teaches all things as they are, (6) the Tathāgata's physical form (*rūpa*), (7) the Buddha's authority is unlimited, (8) the life of the Buddha-body is limitless, (9) the Buddha is never tired of encouraging beings to develop faith, (10) the Buddha does not sleep, (11) the Tathāgata is above the need to ponder questions, (12) the Buddha, being always in meditation, utters no word (*nāman*) ; nevertheless, he preaches the truth for all beings by means of words and explanations, (13) the Buddha understands all matters instantaneously, (14) the Buddha gains complete understanding with his wisdom equal within a single thought-moment. (15) the Buddhas, unceasingly produce wisdom regarding destruction (of defilements : *kṣaya-jñāna*), and wisdom concerning non-origination (*anutpāda-jñāna*) until being reach Nirvāṇa.

This assertion of the Mahāsaṃghikas to the effect that the living Buddha-body is a body without defilements and that the Buddha is a purely superhuman being, was according to the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāsaśāstra*, Vol. 76, supported by a passage from the texts as follows : "Though the Tathāgata remains in this world, he is supermundane and cannot be defiled by worldly elements." A passage of the *Āgamas* which reads, "The life of our Śākyamuni Buddha is extremely long, because his Cosmic Body (*Dharmakāya*) survives the decay of his physical body," seems also to support the view held by the Mahāsaṃghikas. According to this view, it is not the Buddha's body which perished at the age of eighty years, but his superhuman character that is, his true body, because the former is the embodiment of the latter. Such a view may be regarded as a doctrinal development of the teaching of the superhuman nature of the Buddha with the thirty-two signs of perfection and the eighteen exclusive properties. This theory may have been a forerunner of the Mahāyānistic view of the Buddha-body. The *Mahāvastu* says : "There is nothing in the world that would be equal to the Buddha. Everything pertaining to Great

Sages transcends the world " (*na hi kiṃcit samyak-sambuddhānaṃ lokena samam. Atha khalu sarvaṃ eva maharṣinam lokottaram*). According to the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentary by Buddhaghosa, the same opinion was held by the Andhaka, Uttarapathaka and Vetulyaka Schools. Contrary to the above theory, the Sthaviravādins and the Sarvāstivādins emphasized that the Buddha's physical body contained defilements, i.e. that the Buddha's physical body with defilements, which lasted for eighty years was his real body, while he attained the state of Nirvāṇa and realized the Cosmic Body free from defilements. In the opinion of the Sarvāstivādins, although the Buddha has the thirty-two signs of perfection and the eighteen exclusive properties, his physical body is, like those of the ordinary people, a qualified and defiled body produced by *karma*. According to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, the Sarvāstivādins say: " Not all the words of the Tathāgata preach the Dharma ; the Tathāgata does not explicitly explain all things ; the Tathāgata does not make clear all things as they are ; all the scriptures are not stated with explicit meanings " (*de bshin gcegs paḥi gsuṅ thams cad ni chos kyi ḥkhor lo rjes su bskor ba ma yin no/thams cad rdsas su mnoṅ par gsuṅs pa ma yin no/éthams cad don jilta ba bshin gsuṅs pa ma yon no/émdo sde thams cad ṅes paḥi dan gyos gsuṅs pa ma yin no : Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, p. 12).

The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāsa-śāstra* (Vol. 76) says that " If the Buddha-body had been free from defilements, a woman named Anupamā would not have experienced a carnal desire for the Buddha's physical body, nor would Aṅgulimāla have vented his anger upon the Buddha. " This is also the reason why they hold that the sin of breaking the unity of the Order is more felonious than that of spilling the blood of the Buddha, since " the Cosmic Body is more important than the Buddha's physical body " (*Abhidharma-mahāvibhāsa-śāstra*, Vol. 116). In other words, for the Sarvāstivādin, the Buddha's undefiled Cosmic Body transcends his physical body and is, so to speak, an abstract, universal truth, while for the Mahāsaṃghika, the physical body is an incarnated body, an embodiment of the super-human, undefiled body itself. The Sarvāstivādins assert that the Cosmic Body is a blissful result of the accomplishment of morality, contemplation, wisdom, emancipation and insight into emancipation, and the Cosmic Body is nothing but an abstract, static and theoretical Buddha which forms the basis of his physical body. The Mahāsaṃghikas cite, to support their theory of the absence of defilement in the Buddha's physical body, a passage from the *Āgamas* : " Though the Tathāgata remains in this world, he is supermundane and cannot be defiled by worldly elements." But the Sarvāstivādins interpret the same passage to the effect that by the Buddha's physical body is meant the Tathāgata remaining in this world and his Cosmic Body is designated by saying that he is supermundane and cannot be defiled (*Abhidharama-mahāvibhāsa-śāstra*, Vol. 76). Such an interpretation makes clear the stand-point of the Sarvāstivādins who distinguish in the abstract the Cosmic Body from the physical body. The difference of views of the Buddha-body between the Mahāsaṃghikas and the Sarvāstivādins seems to derive from the fact that the former view the physical body of the Buddha idealistically and the latter regard it realistically.

The Mahāyānistic view of the Buddha's Body

The view of the Buddha-body in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which succeeded to that of the older Schools, developed rapidly and in various ways. The consistent feature of the view of the Buddha-body in Mahāyāna Buddhism lies in the theory of the two-fold Buddha-body, that is, the Cosmic Body and the Body of Transformation (*Nirmāṇa-kāya*). The former is the true body of the Buddha, which is the absolute truth (*tathatā*), voidness (*śūnyatā*) and remains unchangeable whether Tathāgatas appear in this world or not, while the latter is the incarnation or expedient form, an embodiment of the former. In other words, the Mahāyāna finds the true body of the Buddha in the unconditioned voidness, i.e. the Cosmic Body which transcends even the Buddha's physical body. It also believes that the Cosmic Body or the unconditioned voidness reveals itself as a temporary physical body with the merciful intention of view conveying the truth to beings. Such a view may have been derived from the idealistic view of the Mahāsaṃghikas who consider the physical body of the Buddha as superhuman. However, the characteristic of the doctrine of Mahāyāna consists in the fact that the Mahāyāna finds the true body of the Buddha in voidness or absolute truth, without being limited to the idea of the transcendental undifiled Cosmic Body as the true body of the Buddha advocated by the Mahāsaṃghika. In the *Vajrachchedikā* which says, " Those who want to see me by virtue of form and seeks me by means of voice make erroneous exertions, and cannot see me " (*ye māṃ rūpeṇa*

adrākṣur ye māṃ ghoṣeṇa anvayuḥ/mithyāprahāṇa-parasrita na māṃ darkṣyanti te janāḥ) and in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* which says, "Indeed, the Tathāgata cannot be seen as a physical body, the Cosmic Body is the Tathāgata" (*na hi tathāgato rūpa-kāyato draṣṭavyaḥ dharmakāyās tathāgathā*), and in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* which says, "Tāthāgata is the eternal imperishable Buddha who has immeasurable life, and displays extinction only as an expedience," is shown the Mahāyānistic view of the Buddha-body that the Buddha is identified with absolute truth or voidness. As mentioned above "Those who perceive the Dharma, perceive me" said Śākyamuni to his disciples, and now in Mahāyāna the Dharma is identified with voidness, absolute truth, the wisdom of the imperceptible voidness or *prajñāpāramitā*. And, in Mahāyāna Buddhism it has emphasized that the Cosmic Body or the unlimited and imperishable substance of Enlightenment which is absolute truth and voidness, transcending the physical body of the Buddha, is identified with the blissful or matured body (*Vipāka-kāya, Niṣyanda-kāya*) which is the result of the perfection of his vows and practices in previous lives. This theory comes from the Buddha legends in which the superhuman nature of Śākyamuni is given. In the suttas of various Buddhas, such as the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the *Akṣobhyatathāgatasya-vyūha*, Amitābha, Akṣobhya and other Buddhas are described as the Cosmic Body, but with the characteristics of the Blissful Body which has form and virtue, coming from the perfection of its vows and practices. Therefore, in Mahāyāna Buddhism there are several theories of the Buddha body; one is the theory of the two-fold body which assumes the Cosmic Body with which the Blissful Body is combined, (the Reward-Body), and Incarnated Body; the second is the theory of three-fold body which the Cosmic Body, the Blissful Body and the Incarnated Body and the third is the theory of the four-fold body based on the above-mentioned theories, and so forth.

For further developments of the subject of Buddha-body see s.v. TRI-KĀYA.

E. Ō.

BUDDHAKĀYAVARṆA-PARINIṢPATTYABHINIR-HĀRĀ, name of a *dhāraṇī* mentioned in the list of *Bodhisattvadhāraṇis* (*Mhvyut.* No. 758; See *BHS.* s.v.).

BUDDHAKICCA, actions of the Buddha, programme of the Buddha's daily activities, the daily time table of the Buddha. It is divided into five parts on the basis of time, namely, (1) actions before the midday meal (*purebhattakicca*), (2) actions after the midday meal (*pacchābhattakicca*), (3) actions in the first watch of the night (*purimayāmakicca*), (4) actions in the middle watch of the night (*majjhimayāmakicca*) and (5) the actions in the last watch of the night (*pacchimayāmakicca*).

The actions before the midday meal include the following; first, the Buddha rises early in the morning and attends to his bodily functions such as washing. Properly dressed, he goes for alms, sometimes alone, sometimes with monks; sometimes there are miracles when he goes out for alms. It is said that Nature makes the path even and clear. As he steps out of his chamber, rays of six colours radiate from his body and spread in all directions; elephants and birds make pleasant sounds; so do musical instruments and the jewellery worn by the people. These signs make people aware that the Buddha is on his way for alms, and they, properly dressed, come out to the streets with flowers and scents in their hands, and extend invitations to him for food. The Buddha accepts one of the invitations, goes to the house of his host and takes his meal there. He preaches to the householders and returns to the vihāra, where he waits in the *maṇḍalamāla* (q.v.) till the monks finish their meals. Then he enters his *gandhakuṭi* (q.v.).

Actions after the midday meal begin with instructions to monks assembled in the *gandhakuṭi*. The Buddha answers questions put to him by the monks and gives subjects of meditation to monks to suit their temperament. When the monks take leave of him, he retires for a rest, if it is felt necessary. After a little while he gets up and preaches to the people assembled in the *dhammasabhā*. With this the programme of the day is over.

In the first watch of the night, he takes a bath, if considered desirable; and, properly dressed, he returns to the *gandhakuṭi*, waits in his seat for a while in seclusion. Then the monks come to him to clear any doubts they have and to ask him for subjects of meditation. With this the first watch of the night is spent.

The mid-watch of the night he spends with deities. They ask him various questions and he answers them.

Now it is the last watch of the night which he divides into three equal parts. The first part he spends walking about (*caṅkamana*) to refresh his body. He sleeps in the second part, and in the third part, he wakes up and looks around the world for people who have performed acts of merit during the time of former Buddhas, so that he could contact them (*DA*. pp. 45–48).

According to the above description, the Buddha lived a settled life in an *ārāma*. But we know from the suttas such as the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* and also from the *Vinaya* that except during the rainy season he travelled far and wide in North India (See CĀRIKĀ). The account of the five-fold *Buddhakicca* described above, therefore, applies to him only when he was not on tour.

U. K.

BUDDHAKṚTYA, acts of the Buddha. As enumerated by Asaṅga they are twelve, namely, (1) the Buddha's existence as bodhisattva in the form of Śvetaketu, (2) his descent from the abode of Tuṣita, (3) his entrance into the womb of Māyā, (4) his birth, (5) acts of dexterity performed by him, (6) his life in the company of noble women, (7) his renunciation of the world, (8) his practice of asceticism, (9) his victory over the Evil One, (10) his attainment of supreme Enlightenment, (11) his turning of the Wheel of the Doctrine and finally (12) his Parinirvāṇa. These acts are manifestations of the Buddha's apparitional body (*Nirmāṇakāya*), mere make-believe acts designed to create a sense of kinship with human beings (*Uttaratantra* of Asaṅga translated from Tibetan into English by E. Obermiller—Reprint from *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IX, pp. 254–5). A detailed account of these twelve acts are given in the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston, part II, pp. 7 ff. (translated from Tibetan into English by E. Obermiller).

These twelve acts of the Buddha are to be found in biographies of the Buddha, written either in Pali or in Sanskrit. The only difference is that the Mahāyāna explains these as mere make-believe, not real, acts— a concept not found in the Pali tradition. In the *Lalitavistara*, they are called sports (*lalita*) of the Buddha on earth. See DOCETISM.

U. K.

BUDDHAKṢEPAṆA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur in the Sde-dge edition (*TM*. No. 276) and in the *Mdo-sna Tshogs* (miscellaneous works) section in the Peking edition (*TT*. Vol. 37, No. 942). Both editions give the same Tibetan title: (*Hphags-pa*) *Saṅs-rgyas mi spaṅ-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. The author of the work is unknown, but the translators are known as Jinamitra, Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes-sde.

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas.

Once, when the Buddha was residing at the Vulture Hill of Magadha in Rājagṛha, seated with two-thousand five-hundred and ten *bhikṣus* and eight bodhisattvas, there came to see the Buddha ten bodhisattvas, namely, Mya-ṅan med (Aśoka), Mya-ṅan-gyi-mun-pa thams-cad ṅes-par ḥjoms-pa, Ye-śes-kyi-ḥod, Chaṅs-pa ?-las byuṅ-ba ḥbrug-dbyaṅs sprin-gyi ṅa-ro, Yen-tan rin-po cheḥi me-ṭog kun-du rgyas-paḥi gzi-brjid lta-bu, Seṅ-geḥi yon-tan las byuṅ-ba ḥbrug-gi ṅa-ros agro-ba, Ḥod-kyi gzi brijd rnam-par bsgrags-pa grags-pa, Ye-śes-kyi bkod-pa mthaḥ-yas-pabsgrub-pa la-sems-pa, Yon-tan rin-po-che mthaḥ-yas-paḥi me-rtog-kun-du rgyas-paḥi rnam par bsgrugs-pa grags-pa and Ṣes-rab-kyi-snaṅ-bas stobs-pa bstan-paḥi blo-gros. Thereupon they circumambulated him and sat on a side. Then they informed the Buddha that they had obtained a topic of meditation seven years ago and were unable to compose their minds to perfect meditation as a result of which they were feeling dejected and unhappy.

To them the Buddha preached this discourse, at the end of which those fearless bodhisattvas (the ten of them), the bodhisattvas who were in the company of the Buddha, the *bhikṣus*, the gods, the non-gods (*asura*), and the demi-gods (*gandharva*; Tib. *dri-za*), all rejoiced.

I. K.

BUDDHAKṢETRA, 'domain of the Buddha' (Jap. Butsudo), a world-system in which a particular Buddha lives and operates. This is one of the most significant Mahāyāna concepts. There is hardly a Sanskrit Buddhist work which does not mention it somewhere. It appears to be second only to Buddhahood in its importance in the future destiny of the bodhisattva. Every Buddha has a domain of his own, a universe under the rule of the Law preached by him. The significance of such a domain is proportionate to the nobility of the deeds performed by its ruling Buddha during his probation as a bodhisattva. It is primarily a cosmological concept, because behind all the ethical and philosophical

interpretations and metaphorical elaborations, lie certain primary conceptions about a Buddha's relation to the world.

The earliest notion of a Buddha's domain appears to be connected not so much with the limitations of his powers as with the particular and peculiar province of his powers which are distinguished from those of the rest of mankind.

The Theravādins had no clearly defined concept of this sort, but ideas leading up to such formulations seem to be implied in the use of terms like *gocara* and *khetta*.

In the Pali *Dhammapada* (*vv.* 179, 180) the Buddha is called *Anantagocara*, one who has a domain (*gocara*) which is infinite (*ananta*). This is one of the earliest suggestions of a Buddha having as domain, a range of knowledge. The Buddhists began to discuss the topic of the Buddha's knowledge relatively early. The Buddha is also called *Samantacakkhu*, one who sees all (*Sn. v.* 346), *Sabbavidū*, one who knows all, *Sabbābhibhū*, all-conqueror (*Sn. v.* 211) and *Lokavidū*, one who knows the world (*S.* I, p. 62), though it is true that the omniscience (*sabbaññutā* : *Pug.* pp. 61, 103 ; *Netti.* pp. 61, 103) attributed to the Buddha is not what the Jains claimed for their leader, the view that complete knowledge was continually present. The Buddha's omniscience meant that the Buddha could so direct his attention that anything could come within the 'net of his knowledge' (*ñāṇajāla*), the range of his knowledge (*M.* I, p. 482).

The word *khetta* is more or less synonymous with *gocara* and is given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* as one of the metaphors for the sphere of vision. "This is the sight, the sphere of sight, the element of vision, the faculty of vision; that is a world, a door, an ocean, a field (*khetta*), a land " (*Dhs.* § 597).

Buddhaghosa was the first Theravādin who, basing himself on the ideas mentioned above, formulated a theory of the Buddha's domain. He used the word *visaya* in the sence of the Buddha's range of knowledge, representing perhaps the first definite notion of his having any sort of a cosmic field. The term *buddhakkhetta* in the *Visuddhimagga* covers three fields, namely, the field of birth, limited by the ten thousand world-systems that quaked on the occasion of the Buddha's birth, called *jātikkhetta*, the field of authority limited by the hundred thousand million world-systems where the *paritta* is effective, called the *ānākhetta*, and the field of vision which is infinite and immeasurable, called the *visayakkhetta Vism.* p. 349, xiii, § 31) ; as far as he wishes, the Buddha could know anything anywhere (*A.* I, p. 228).

The basis of this theory of the Buddha's infinite *visayakkhetta* may be traced in the speculation about his omniscience, about the infinite scope of his knowledge which made him a Buddha. By the time of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 'thrice-a-thousand mighty thousand-world systems' (*tisahassīmahāsahassī-lokadhātu*) seems to have become standard for the inclusive cosmos. A Buddha can make his voice heard throughout this area (*A.*I, pp. 227–8). It is this cosmos which is later considered as the equivalent of the *buddhakṣetra* in its numerical use. The cosmos described in the *Mahāvastu* consists of sixty-one universes of 'thrice-a-thousand mighty thousand world-systems.' " While he was setting the Wheel of Dharma rolling, the Buddha made his voice, as he sopke, resound through this area and the Buddha-fields beyond " (*Mhvu.* III, pp. 341-2). The *Mahāvastu* and the Mahāyāna sūtras consider that the number of *buddhakṣetras* is infinite in every direction and the names of some of these great universes are given in the *Mahāvastu* (I, pp. 123–4).

The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* explains the *buddhakṣetra* as that by which one comes to understand that the *saṃskāras* are like a dream. The Buddhas are the ultimate basis of what is real in the universe. This is the profound meaning which is implied in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* in calling this great cosmos the domain of the Buddha. This belief involves assumptions about the relation of a Buddha to his universe which go far deeper into metaphysics than the Theravāda belief in the world as object of the Buddha's knowledge. In the Theravāda, the Buddha was set over against the world as its knower, whereas in the Mahāyāna the Buddhas are part of the fundamental reality of the world itself.

The Theravāda and Mahāyāna accounts of the various realms of existence are more or less in agreement up to the point where the future of a person who has attained supreme and perfect Enlightenment (*tathāgata*) is described. The Theravāda and other Hīnayāna Schools describe him as attaining Nibbāna, a state which is indescribable (*avyākata* : *atthi tathāgato parammaraṇā*), while Mahāyāna suggested a place called *buddhakṣetra*. The development of this concept is the result of the development of the *bhakti* movement in the first place, and, secondly, of the development of monotheism in Buddhism.

The faithful Buddhist wishes to dwell in the sight of the Buddha or to see Tathāgatas. He believes that the Buddha is not really extinct, but that somewhere he is present and in existence. Devotion (*bhakti*) is incomplete without some persisting person as its support. The Mahāsaṃghikas came to the rescue of the devotional needs of the laity by fostering the belief that the Buddha, as a supermundane being, had not quite passed away, but persisted after his Parinirvāṇa in some form or other. The Mahāyāna developed this idea and filled the entire universe to the utmost limits of space with Buddhas and bodhisattvas who were alive and who thus could be loved and treasured. The majority of the faithful had obviously never expected to obtain the highest goal of Nirvāṇa in this very life. Instead, they could only hope to gain access to a plane of the universe which offered fewer obstacles to the attainment of full Enlightenment than the world of men. Rebirth in the heavens was to them the immediate reward of a holy life. All that Mahāyāna did in this respect was to replace the heavens of the old Hindu gods by the heavens of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and to increase the opportunities of the average man by multiplying the paradises in which he could be reborn. Even in the Theravāda, the paradise of Metteyya had become increasingly popular as a place of future rebirth. Metteyya, the next Buddha, at present reigns and preaches in the Tuṣita heaven. The pious aspired, after death, to go to Metteyya's kingdom and to stay there until they would be with him in his final life on earth.

These types of rebirth naturally appealed very strongly to the Mahāyānists, and consequently we find in many of their devotional writings the authors piously desirous that the merit they have acquired by instructing the world thorugh their written works may secure for them at death rebirth in one of these *buddhakṣetras*.

The basic idea of this belief seems to be that every person upon reaching Enlightenment acquires a spiritual realm (*buddhakṣetra*) to which he repairs after death and in which he continues to instruct the bodhisattvas and other pious persons who may be born there, leading them to supreme Enlightenment for themselves.

Just as the Buddha Śākyamuni appeared in this world-system, so other world-systems have their Buddhas also. In assigning different Buddhas to different world-systems, the Mahāyāna was not original. The Mahāsaṃghikas and the Sautrāntikas had already done so., The originality of the Mahāyāna consisted in the development of the notion of a *buddhakṣetra* and in the distinction they made between pure and impure *buddhakṣetras*.

Each Buddha has a certain limited field of influence in which, with a deep, sublime and wonderful voice, he teaches the Dharma to creatures and thereby helps them to win Enlightenment. A *buddhakṣetra* is a kind of mystical universe inhabited by a Buddha and by the beings over whom he rules. According to Buddhaghosa, a Buddha has a two-fold relation to his universe. He knows the entire universe as a field of his knowledge. He also exercises authority and influence over a certain range of world-systems. The first relation is clearly developed in Theravāda literature. The second idea, that of a spatially limited, magical influence of the Buddha, of his sovereignty over a particular area, as distinct from his supreme eminence in it, is almost completely absent from the Pali *Nikāyas* and was probably adopted by Buddhaghosa from the Mahāyāna.

Many *buddhakṣetras* are identical with the natural and impure world-systems which are inhabited by creatures in all the six destinies (*gati*, q.v.). Other *buddhakṣetras*, like that of the Buddha Amitābha, for instance, are Pure Lands. Some Buddhas create realms which are not natural, but ideal or transcendent, in the sense that they stand outside the triple world of sense-desire (*kāmaloka*), of form (*rūpaloka*) and of formlessness (*arūpaloka*), devoid of women, animals, ghosts and the damned, inhabited only by bodhisattvas of great spiritual perfection, either gods or men pure in word, deed and thought, come into being there by apparitional (*opapātika*) birth. There one sees the radiant body of the Buddha, listens to his preaching and undergoes further and further purification until Buddhahood is reached by all. This paradise is often described with much sensory imagery. The following description of the *buddhakṣetras* is found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (p. 210).

" The Buddhas stationed in the east in fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, became all visible, and the *buddhakṣetras* there, consisting of crystal, became visible, variegated with jewel-trees, decorated with strings of fine cloth, replete with many hundred thousands of bodhisattvas, covered with canopies, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold. And in these *buddhakṣetras* appeared the Lords, the Buddhas, teaching with

sweet and gentle voice, the law of creatures. Those *buddhakṣetras* seemed replete with hundreds of thousands of bodhisattvas. So, too, it was in the south-east, so in the south, so in the south-west, so in the west, so in the north-west, so in the north, so in the north-east, so in the nadir and so in the zenith. It was so in the ten directions of space; in each direction were to be seen many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *buddhakṣetras* similar to the sands of the river Ganges......" "Beings who are born in those lands will never suffer untimely death, will be abundantly rich, doers of good, truthful and sincere, tender in talk. Their families and relations will never be scattered. They will be skilful in reconciling quarrels, ever benefitting others when speaking. They will never be envious or angry, but ever maintain right principles..."

All this is popular religion. Great efforts are made to integrate these popular conceptions with the basic principles of wisdom. It would go against the spirit of the doctrine of universal void (*śūnyatā*) if one were to have these paradises as a kind of crude actuality out there in space. As a matter of fact, they are produced by the minds of the bodhisattvas, and have infinite forms, sometimes pure, sometimes defiled . They are in various cycles of enjoyment or suffering. If the bodhisattva learns of people's grasping, greed and violence, he must not say : Away with these people so grasping and violent ; and, on that account, be depressed and turn his back on them. He makes a vow to have a very pure field in which the very name of such persons shall not be heard. But, if the bodhisattva turns his face away from the welfare of all creatures, his field is not pure and his work not accomplished.

There is an apparent inconsistency in the various accounts and enumerations of these *buddhakṣetras*, since every *buddhakṣetra* is really so great and so large as to be co-existent with the universe, and yet at the same time there are as many *buddhakṣetras* as there have been Buddhas.

As a popular religion the Buddhism of faith teaches a multiplicity of *buddhakṣetras*. As an offshoot of the Buddhism of wisdom, this multiplicity is only provisionally true. Ultimately all *buddhakṣetras* are one and the one is all. The natural and the ideal *buddhakṣetras* are one and the same.

In the early days of Mahāyāna, a man endeavoured to be reborn in some *buddhakṣetra*, no matter which, or preferably in the realm of the Buddha who took his special fancy. As time went on, however, Māhāyāna became more monotheistic, and the belief grew that there was but one supreme and universal Buddha who included and overshadowed all the rest. Consequently, the *buddhakṣetra* of this Buddha, whoever he happend to be, came to be the goal of ordinary ambition. Historically we find two such monotheistic strains which finally resulted in two different Schools, in one of which the supreme being is known as Vairocana and in the other, Amitābha. Consequently we find two main lines of development in the *buddhakṣetra* theory.

The followers of Vairocana were for the most part the esotericists and occultists, who were generally more concerned with the control of destinies in this life than in the world to come, so that the paradise-doctrine of this School did not receive the same development as did the doctrine of the Amitābha-paradise. Nevertheless, the *buddhakṣetra* idea was not wholly neglected by them. In certain cases, ten or thirteen stages of bodhisattvahood were symbolised as material heavens, in the highest of which dwelt Vairocana himself. Even more interesting are the thirteen stages of the path of progress of the righteous who have departed, as taught in the esoteric Schools of China and Japan. They are : (1) Acalā, where the ' soul ' remains for the first week after death, (2) Śākyamuni, for the second week, (3) Mañjuśrī, for the third week, (4) Samantabhadra, for the fourth week, (5) Kṣitigarbha, for the fifth week, (6) Maitreya, for the sixth week, (7) Bhaiṣajyaguru, for the seventh week, (8) Avalokiteśvara, for the eighth week, (9) Mahāsthāmaprāpta, for the ninth week, (10) Amitābha, for the tenth week, (11) Akṣobhya, for the eleventh week, (12) Ākāśagarbha, for the twelfth week, and (13) Vairocana, for ever.

The Amitābha School is based almost exclusively on the belief in rebirth in paradise through self-renouncing adoration of Amitābha, so that among the followers of this School, the *buddhakṣetra* doctrine received very great development. Though originally it was only one out of many equally important realms, it came gradually to assume pre-eminence among all the paradises. This doctrine is found mainly in three works, namely, the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*.

The larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* teaches that those who accumulate a large pile of good work, who direct their thoughts to Enlightenment and think of Amitābha in the hour of death, go to the blessed land called Sukhāvatī, although those who merely direct their thoughts to Amitābha and his *buddhakṣetra* (i. e., Sukhāvatī) may also possibly reach it. On the otherhand, the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha*

teaches that the blessed land is not the reward for good work, but that anyone who merely hears the name of Amitāyus and thinks of him in the hour of death will be born there.

In the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, Śākyamuni appears in Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa surrounded by thousands of monks, disciples and bodhisattvas. In conversation with Ānanda he enumerates eighty-one Buddhas of the past. The last of these, named Lokeśvararāja, instructs the monk Dharmākara regarding the perfections of the *buddhakṣetras*. It is this Dharmākara who, by prayers (*praṇidhāna*) in a former life and by faithfully practising the virtues of a bodhisattva through countless aeons, was reborn in the Sukhāvatī world, in the west, as Buddha Amitābha. There he radiates immeasurable light (hence, *Amitābha*) and his span of life is immeasurable (therefore, *Amitāyus*). In his *buddhakṣetra*, the Sukhāvatī paradise, there is neither hell nor animal birth, no pretas nor asuras. This blessed land is filled with infinitely sweet scent. Jewel-trees in many hundreds and thousands of colours grow there, also wonderful lotus blossoms. There are no hills there ; the land is as flat as an open hand. Delightful rivers yield pleasant sweet water and the rippling of the water is the most glorious music. Beings who are born in Sukhāvatī are also endowed with the most beautiful qualities, physical and mental, and enjoy all imaginable pleasures. There is no difference between men and gods. There is no question of day and night. There is no darkness. Here Amitābha is continually praised. Whoever thinks of this Buddha with awe, whoever pays heed to the increase of his good deeds, whoever directs his thoughts to Enlightenment, whoever prays reverently to be reborn in that world, to him Amitābha appears in the hour of his death, and he is born in the blessed land. Indeed, even those who only think of Amitābha with one single thought are born there. The beings in Sukhāvatī are not, however, born of women. They appear seated on lotus blossoms, if they have firmly believed in Amitābha, or resting in the cups of the lotus blossoms, if their faith had not been quite firm. The beings in that blessed world live in happiness and calm, in perfect wisdom and sinlessness.

The *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* which has come down only in the Chinese translation (*SBE*. Vol. 49) deals less with the description of the blessed land, but devotes more space to the recommendation of meditations (*dhyāna*) on Amitāyus by means of which one may reach that land.

For centuries these three works on Sukhāvatī and Amitāyus (*SBE*. Vol. 49) have formed the basis of the faith of the majority of Buddhists in China and Japan, who found consolation and comfort in their belief in Amida, as Amitāyus is called in Japan, and in the hope of birth in the blessed land. This is especially true of the numerous adherents of the two Japanese sects, Jōdo-shu and Shin-shu.

Just as the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* describes the blessed land of Amitābha, the *Akṣobhyavyūha* gives an account of the land of Buddha Akṣobhya, (the text has only come down in the Chinese translation : *Nanjio*. No. 28), and in the same way the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* gives an account of the wonderland Padma of Buddha Padmottara, whose life lasted for thirty ages of the world (*kalpas*).

Apart from occasional mention elsewhere, two workers in the *śāstra* literature of India deal more particularly with the doctrine of *buddhakṣetra* ; one is the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the other a commentary on the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, called *Amitāyursūtropadeśa*. In both works, the purely material side of the paradise doctrine is retained, and Amitābha is still but a single and semi-historical Buddha, and his paradise but a single, even if important, *buddhakṣetra*.

Five methods are prescribed by which one may gain rebirth in one of the lands of the Buddha : (1) One should lead a pure life and cultivate the desire to become like the Buddha ; (2) worship of the Buddha as a means of accumulating merit—the worship comprises such acts as praising the Buddha's virtues, doing homage to his beauty, delighting in the thought of him, willing to be reborn one day as a perfect Buddha (*praṇidhāna*), and making gifts to the Buddha. The latter is a particular source of merit. The merit to be obtained from a gift is the greater, the more exalted its recipient is. (3) One should think of the Buddha while repeatedly pronouncing his name. Since the name contains the power of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, its invocation is an act of the highest virtue. The most famous of all is homage to the Buddha Amitābha. While on the one hand the professionals surpassed themselves in the number of their repetitions of the holy name, it was conceded to the laymen that one single act of devotion, one single thought of the Buddha for one single moment will effect his salvation. (4) One should believe firmly that one's chosen Buddha or bodhisattva has made a vow to save all, and that, therefore, he is both willing and able to save one, and to take one to his paradise. A firm belief is recognised by

three features : (*a*) it must be sincere, (*b*) one must be deeply convinced of one's own wretchedness and the power of the Buddha's vow and (*c*) one must transfer or deflect one's merits to the paradise and form a vow to be reborn therein. The collaboration of compassion on the part of the Buddha and of faith on our part brings about the desired rebirth. (5) One should concentrate in one's meditations on the perfection of a *buddhakṣetra* and one should train the visual imagination to see the Buddhas and bodhisattvas ; and also the senses of sound, sight and smell to perceive the sensory beauty of the *buddhakṣetras*.

Reference is also made to the *upakṣetra* in the *Mahāvastu*. It says, "a *buddhakṣetra* is proved to be sixty-one systems of three thousand worlds ; and the *upakṣetra* is to be understood as being four times this" (*Mhvu.* I, p. 121). The implication seems to be that the environs of the *buddhakṣetra* constitute the *upakṣetra*.

U. K.

Bibliography : *Akṣobhyavyūha ; Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra ; Amitāyursūtropadeśa ; Avataṃsaka* or *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra ; Bodhisattvabhūmi ; Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka;Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha, Sukhāvatīvyūha* (larger and smaller) and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa.* L. D. Barnett, Introduction in '*Path of Light*' (trsl of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*); Friess, *Religion in the Various Cultures ; Eastern Buddhist*, Vols. VI, VII ; S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* ; W. M. McGovern, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy* ; E. Conze, *Buddhism* ; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. II.

BUDDHAKULA, name by which a certain brāhman family of Sāketa was popularly known (*SnA.* II, pp. 531 ff.). The two heads of this family, the brāhman and his wife, were known as Buddhapitā and Buddhamātā, respectively, because they had been born as the Buddha's parents in five hundred previous births, grand-parents in another five hundred and uncle and aunt in yet another five hundred. One day, in the time of the Buddha Gotama, the old brāhman saw the Buddha near Sāketa and greeted him like his long-lost son. Then he took the Buddha and the monks to his residence to see the Buddha's mother, brothers and sisters, referring to the brāhman's wife and children. They entertained the Buddha and the monks to a meal, at the end of which the Buddha preached the doctrine to them. Both the brāhman and his wife became *sakadāgāmins* (once-returners). They then requested the Buddha to take his meals always at their place thereafter, but the Buddha declined, saying that Buddhas would never take their meals regularly in the same place. Thereupon it was agreed, according to the *Sutta-nipāta* commentary (*SnA.* II, p. 532), that the Buddha, after going round for alms, should come to the brāhman's residence and partake of his meal there. The *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA.* III, pp. 317 f.), however, gives a different version, that the Buddha agreed to send all those who invited him for meals to them, they supplied all that was necessary for the meal, and, when there was no invitation, they fed the Buddha themselves. Before long, they attained arahantship and passed into Nibbāna. Great multitudes of people gathered together and, placing both bodies on one hearse and, rendering high honours, carried them to the burning-ground. The Buddha, too, went there with five hundred monks and preached the *Jarā Sutta* (*Sn.* pp. 158 ff.). Two *Jātaka* stories by the name *Sāketa Jātaka* (*J.* I, p. 308 f. No. 68; II, pp. 234 f. No. 237), which also refer to the meeting and the entertainment of the Buddha by the old brāhman, state that the *Jarā Sutta* was preached at the brāhman's residence after the meal on which occasion the brāhman and his wife became *sakadāgāmins*.

The *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* I, pp.400 f.) and the *Avadānaśataka* (*Avś.* p. 192) also refer to a man and a woman, who had been the Buddha's father and mother and so on, in former births, and showed him great affection when they met the Buddha. But the dissimilarity of personal and place names here makes it improbable that they are identical with the brāhman of Sāketa and his wife.

H. R. P.

BUDDHĀLAṄKĀRA, a Pali poem mentioned in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* (*Sasv.* p. 98) as having been written by Sīlavaṃsa of Avā, in the fifteenth century, based on the Sumedha-kathā in the *Nidānakathā* (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta, 1933, p. 225 ; Bode, *The Pali Litrature of Burma*, RAS., London, 1966, p. 43).

H. R P.

BUDDHĀLAṄKĀRADHIṢṬHITĀ, name of a *dhāraṇī* cited in the list of Bodhisattvadhāranis (*Mhvyu.* No. 756 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

BUDDHĀLAṄKĀRAVYŪHA, a *samādhi* or concentration of mind mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p.3). When the Buddha attains to this *samādhi*, rays spread from his body and rise up to *Suddhāvāsa* abodes (loc. cit).

BUDDHALOCANĀ (1) (var. *-locanī*; Jap. *Butsugemmo;* Tib. *Saṅs rgyas kyi spyan*), the feminine personification of the Eye of the Buddha. Esoteric texts mention five Eyes as being possessed by the Buddha, the fleshy (physical) Eye, the Divine Eye, the Eye of Wisdom, the Eye of the Law (Dhamma) and the Buddha Eye. The Buddha alone has all five Eyes.

The Buddha Eye is personified in esoteric Buddhism. Its image is found in the ' Court of Omniscience ' and in the ' Court of Śākya ,' of the Circle of the Plan of the Matrix. The personages of the Plane of the Matrix are divided into 3 sections or *kulas*: the section of the Buddha, the section of the lotus and the section of the diamond (*vajra*). In each of these sections, two personages preside , one male and the other female. The male is called the Chief of the Section, the female, the Mother. The Buddha Eye is the Mother of the section of the Buddha.

The epithet 'Mother of the Buddha' does not mean that it gives birth to Buddhas because, Vairocana, for example, who is a Body of the Universal (omnipresent) Essence, cannot be produced from others. The epithet is given to the Buddha Eye because it allows the Buddha to discover the various needs of beings who have to be saved, and accordingly, to produce, in the fashion of others, different forms or manifestations appropriate to different categories of beings.

The Buddha Eye (Butsugemmo) is found in the texts in three chief forms : (1) as transformation of Vajrasattva (q.v.). In this transformation the Body stands on a large white lotus and emits white rays like those of the moon ; it has smiling eyes ; its hands rest in the attitude of concentration and from his limbs millions of Buddhas are born, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, who all pay him their homage; (2) as transformation of Vairocana (Dainichi). This is the form which is found in the Court of Omniscience of the Circle of the Plan of the Matrix and called Kokugen, 'the Eye of Emptiness;' (3) as transformation of Śākyamuni. This is the form found in the Court of Śākyamuni in the same circle. It is called Nojakumo 'Mother of Śākyamuni ' or Honchigen, 'the Eye of Omniscience . ' But in Japanese tradition as found in paintings, this form is dalled Nyoraibo (Jewel of Tathāgatas : Skt. *Sarva-tathāgata-maṇi*), because it holds in its left hand a lotus surmounted by a jewel.

The figure of the Court of Omniscience in the Circle of the Plan of the Matrix has a body of golden hue and a robe of white silk. It is seated on a lotus and its hands are in the *mudrā* of concentration which is—also that of Vairocana. It is in this form that Butsugemmo is represented in the Special Circle, in the same way as the transformation of Vajrasattva (Pl. XVII in *Hbg.* III, p.207).

The figure in the Court of Śākyamuni is also seated on a lotus and is of golden hue. It holds in its left hand a lotus, surmounted by a triple jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) ; its right hand, with palm raised forward, has its thumb and index finger stretched out, the middle and fourth fingers bent and the little finger slightly bent. The conventional symbol is a lotus surmounted by a cranial protuberance with two eyes, surrounded by a nimbus (See Pl. LX. Fig. 2).

The most commonly used seal or *mudrā* is the *mudrā* of the 5 eyes. The middle fingers raised against each other, the palms hollowed, the index fingers bent with their ends on the out side of the middle fingers, the thumbs raised with their ends touching the interior of the middle fingers. They thus form openings, representing the five Eyes of the Buddha. The *bīja* (mantra) is *ga*, the first syllable of the word *gagana*, meaning sky or space. The chief formula of worship is *Namo bhagavato uṣṇīsa oṃ ruru sphuru jvala tiṣṭha siddha locani sarvārtha sadhaniye svāhā.*

For further details see, article on Butsugemmo in *Hobogirin* (*Hbg.* III, pp. 205 ff.) from which the above information was taken.

G.P.M.

BUDDHALOCANĀ (2), name of a Buddhist goddess mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 59).

BUDDHAMAKUṬA-NĀMA MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA-MAHĀDHARMA PARYĀYA (or *Ārya B°*), the title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which is found in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rgyas-kyi dbu-rgyan shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo chos-kyi rnam-graṅs chen-po*. Śākyasiṃha and Devendrarakṣita are stated to have translated the work into Tibetan (*TT*. Vol. 37, No. 940; *TM*. No. 274).

The text contains a sermon preached by the Buddha to Mahākāśyapa at a large assembly of monks, bodhisattvas, gods, nāgas, gandharvas, sages, etc., at the Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha. The Buddha declared that one should know of the

perfection of virtuous deeds by the pioneer bodhisattvas. He said he would explain these and admonished Kāśyapa to listen carefully and bear the sermon in mind.

The Buddha then spoke of various Buddha-fields that lay in various directions, enumerated the names of the Buddhas who resided in them and of bodhisattvas who later became supremely enlightened. He further explained the numerous benefits that the devotees who follow the path of Mahāyāna would obtain by the mere learning of their names. They would acquire such powers as the ability to recollect past births. The merit they gain will finally result in the attainment of Enlightenment.

A Chinese translation of this text called the (*Fu-shou*—)*Ta-shêng-ta-fang-kuang-fo-kuan-ching* occurs in the Sūtra Piṭaka of the Chinese Canon. This translation is attributed to Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa ? 1004–58 A. C.) of the later Sung dynasty.

R. H.

BUDDHAMATI, name of a *buddhakṣetra* mentioned in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Gvyū.* 257).

BUDDHAMITRA (1), the ninth patriarch according to the Ch'an School of Mahāyāna Buddhism, beginning with Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda. If their contemporary Śāṇakavāsa is added as the third patriarch, the T'ien-t'ai School accords to Buddhamitra also the position of the ninth patriarch in their line of succession. By birth he was a *vaiśya* in northern India. He is the author of the *Pañcadvāradhyāna-sūtra-mahārtha-dharma*, on account of which he was also named Mahādhyāna-guru (*DCBT*. 22. 200, 229).

BUDDHAMITRA (2), a donor mentioned in an inscription of the Sāñcī stūpa II (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 283).

BUDDHAMITRA (3), one of two brothers from Ceylon (the other being Buddharakṣita), who had caused to be built two cave shrines at Junnār, the ancient site in western India, where a rock-cut temple of the earliest phase of Buddhist architecture is to be found. The two brothers have been identified as natives of Laṅkā (Ceylon).

Their identification as residents of Ceylon is significant in the fact that Junnār claims the earliest extant example of a rock-cut circular *chaityaghara*, which is a common feature in early Sinhalese temple architecture. One could surmise that this type of temple architecture had been borrowed from Ceylon, as it is held by scholars that rock-cut examples follow similar structural edifices. Thus, both Buddhamitra and Buddharakṣita had played a significant role in introducing to the mainland a novel feature of Buddhist temple architecture prevalent in the Sinhala kingdom (See JUNNĀR; see also, *ASWI*.V, No. 19, p. 96; *EI*. X, Apd. p. 133; M. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujirat*, p. 229).

A.D.T.E.P.

BUDDHAMITRĀ, a Buddhist nun of the time of emperor Kaniṣka. Her name appears as the donor, in the dedicatory Brāhmi legend, on a big statue of a standing bodhisattva found in the ruins of ancient Kosambi. Her offering is dated in the year 2 of the emperor. She was evidently somewhat famous, for her name appears in similar descriptive inscriptions elsewhere, too. She has been lauded as being well versed in the Tripiṭaka, and has been also described as a pupil of the monk Bala, himself a donor of several well-known Buddhist images (*EI*. VII, p. 176; J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarānath*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 35).

D. T. D.

BUDDHAMITTA (1) (var. Buddhavutta), a thera. He was a colleague of Buddhaghosa and one of those who requested him to write the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (*J*. I, p. 1; *Gv*. p. 68). It is mentioned that Buddhaghosa wrote the *Majjhima* commentary also at his request and that he lived with Buddhaghosa at Mayūrarūpapaṭṭana (*MA*. V, p. 109).

L. R. G.

BUDDHAMITTA (2), a thera, at whose request a thera named Ānanda is said to have written the *Abhidhamma Mūlaṭīkā* (q.v. *Gv*. p. 69). However, his name does not appear in the colophon to the book according to which it was written at the request of Dhammamitta (See A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Part I, Ambalangoda (Ceylon), 1960, p. 267).

C. S. R.

BUDDHAMITTA (3), an elder under whom Buddhaghosa studied the Sinhalese commentaries, the *Mahā-Aṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāpaccariya* and *Kurundī*. In the words of Buddhaghosa, Buddhamitta was

"a wise thera, renowned, and well-versed in the Vinaya" (*VinA*. VII, p. 1415). This Buddhamitta does not seem to be the same as Buddhamitta (1), for Buddhaghosa does not refer to the latter as a teacher but rather as a fellow-bhikkhu. (For a suggestion made, identifying Buddhasiri at whose request Buddhaghosa wrote the *Samantapāsādikā*, with this Buddhamitta under discussion. See *SBB*. XXI, p. 95, n. 5).

L. R. G.

BUDDHANĀGA, an elder, a pupil of Sāriputta of Ceylon and author of the *Vinayaṭṭhamañjūsā*, a *ṭīkā* (sub-commentary) on the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*. According to the colophon at the end of the work, he wrote it at the request of an elder named Sumedha. Reference is made to Buddhanāga and his work at *Gv*. pp. 61 f, 71 ; *Saddhamma-saṅgaha, JPTS*. 1890, p. 63, and *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, 1212.

L. R. G.

BUDDHA-NĀMA-SAHASRAPAÑCAŚATA-CATUR-TRIPAÑCADAŚA, the name of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi mtshan lṅa-stoṅ-bshi-brgya-lṅa-bcu-rtsa-gsum-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 36, No. 928).

The work contains formulae of salutation addressed to a large number of Buddhas, five thousand, four hundred and forty-five of them, judging by the title of the text. Several mantras to be used in the worship of the Buddhas are quoted : e.g. *Śānte śānte praśamane svāhā ; pūraya pūraya sarvamanorathānāṃ svāhā ; ghoṣe ghoṣe Buddhaghoṣe svāhā*.

The Buddha is said to have declared that he who learns these mantras, reads them,reflects on them, bears them in mind or explains them to others, will have all his desires fulfilled. In response to a question by a bodhisattva as to how offerings should be made to the Buddhas, the Buddha explained how devotees should offer flowers, incense, perfume, etc., remember their names and chant formulae of worship addressed to each Tathāgata.

A Chinese translation of the text, entitled (*Fu-shou-*) *Wu-ch'ien-wu-pai-fo-ming-shên-chou-chu-chêng-mieh-tsin-ching* is found in the Sūtra Piṭaka of the Chinese Canon. Jñānagupta, Dharmagupta and some others of the Sui dynasty are said to have done this translation in 593 A. C. (*Taishō*. No. 443 ; *Nanjio*. No. 408).

R. H.

BUDDHANANDĪ of Kāmarūpa, a descendant of the Gautama family, who became the eighth patriarch, according to the Ch'an School and the T'ien-t'ai School, if Śāṇakavāsa (contemporary of Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda) is added as the third patriarch (*DCBT*. 22, 229).

BUDDHA-NATURE (*Buddhatā*, *Buddhabhāva*, *Buddhatva*, *Buddhasvabhāva* ; Jap. *Busshō*), the potential ability inherent in all to achieve Enlightenment or to become Buddhas, as the Mahāyānists would say. It is the intellectual basis of man, the nature or quality by the existence of which he can attain Buddhahood. This idea has been treated by the Mahāyānists as a separate concept. The fundamental teaching of Buddhist philosophy is the fact that complete liberation is possible from the bonds of existence. The confusion and darkness of saṃsāric existence can be totally cleared and light obtained. This ability to achieve release and illumination is inherent in all beings. The possibility of its realisation may be remote and difficult but its presence in everyone is admitted. It is this potentiality which is called Buddha-nature as understood in Mahāyāna works.

In Theravāda works, too, the terms *Buddhabhāva* (*J*. I. pp. 14, 147 ; *DhpA*. IV. p. 228), *Buddhatā* (*DhpA*. IV, p. 228), *Buddhatta*(*J*. I, p. 14 ; III, p. 363 ; *Vism*. vii, section 52) have been used in several places, not, however, in the sense of this potential ability to achieve Enlightenment but in the sense of the state of Enlightenment of a Buddha. For instance, Sumedha's resolve (*abhinīhāra*) for Enlightenment made at the feet of Dīpaṅkara Buddha is referred to as *Buddhabhāvāya abhinīhāraṃ katvā* (*J*. I, p. 14). And the relationship between the ordinary human individual and the Buddha is also here referred to as follows : " he who aspires for the state of Enlightenment while remaining as a human being " (*manussabhāvasmim yeva'hi ṭhatvā buddhattaṃ patthentassa*). Here a clear distinction is made between the human being who aspires for Buddhahood and the Enlightened One. This human being becomes a bodhisatta from the time he makes this resolve. The conditions that have to be satisfied before making the resolve for the realisation of Buddha–nature, we are told, are so difficult that only a rare person gets this opportunity. And once the resolve is made the aspirant has to practise the perfections (*pāramitā*) for a very long time. Thus, in the Theravāda tradition, a bodhisatta is a rare being whose potential Buddhahood becomes definite once the *abhinīhāra* (q.v.) is made. However, this ability, as Buddha-nature, is present in all beings and this fact is never denied.

Thus, in the case of the Theravādins, Buddha-nature is treated as a separate concept only with reference to the bodhisatta career of Gautama Buddha. The idea that it is present in all is implied and accepted but not treated as a separate concept. With this restriction of Buddhahood to very rare individuals and the excessive technicality connected with it, the opposite idea that all can become Buddhas developed in the Mahāyāna, as a practical necessity. The concept of Buddha-nature, in the sense of potential Buddhahood, being universally present came to be treated by followers of Mahāyāna as a separate topic, in keeping with their doctrine of *ekayāna* (one vehicle : i.e. *Buddha-yāna*) and the unique altruism it implies.

When Sumedha made his resolve before Dīpaṅkara that he, too, would become a Buddha in the future, it meant that the Buddha-nature inherent in the person of Sumedha would blossom forth in its fulness at the appointed time once the conditions were fulfilled. It is from this point of time that the Theravādins accepted him as a full-fledged bodhisatta. Prior to that Sumedha was not a bodhisatta, but his ability to be a bodhisatta was always there. This fact is true of all beings. The predominance of the personality of Gotama, both as a bodhisatta and a Buddha, in Theravāda literature has tended to form more or less a personality-cult around him. The emergence of the Mahāyāna idea that the Buddha-nature is found in all and that hence all are potential Buddhas, was the natural consequence. The Mahāyānists 'universalised' Buddhahood.

Buddhas are rare beings through whom this hidden Buddha-nature manifests itself in the phenomenal world. They are to be treated as a type of individual that make their appearance when the requisite conditions are fulfilled. Buddha-nature cannot be different in different individuals, since all Buddhas have the same nature. Once a particular person attains Buddhahood by developing the Buddha-nature inherent in him, he becomes one with all his predecessors. This idea of the identity of all Buddhas in very clearly expressed by Nāgasena in the *Milindapañha* (p. 285) where he says : " Among all the Buddhas there is no distinction in physical beauty (*rūpa*), moral habit (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), freedom (*vimutti*), insight into the knowledge of freedom (*vimuttiñāṇadassana*), the four confidences (*vesarajja*), the ten powers of a Tathāgatha (*dasa-tathāgatabala*), the six special knowledges (*chāsā-dhāraṇa-ñāṇa*), the fourteen knowledges of the Buddhas(*cuddasabuddha-ñāṇa*), the eighteen Buddha Dhammas (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*), —in short in the whole of the Buddha-nature (*kevale ca Buddha-dhamme*), for all the Buddhas are the same as regards their nature (*dhamma*) without any difference (*vematta*)." Thus, once Buddha-nature is realised, one becomes undifferentiated in every way—ethically, intellectually and even physically (*rūpa*).

Buddhist texts mention thirty facts as being true of all Buddhas (*samatiṃsavidha-dhammatā*). Although their relevance belongs more properly under developments in Buddhology, they, too, have some bearing on the nature of a Buddha. " In his last life every bodhisatta is conscious at the moment of his conception ; in his mother's womb be remains cross-legged with his face turned outward ; his mother gives birth to him in standing posture ; the birth takes place in a forest-grove (*arañña*) ; immediately after birth he takes seven steps to the north and roars the lion's roar ; he makes his renunciation after seeing the four omens and after a son is born to him ; he has to practise austerities for at least seven days after donning the yellow robe ; he has a meal of milk-rice on the day of his Enlightenment ; he attains omniscience seated on a carpet of grass ; he practises concentration on breathing ; he defeats Māra's forces ; he attains to Supreme Perfection in all knowledge and virtue at the foot of the bodhi-tree ; Mahā Brahmā requests him to preach the Dhamma ; he preaches his first sermon in the Deer Park at Isipatana ; he recites the *Pātimokkha* to the four-fold assembly on the full-moon day of Māgha ; he resides chiefly in Jetavana ; performs the Twin Miracle at Sāvatthi; preaches the Abhidhamma in Tāvatiṃsa ; he descends from there at the gate of Saṅkassa ; he constantly lives in the bliss of *phalasamāpatti ;* investigates the possibility of converting others during two *jhānas :* he lays down the precepts only when occasion arises for them ; he relates Jātakas when suitable occasions occur ; recites the *Buddha-vaṃsa* in the assembly of his kinsmen ; he always greets courteously monks who visit him ; he never leaves the place where he has spent the rainy season without bidding farewell to his hosts ; each day he has prescribed duties before and after his meal and during the three watches of the night ; he eats a meal containing flesh immediately before his death ; and just before his death he enters into twenty-four crores and one hundred thousand *samāpatti* " (*DPPN*. II, p. 297).

The bodhi-tree, the Deer Park at Isipatana (the place where the first sermon is preached), the spot where he first steps on the ground at Saṅkassa

on his descent from Tāvatiṃsa and the spots marked by the four posts of the bed in the Buddha's *gandhakuṭi* (Fragrant Chamber) at Jetavana—these four spots are fixed in the case of all Buddhas (ibid. p. 296).

A primary characteristic of Buddha-nature is that its realisation has to be self-achieved (*svayambhū*). Once the urge for its realisation is there, the resolution (*praṇidhāna*) is made for such realisation and the correct kind of exertion (*sammappadhāna*) undertaken. Accordingly, it is described as "not done by mother, not done by father, and ending up in release. It is the manifestation of the blessed Buddha-nature at the foot of the bodhi-tree" (*na mātarā kataṃ na pitarā kataṃ vimokkhantikaṃ etaṃ buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ bodhiyā mūle... paññatti* : *Nd.* I, p. 458 ; *Ps.* I, p. 174).

This freedom (*vimutti*) is, first and foremost, freedom from worldly suffering in its diverse form, as understood by the comprehensive term *dukkha*, consisting of the four major characteristics of birth, old age, illness and death. Thus, the urge for the realisation of Buddha-nature is the urge for the achievement of complete freedom from all ills. It is the urge towards light from the depths of darkness of the human mind. The following words may be quoted here : "To detach himself from the worldly suffering on this side and to attain the ultimate peace on that side, the Buddha had reasoning power, the light within man. This was called *buddhatva* or *jñāna* (wisdom). It corresponds to the *logos* or *nous* or *sophia* of the Greeks. The Buddha was confident of this and by its unshadowed light he found the way from this side encumbered with the lust of flesh to that side blessed with Nirvāṇa" (*A Comparative Study of Buddhism and Christianity* by Fumio Masutari, Tokyo, 1957, p. 58).

Buddha-nature is 'qualitatively' the same, whether attained by a Buddha, an arhant or a pacceka-buddha. However, the Sammāsambuddhas are differentiated from all others in that they are self-inspired and attain to this state strictly by their own efforts. They are also capable of teaching it to others. Such Buddhas appear when the teaching is entirely lost to the world. Philosophically speaking, it is not incorrect to say that it is inherent in Buddha-nature that when the time comes for it to manifest itself to the world it does so through a Tathāgata. The Tathāgata is, therefore, described as "the revealer of the path unrevealed, producer of the path unproduced, announcer of the path unannounced, the knower, the expert, the specialist of the path" (*anuppannassa maggassa uppādetā asañjātassa maggassa sañjānetā anakkhātassa maggassa akkhātā, maggaññū maggavidū, maggakovido* : *S.* I. p. 191).

5——CP 11345 (9/71)

"If the doctrine of the Buddha had been just the saying of some person or individual, it would lack in compelling authority. As a matter of fact, it emanated from the *spiritual principle*, from the Buddha-nature, which lay hidden in that individual, Śākyamuni, and which as we might say 'inspired' him to understand and to teach the truth. When the Buddhists consider the Buddha as a spiritual principle, they call him the Tathāgata, or speaker of his dharma-body" (Edward Conze, *Buddhism*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 35–6). Thus, the Mahāyānists hold, that in the infinity of time and space, Buddhas are innumerable 'like sands on the banks of the Ganges' (*Gaṅgānadīvālikāsamāna*). "As space is to be found everywhere throughout all the multitudinous variety of forms, so Buddhahood is to be found everywhere throughout the multitudinous variety of beings" says Asaṅga as quoted by Henri de Lubae, in his *Aspects of Buddhism* (London, New York, 1953, p. 188).

The universe has its periods of evolution (*samvaṭṭa*), and devolution (*vivaṭṭa*). This phenomenon has given rise to the conception of aeons (*kalpa*) in Buddhist cosmology. Whatever happens to the world and its beings, Buddha-nature remains hidden always and everywhere awaiting manifestation through a Tathāgata whose advent takes place at some time or other (*kadāci karahaci* : *D.* II, p. 139 ; *Mhvu.* I. p.55). A Buddha is not born everywhere (*na so sabbattha jāyati* : *Dhp. v.* 193) but his birth brings happiness to the whole world (ibid. *v.* 194). This periodical manifestation of Buddha-nature through a Tathāgata is also, like other cosmic events, an integral part of the structure and the operation of phenomenal existence. However, it may be mentioned here that according to the *kalpa* concept, there are certain *kalpas* in which no Buddha is born (*suñña-kappa*) while there are other *kalpas* in which a number of Buddhas (e.g. five in the present) appear.

It is owing to this unique nature of the Buddhas that the Buddha Gautama calls himself a descendent of the lineage of Buddhas and not a god,a *gandhabba*, a yakkha or even an ordinary human being (*A.* II, pp. 38–9). On his visit to Kapilavatthu the Buddha dissociates himself from the royal lineage of his father and associates himself with the Buddha-lineage, when he says to his father : "Yours is the

royal lineage ; ours is the lineage of the Buddhas such as Dīpaṅkara, Kondañña and others (*rājavamso nāma tava vaṃso, amhākaṃ pana Buddhavaṃso* : *J.* I. p. 90). Thus, Buddhists, in their daily worship, refer to the Buddhas of the past, future, and the present (*ye ca Buddhā atītā ca ye ca Buddhā anāgatā paccuppannā ca ye Buddhā ahaṃ vandāmi sabbadā*). The *Sampasādaniya Suttanta* opens with the Buddha's reference to the Buddhas of the three times (*D.* III, pp. 99–100).

It is the nature of Buddhas that their background is cosmological and their perspective universal. They are one with the Absolute. In this connection Lama Anagarika Govinda says, " This universal background reveals one of the most profound ideas of Buddhism, which raises its teachings above the narrow concepts of dogmatic sectarianism, namely, the inescapable conclusion that the quality of Enlightenment is inherent in the universe, or more correctly, latent in every form of conciousness, and therefore, must come to maturity, according to universal law, whenever the conditions are favourable. That this law does not work with the mechanical regularity of clockwork proves it to be a living force and explains why every *kalpa* does not produce the same number of Buddhas.

" Thus the human life of a Buddha must be seen in an entirely different perspective : it becomes a mere fraction of a far bigger and more important development, in which the human element is essentially the vehicle for the re-discovery of the universal (and in this sense 'transcendental') character of mind or consciousness, which, according to the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is 'inconceivable' in its true nature " (Quoted from the *Mahābodhi Journal*, 2498, by Bhikṣhu Saṅgharakṣita, in his *Survey of Buddhism*, Bangalore, India, 1957, pp. 38–9).

The fact that Buddha-nature is infinite in time and space is illustrated by the spiritual lineage of Buddhas applicable to all three periods of (past, present and future) time. And it is this impersonal character of Buddha-nature that could be held responsible for the lack of much recorded historical information about the human aspect of the Buddha. Against this spiritual background, the historical facts are regarded as of little importance.

As the world's highest and the best person (*uttama-* or *parama-puruṣa*), the Buddha is the embodiment of Dharma, the *Dharmakāya*. *Buddhatā* is therefore equated with *dhammatā*. But, for *dhammatā* to be realised in practice, a Buddha has to appear in the world. Since all the Buddhas illustrate the one and the same Absolute state, Buddha-nature is only one throughout. All the Buddhas proclaim the same eternal Dharma. Each Buddha re-discovers it for himself and the world. And for the attainment of this state every Buddha has to practise the various perfections (*pāramitā*) for a long period of time, as bodhisattva. The resultant "Buddhahood is the ultimate significance of his bodhisattvaship. The human and historical biography of Gautama Buddha is the story of the mystic marriage of the human and the divine, the individual and the universal, the terrestrial and the cosmic, the immanent urge and the transcendental ideal, " observes Bhikṣu Saṅgharakṣita (op. cit. pp. 39–40). Thus all Buddhas are spiritually united in *Dharmakāya*. Being one in essence they all loose their identities in *Buddhatā*. The followers of Mahāyāna carried this theory further and made it possible for one Buddha to identify himself with another. Hence Gautama Buddha could say "I was the Buddha of the past named Vipaśyin," as quoted by Har Dayal from the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (*The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1932, p. 27).

The Buddha's teaching is not something outside him but his own verbal expression. The Dhamma he preaches is the expression of Buddha-nature in its total revelation. It is the Tathāgatagarbha of the Mahāyānists. It is not an all-inclusive Absolute in a pantheistic sense. As the Absolute free from all forms of duality, this super-individual state of Buddha-nature is not to be confused with pantheism. It is the infinity in all its 'desirable' aspects (such as infinite life, lustre, happiness, etc.) which has found complete (*parama*) fulfilment (*atthaṃgatassa na pamāṇamatthi* : *Sn.* 1076). Hence it is not a state of 'nothingness,' but the reverse of it, which 'ingenious discovery' is described by Andre Bareau as the most important contribution of Buddhism to universal metaphysics (*EncyBsm.* Vol. I, Fas. 1. p. 150).

The non-pantheistic and at the same time non-dual nature of *Buddhatā* does not imply that it is monistic either, for the moment 'one' is established, a 'two' is implied. It is because of this difficulty that the Mādhyamika or the Central (*madhyama-pratipad*) concept had an easy development in Buddhism, with its four-fold negation (*catuṣkoṭi* : is, is not, both, not both : *atthi, natthi, ubhaya, anubhaya*). As it is indescribable by words (*anivacanīya*), it is free from this four-fold possible definition (*catuṣkoṭivinirmukta*), and hence beyond argument (*atakkāvacara*). *Buddhatā* is the reality transcendental to thought and therefore its verbal formulation is limited. It is owing to this fact

that the Mādhyamikas identify Buddha-nature with *śūnyatā* or the void. The Buddha himself has adopted this method of explanation in his reply to Vacchagotta, who was perplexed by the silence of the Buddha with regard to this kind of problem (*M.* I, pp. 483 ff.).

The *Milindapañha* (p. 276) uses the term *Buddha-dhamma* in the sense of Buddha-nature and describes it as free from any kind of attachment (*agedhatā, nirālayatā, cāgo, pahānaṃ*), not relapsing into worldliness (*apunarāvattitā*), extremely subtle (*sukhumatā*), great (*mahantatā*), difficult to grasp (*duranubodhatā*), extremely rare (*dullabhatā*) and unique (*asadisatā*). It is this idea of *Buddhatā* and *Dhammatā* that led to the development of the *Dharmakāya* concept which in turn led to the concept of other *kāyas* as well in Mahāyāna metaphysics.

So long as Buddha-nature is not realised man goes on 'tenementing' himself in physical forms according to his *kamma* and so long will his mind remain locked up in the cave of individuality (*guhāsaya*). The individual has to feel intuitively the Buddha-nature hidden in him and make the necessary effort to see it and know it (*jānāti passati*). When the egoistic individuality ceases to make its appearance, Buddha-nature becomes revealed as the only immutable reality.

It is also worth noting that the term Brahma, which is of great metaphysical significance in Indian philosophical thought as expressing the state of the Absolute (i.e. neuter Brahman), is also equalised in Buddhist works with this universal Buddha-nature as shown by the following recurrent sentence found therein : "The terms *dhammakāya, brahmakāya, dhammabhūta, brahmabhūta* are synonyms for the Tathāgatha" (*D. III*, p. 84 ; *S.* II, p. 221 ; *M.* II, p. 84, etc.). And this state of Buddha-nature is not only the highest state (*brahma*) but also the state of insight and wisdom, for the Tathāgata, having attained to it, "knowing knows, seeing sees, having become sight, knowledge and dhamma" (*bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti, passaṃ passati, cakkhubhūto, ñāṇa-bhūto, dhammabhūto : M.* I, p. 111 ; III, pp. 195, 224).

Buddha-nature represents the invincible condition of the universe. Being free from every kind of differentiation, it cannot be conquered by anyone. Māra cannot see it. It is beyond his influence; 'he cannot even see the path along which the Tathāgata has realised it' (*na me maggaṃ pi dakkhasi*) says the *Kassaka Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I, pp. 114–6). It is the trackless state (*apada*). None in the whole wide world would dare to set about to conquer him of infinite perception who has attained to this state (*Dhp.* p. 179). The nature of the Buddha is beyond perception (*Buddheḥ agocaraḥ tattvaṃ : Bc.* ix, 2).

The presence of Buddha-nature in different degrees in different individuals is expressed by the Buddha's own words when he was requested by Brahmā Sahampati to preach the newly-discovered doctrine. (*Vin.* pp. 1, 6). Here the Buddha says that in a pond of lotuses there are some lotuses that are born in the water, grow in the water and remain totally immersed without rising above the water : others reach the surface while a few of them rise out of the water, undefiled by the water. In the same way there are people with much dirt (*mahārajakkha*) in their eyes, with dull faculties (*mudindriya*), bad dispositions (*dvākāra*), etc., while there are others with acute faculties (*tikkhindriya*), good dispositions (*svākāra*), etc.

The fact that everyone possesses Buddha-nature is clearly implied here. As stated in the 26th chapter of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, "Buddha-nature in all beings dwells permanent and unalterable, throughout all transmigrations, ever ready to develop itself no sooner the opportunity presents itself" (See the article *Bussho* in *Hbg.* II, pp. 185 ff.). But in some people it is totally hidden and their chances of realising it are very remote like the lotuses that remain in darkness inside the waters. Their *kamma* is so heavy that they do not see that light is available somewhere. Hence, they are said to have much dust in their eyes (*mahārajakkha*). It is this same idea that has led Schools of the Ābhidhammikas and the Sarvāstivādins to classify beings into three classes in relation to the realisation of Buddha-nature (*Hbg.* II, p. 185). According to this classification, the first type do not possess Buddha-nature by resolution and hence never reach Nirvāṇa and are called Icchantikas. The second type are unresolved as regards it and hence have the possibility of attaining it by exertion. The third type comprise those who have it by resolution and hence they are the real saints.

In this sense, Buddha-nature is present in all the different realms of existence (*gati*) of sentient beings as shown in an illustration (See Pl. LXI) by

Line Teong Aik in his *A Glossary of Buddhist Technical Terms*, Penang, Malaya, 1960, p. 16, wherein the human heart is given as experiencing all those realms of existence, in the form of an opened lotus blossom. The author divides the nature of the human mind into three constituents as good seeds, evil seeds and Buddha seeds. The interesting point he raises here is that in the heavenly sphere (*deva-gati*) there is no evil seed and the good seed predominates, while the Buddha-seed is very meagre. The reason is that in such states people tend to forget themselves in a static condition of ease and happiness. Although they are not evil-minded, they do not develop their Buddha-nature because their sense of ease keeps it covered. They are only enjoying the fruits of their former good deeds. In the *asura-gati*, it is worse. The good and the evil are almost equally divided while the Buddha-seeds are present only nominally. In human existence (*manussa-gati*) the three kinds of seeds are almost equal, thus showing that man's possibilities and responsibilities are tremendous. In the case of the hungry ghosts (*peta-gati*) and the denizens of hell (*niraya-gati*), evil seeds predominate without any good seed but with a good amount of Buddha-seed. In the case of animals (*tiraścīna-gati*), too, the evil seeds preponderate with a few good seeds but with a greater amount of Buddha-seeds.

Thus, even the so-called Icchantikas are not without Buddha-nature although it is thickly covered with defilements and its revelation is extremely difficult. Nevertheless, its presence is universal extending even up to inorganic matter. "It is the essence extremely profound and true. According to the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*, it is the origin of the Tathāgata. And for Vasubandhu, all beings, whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist, possess, without exception, the undifferentiated Buddha-nature" (*Hbg.* loc. cit.). Thus according to the Tendai School of Japanese Buddhism"........not only is suchness (*tathatā*) the Buddha-nature, but it is the nature of all beings, animate or inanimate, even as far as the mineral kingdom. If the nature of the Buddha is the very essence, there is, in effect, no distinction between animate and inanimate beings. It is an act of ignorance to differentiate between them. In Buddha-nature there is no more difference between the three seasons, the ten directions, etc" (*Hbg.* loc. cit.). And as the state of the Absolute and hence of non-duality, there is no difference between the microcosm and the macrocosm in the state of Buddha-nature. Hence any entity in the conditioned world, whether as a living being or as an inorganic object, has Buddha-nature hidden in it. It was the Mahāyānists who developed this idea to great lengths by calling everyone a Buddha :

> "The Lord Buddha, on his lion throne
> Dwells in each particle of sand and stone "
>
> (Quoted by E. Conze in his *Buddhism*, p. 149).

It is this immanent Buddha-nature, the unrevealed Buddha, in advanced men that seeks *Buddhatā* and achieve their freedom in the end. Thus, in a very general sense, all are bodhisattvas, or embroyonic Tathāgatas. In this sense, Buddha-nature is sometimes referred to as the *'dhātu'* or element (cp. *nibbāna-dhātu*), as the supremely real element, the Buddha-element. "This pure and eternal factor is the basis of the entire world of appearance and in the absence of any limitations it is the omnipresent germ of Buddhahood which indwells all beings" (Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, p. 229). This immanent nature of the omnipresent Buddha-nature is well expressed in the following verses of the Mahāyāna work called *Ratnagotravibhāga* as quoted in translation by Edward Conze in his *Buddhist Texts*, pp. 181–2 :

" All beings are potentially Tathāgatas.

27. Because the Buddha-cognition is contained in the mass of beings,
Because it is immaculate and non-dual by nature,
Because those who belong to the Buddha's lineage go towards it as their reward,
Therefore all animate beings have the germ of Buddhahood in them.

28. "The body of the perfect Buddha irradiates everything,
Its Suchness is undifferentiated,
And the road to Buddhahood is open to all,
At all times have all living beings the germ of Buddhahood in them.

40. "If the element of the Buddha did not exist (in everyone),
There could be no disgust with suffering,
Nor could there be a wish for Nirvāṇa,
Nor striving for it, nor a resolve to win it.

41. "The suffering and the faults of becoming
The virtues and the happiness of Nirvāṇa,
Are taken into account because this lineage exists,
Those who are without the lineage cannot do so.

45. "As to its Suchness identical in common people,
Saints and perfect Buddhas,
Thus has the Jina's Germ been shown to be in beings,
By those who have seen the true Reality.

46. "But the difference lies in that common people are perverted in their views,
Whereas those who have seen the Truths have undone this perversion;
The Tathāgatas again are unperverted as to what truly is,
And without intellectual impediments.

47. "It is impure in ordinary beings,
Partly pure and partly impure in the Bodhisattvas,
And perfectly pure in the Tathāgatas.

49. "Just as space, essentially indiscriminate, reaches everywhere,
Just so the immaculate Element which in its essential nature is Thought, is present in all.

50. "It pervades, as a general mark, the vicious, the virtuous and the perfect;
Just as ether is in all visible forms, be they base, intermediate or superior.

......the Element of Tathāgathahood, as it is present in all, is immutable, and cannot be affected by either defilement or purification.

96. "Like the Buddha in a faded lotus flower, like honey covered by a swarm of bees,
Like the k rnel of a fruit in the husk, like gold within impurities,
Like a treasure hidden in the soil, the fruit in a small seed,
An image of the Jina in tatterred garments,

97. "The universal monarch in the vile belly of a woman,
And like a precious statue covered with dust,
So is this Element established in beings
Who are covered with the stains of adventitious defilements.

119. "So the Buddha's unattached eye.
Having perceived even in animals the personality of a Sugata,
Though concealed by the taints of manifold defilements,
Shows the means which allow its release.

148. "Being immutable in its essential nature, lovely and pure,
To a golden disk has this Suchness been compared."

The miraculous transformation of the ordinary human being into this universal *Buddhatā* is the aim of all religious endeavour in Buddhism. Once this great achievement is performed, the two opposites of *saṃsāra* and Nirvāṇa merge in each other obviating all differences. What results is true Enlightenment or *Sambodhi* as the total manifestation of the hidden light.

Buddha-nature, even when unrevealed, is in operation all the time. In this sense it could be described as the absolute law that rules the universe. Only those who remove the veil of darkness that separates them from Buddha-nature will see with their enlightened vision how this law works. Ordinary worldlings find it difficult to account for many of the happenings in life because the darkness of ignorance (*avijjā*) covers their vision. The solution to this problem is the realisation of Buddha-nature here and now (*diṭṭheva dhamme*) thereby bridging the gap between *Buddhatā* and *avijjā*.

Buddha-nature as the immutable and invisible state hidden in things is quite fittingly compared to the diamond or *vajra* in Tantric Buddhism. Just as the diamond is the result of a protracted process of transformation of an ordinary piece of coal, the Buddha, as having realised Buddha-nature, is the result of a similar transformation of an ordinary individual. The potential diamond is within the coal and the potential Buddha is within the ordinary man. It is this hidden adamantine state of true reality that is called *Tathatā* in the Mahāyāna. In the Upaniṣads it is called *tat* (cp. *tat tvaṃ asi*). And it is in this concept of unrevealed Buddha-nature that lies the mystic elements in Buddhism, as conceived under the term *avyākata*. And accordingly the Buddha himself uses the term *tathāgata —thus-gone—*, when referring to himself. In this regard the following words are worth quoting: "Thusness or suchness is the only term which can be used to express the ultimate indefinable, the unknowable reality. It is otherwise called the Matrix of Thus-come. Thus-come is Buddha-nature hidden in ordinary human nature" (Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 33).

Buddha-nature can, in a way, be described as the innermost essence among the outward appearance of the phenomenal world, not as the ego, but as the unconditioned state. The following words may

be quoted here : "The world is a phenomenon, impermanent, subject to flux and change. Since the reality pervades all, everything individual is the whole potentially, or, in religious language, every individual is a potential Buddha. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* says : "There is not even one living being that has not the wisdom of the Tathāgata. It is only because of the vain thoughts and affections, that all beings are not conscious of this" (S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I. p. 494). The same writer observes elsewhere (ibid. p. 596) : "The quintessence of the Mahāyāna as pure being exists in all things, remains unchanged in the pure as well as in the defiled, is always one and the same (*samata*), neither increases nor decreases, and is void of distinctions."

When impermanance (*anityatā*) is overcome, the immutable state of *Buddhatā* results. Thus to the Buddhists the true state of reality is the state without any specific nature (*mādhyamika*). When this view is negatively expressed it indicates the true negation, the void (*śūnya*). But, positively it is called *Buddhatā, Dhammadhātu, Dharmakāya, Buddhasvabhāva, Tathāgatagarbha, Tathatā*, etc. As void (*śūnya*) it is not nothingness but the unconditioned. This state of Buddha-nature, unlimited in time and in space, is attainable by man, is the great message of Buddhism to the suffering humanity.

So far, we have been discussing the metaphysical nature of Buddhahood. Something has to be said about the value and significance of the realisation of Buddha-nature for the phenomenal world. What is its practical significance ? Why do the Buddhas want to realise this unconditioned state which is potentially hidden in all men ? In the first place, it is because they want to put an end to the sufferings of worldly existence. The realisation of Buddha-nature is the panacea for all the worldly ills. Secondly, having made good their freedom they want to guide others also along the same path of freedom. As shown earlier, Buddhas are rare beings who reveal this path that had been lying hidden for a long time (*anuppannassa maggassa uppādetā*:*M*. III, p. 15). It is the ancient path that had been traversed by the former Tathāgatas (*purāṇaṃ maggaṃ purāṇañjasaṃ pubhakehi sammāsambuddhehi anuyātaṃ : S*. II, p. 106) in their journey towards this state of purity (*brahmacariya :* ibid.) which too had been shut out from humanity like an ancient city (*purāṇaṃrājadhāniṃ*: ibid.) Thus Buddha-nature is latant in human nature till a Tathāgata unravels it. The Buddhas and their arahant disciples thus become the most qualified persons to do service because they can do it without the least taint of selfishness. In this sense, the 'desire' (which is quite unselfish) of the Saints to serve others is conceived in Buddhism under the term '*karuṇā*' meaning compassion, which term is very often prefixed with *mahā* (great) in order to emphasise the significance of the concept. Ordinary worldlings cannot have *Mahākaruṇā* because they have not overcome their egoism and passions. Therefore, the *Mahākaruṇā* of the Buddhas is a unique characteristic of Buddha-nature in its efficiency and efficacy in the performance of service. This was why the Buddha developed the Buddha-nature first and then started his career of service, thus becoming one of the most successful social workers in the history of humanity. And in this connection we cannot fail to recollect his words to the first sixty arahants when he said "I am released, o bhikkhus, from all the bonds, both human and divine : You, too, o bhikkhus, are released from all bonds, both divine and human ; fare forth, o monks, on the mission that is for the welfare of the many, for the good of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the good and the happiness of both gods and men" (*Vin*. I, pp. 20–1).

This non-sentimental kind of great compassion, is one of the most salient characteristics of Buddha-nature and the greatest value of Buddha-nature to the practical affairs of men lies in this important characteristic. It is in the degree of effort put forth by us for the realisation of Buddha-nature, that lies the possibility of spiritual regeneration of the world. This difficult but non-failing remedy is what Buddhism has to offer as the solution to the problems of the world.

The fact that Buddha-nature is present in all beings has led to the formulation of various theories among the different Buddhist sects in China and Japan. The following account about such beliefs in those two countries is extracted (condensed) from an article on Buddha-nature published in the *Hobogirin*, II, pp. 185–7 : "In China and Japan those who admit Buddha-nature to exist in every being are regarded as Mahāyānist and those who dispute it as Hīnayānist. The Mahāyāna belief is based on the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* which expressely says that all beings including those regarded as destitute of Buddha-nature (i.e. *Icchantikas*) have Buddha-nature in them. It exists in them permanently and unalterably, throughout all transmigrations ever-ready to develop itself as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Buddha-nature is present in all but only those

who perceive it and make the necessary effort reach it, while the others remain enveloped in error. Whether manifest or unmanifest its intrinsic value remains unchanged. Another text which is important with regard to this Mahāyānist view is the *Avataṃsakasūtra* according to which Buddha-nature is the essence extremely profound and true. It is free from all characteristics. According to the special treatise of Vasubandhu on this subject (*Taishō*. 1610), Buddha-nature is the original and real nature which is not subject to change. It is universally present in all human beings, whether they are Buddhist or non-Buddhist. But for the Schools of Ābhidhammikas and Sarvāstivādins, all beings do not possess Buddha-nature merely by their birth; it has to be developed. They categorise beings into three classes as (i.) those who by determination (i.e. resolution) do not possess Buddha-nature and hence never realising Nirvāṇa; (ii) those who are undetermined (unresolved) regarding it and thus having the possibility of attaining it by exertion; (iii) those who have it by determination (resolution) and hence the real saints. Thus the Sarvāstivādins deny the existence of *Buddhatā* in all beings, thus admitting the existence of *Icchantikas*.

"The various Schools of Japanese Buddhism have slight variations in this theory. The *Tendai* School holds not only that Suchness or the very essence is the nature of the Buddha but that all things, animate or inanimate, even as far as the mineral kingdom, have Buddha-nature in them. If Buddha-nature is the very essence, there is, in effect, no distinction between animate and inanimate beings. It is an act of ignorance to differentiate between them. In Buddha-nature there is no more difference than between the three seasons, the ten directions, etc. The *Sanron* School maintains the Mādhyamika characteristic of Buddha-nature i.e. it is neither single nor dual, etc. The *Kegon* School states that Buddha-nature is found only in animate things thus denying it to the inanimate world. The *Yuishiki* School, too, does not admit that Buddha-nature is present in all. According to the *Shingon* School Buddha-nature is present in all beings. The *Jōdo* School too admits that all beings have the capacity to acquire Buddha-nature." Elsewhere in the same work (p. 158) is found a short article on the subject which says that "Buddha-nature is like a treasure hidden by the passions which beings discover in themselves in the form of the Tathāgata." All are thus future Buddhas. One of the criticisms against the Hosso School of Japanese Buddhism was against its principles by which it classifies men into five categories and designates one class as devoid of Buddha-nature. The Sanron School denounced this doctrine of the Hosso as 'demoniac,' strongly maintaining that the principle which establishes that all beings are equally entitled to Buddhahood was the true intent of the Buddha's teaching. (See Shinsho Hanayama's *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, translated into English by Kosho Yamamoto, Tokyo, 1960, p. 22). Hence in his discussion of 'Buddhism in China and Korea' Zenryu Tsukamoto observes: "All human beings have the Buddha-nature, which is also known as the mind pure in its very nature. It may also be referred to as *Tathāgatagarbha*—the womb of 'him (the Buddha) who has gone the same way as all others who have attained Enlightenment.' Any human being, by perceiving this originally pure mind is, by that fact, a Buddha. If we could but perceive that the inner pure mind is one and the same with the Buddha, and that the Buddha and the common man are at bottom no different, we should be Buddhas ourselves and should have attained our freedom. It is like water as calm as a mirror (the pure mind), which, when wind (ignorance) blows upon it, forms countless waves (the differentiated world), but which, when the wind stops, returns to its original mirror-like state" (Kenneth W. Morgan, *The Path of the Buddha*, New York, 1956, p. 227). And the Tibetan writer Sgam. Po. Pa. observes "if enlightenment can be won by hard work, it must be within our reach; for in all beings like ourselves the Buddha-motive, *Tathāgatagarbha*, is present" (*The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, translated into English from Tibetan by Herbert V. Guenther, Rider & Co., London, 1959, p. 2).

Based on a work called *Uttaratantra*, the above work divides all men into five families, both good and bad, and says that all are endowed with Buddha-nature. "Beings are endowed with Buddha-nature since in the *Tathatā* of Buddhas and of sentient beings there is no differentiation into good or bad, great or small, high or low" (p.3). And further "since the Buddha is essentially Dharmakāya and Dharmakāya. *śūnyatā* and since this *śūnyatā* permeates all beings, the latter are endowed with Buddha-nature" (ibid). Elsewhere it is said (p. 8): "As silver is found in and may be refined from its ore, sesame oil pressed from its seed and butter churned from milk, so in all beings may Buddhahood become a reality." The fact that all beings (i.e. in various realms or

gati) although possessed of Buddha-nature, are incapable of realising it, is the theme of the second chapter of this work by Po. Pa. Human beings, with their precious human bodies, are in possession of the unique occasion for this great realisation. And although all of us possess Buddha-nature our attachment to sense-pleasures and our self-complascency prevent us from realising it is the theme of the 4th chapter of this work.

In the teachings of Zen Buddhism, too, this acceptance of and belief in our original Buddha-nature is a noteworthy characteristic. And so is it in Nichiren, where the aim is the development and improvement of the Buddha-nature, possessed by all beings.

By completely awakening to the Buddha-nature, inherent in man, he can achieve complete self-realisation thereby becoming a Buddha, the truly illumined intellectual.

A. G. S. K.

BUDDHANIRVĀṆA-STOTRA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which entitled *Saṅs-rgyas yoṅs-su-mya-ṅan-las-ḥdas-pa-la bstod-pa*, is found in the Bstod-tshog (stotra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM*. No. 1158; *TT*. Vol. 46, No. 2047). Although both these editions give the same Tibetan title, the Sanskrit title differs. The Sanskrit title as quoted in the Peking edition is *Buddha-Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* while the Sde-dge edition gives it as *Buddanirvāṇa-Stotra*. The latter is a more accurate rendering of the Tibetan. This work also occurs in the '*Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprimé*' (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1208). The Chinese version is not available.

The author of the work is Dpal-ldan Chos-kyi grags-pa (Śrīmad Dharmakīrti). The translators are unknown.

The entire text deals with an eulogy of the Śākyan Buddha. The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta (Tib. Ḥjam-dpal gshon-nur), a manifestation of Mañjuśrī.

The author's lamentation about the passing away (Skt. *parinirvāṇa*; Tib. *mya-ṅan-ḥdas*) of the Buddha is vividly described in this text. While singing the praises of the Buddha, the author uses the word 'alas' (Tib. *kyi-hud*) after each and every sentence. First of all the author says that the Buddha is a descendant of the Śākyan clan who has set the Wheel of the doctrine rolling in Bārāṇasi and who attained Parinirvāṇa in the Sālavana (in India). He is described as being compassionate and victorious and one who has subdued all evil. This worthy and beloved Leader of mankind is very pleasing and incomparable. He crossed over to the other side (of *saṃsāra*). His face is compared to the full-moon and his eyes to full-blown *utpala* (blue lotus) flowers and his body, which is endowed with all the characteristics of a Great Being, to a golden mountain. He is compared to a cool pond of which the water is his doctrine.

Towards the latter part of the text the author salutes the Buddha six times, comparing him to the waning moon (at the time of his passing away) and also to the sun in the sky. The Buddha is also referred to as the Founder of the Noble Path (Skt. *āryamārga*, Tib. *Ḥphags-lam*) and one who has overcome the darkness of ignorance.

I.K.

BUDDHANNEHĀLA, a rock-cut sanctuary of Buddhist monks in the Kuñcuṭṭa Korale of the north-central province of Ceylon about seven miles north of Padaviya. The site which consists of five caves and a stūpa was first discovered in 1891 by M. De Z. Wickramasinghe of the Ceylon Archaeological Survey, while on an exploration tour.

The remains at the site show evidence of a very early monastic establishment. When it was discovered, there were also found remains of a mediaeval Hindu Kovil in one of the caves. This points to the fact that the establishment was later appropriated by Hindu worshippers.

The remains of the Hindu phallic cult objects, (*liṅga* and *yoni*) discovered in this kovil indicate that it was the Śaiva sect that had prevailed.

The remains of a perforated stone block, identified as a *yantragala*[1] found in a pool close-by, is evidence of the damage done to the stūpa of the monastery, parts of whose brick foundation are still traceable on the summit of the rock. This may also be the work of treasure-hunters.

The most important discovery at the site was a stone pillar, used as a door-jamb in the Hindu kovil. This pillar contains an inscription, and the

1 Yantragala is a rectangular or square stone slab, divided into square holes to receive valuable objects, if not relics, meant to be placed within the relic chamber' of a stūpa. The one discovered here is divided into five square holes and is 2 ft. by 1 ft. 7 inches (*EZ*. I. p. 191; see also S. Paranavitana, *The Stupa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946).

fact that it was installed upside down, proves, that it does not belong to the place where it was found. The later kovil-builder had, probably, brought it from some other place, close-by after the original building to which it belonged was destroyed.

The inscription is about a royal grant by the great king, Mahārāja Abhā Salamevan, identified as Kassapa V (cir. 980—90 A.C.), to the bhikkhus of Nāgirigala in the district of Sāgiri (Cetiyagiri).

The inscription (*EZ.* I, pp. 191-96), gives particulars of incumbency in the Buddhist monastic Order through pupilary succession (W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 135, note). It also indicates that the authority of the Sāgiri[2] district as far as monastic establishments were concerned, extended towards further north, up to the Padaviya area.

It may also be probable that this monastic establishment was, at a certain period, referred to as Nāgirigala vihāra. The antiquity of the site could be established by such finds as a headless stone Buddha-image of the earliest period, some terra-cotta finds, etc. As the site has not yet been fully explored, one cannot be exact about the definite date of origin of the monastic establishment here.

A. D. T. E. P.

BUDDHĀNUSMṚTI (1), 'Recollection of Buddha,' a *dharmaparyāya*. See BUDDHĀNUSSATI.

BUDDHĀUNSMṚTI (2) (*Ārya-Bu°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is found three times in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *saṅs-rgyas rjes-su dran-pa*, viz., in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur (II, Vol. 37, No. 945); in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 3964), where the translator's name is given as Tshul khrims rgyal-mtshan (Śīladhavja) and in the Dbu-ma (Madhyamika) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 103, No. 5433), where the translation is attributed to Prajñāvarman and Ye-śes-sde.

A fragment of the *Buddhānusmṛti*, with an interlinear commentary, has been noted among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang (No. 129 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, Oxford University Press, 1962). This text appears to be the same as that in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The same collection of manuscripts contains the fragment of a commentary, where Vasubandhu is named as the author of the *Buddhānusmṛti* (ibid. No. 303).

As is indicated by the concluding statement of the text, *ḥdi dag ni de-bshin-gśegs-paḥi .... yon-tan yin-no*, *Buddhānusmṛti* contains an enumeration of the virtues of the Buddha. The text starts with the usual listing of the characteristics of the Buddha, expressed in his titles: *tathāgata, arhat, samyak-sambuddha, vidyācaraṇasampanna, sugata, lokavid, anuttaraḥ-puruṣadamyasārathiḥ, śāstādevānāṃ manuṣyānāṃ ca, buddho* and *bhagavān*.

The Buddha is further described as the cause of virtue, the inexhaustible source of happiness, the foundation of the treasures of merit, a person of matchless appearance, invincible strength, immeasurable wisdom and inconceivable courage, who, adorned with patience, is a source of delight to the pious devotee, a teacher to all beings, a father to bodhisattvas and a leader to all those seeking Nirvāṇa.

R. H.

BUDDHĀNUSMṚTI-ṬĪKĀ, the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the *Saṅs-rgyas rjes-su dran-paḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa*, found in the Mdo-ḥgrel (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The authorship of the work is attributed to Dbyig-gñen (Vasubandhu). The translation was the work of Dānaśīla and Dpa-brtsegs rakṣita (Śrīkūṭarakṣita: *TT.* Vol. 104, No. 5487; *TM.* No. 3987; *Cordier.* III, p. 362).

The text, the opening salutatary formula of which is addressed to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta, is the great (Tib. *rgya-cher*) commentary on the text *Buddhānusmṛti*. The work describes in detail the method of remembering the Buddha (Skt. *Buddhānusmṛti*; Tib. *Saṅs-rgyas rjes-su dran-pa*) which is one of the six subjects of recollection. The other five are the recollection of the Dharma (Skt. *Dharmānusmṛti*; Tib. *Chos-rjes-su dran-pa*), the remembrance of the Saṅgha (Skt. *Saṅghānusmṛti*; Tib. *dge-ḥdun rjes-dran-pa*), the remembrance of religious duty (Skt. *Śīlānusmṛti*; Tib. *tshul-khrims rjes-su dran-pa*), the recollection of the renunciation (Skt. *Tyāgānusmṛti*, Tib. *gtoṅ-ba rjes-su dran-pa*) and the remembrance of the gods (Skt. *Devānusmṛti*; Tib. *lha-rjes-su dran-pa*).

2. Sāgiri is a nearly Sinhala equivalent to Cetiyagiri —Cetiyapabbata. This is the famous site where the thera Mahinda met the Sinhala monarch, Devānampiyatissa, in the 3rd century B. C. and consequently became the most hallowed place of Buddhist worship in Ceylon. It was also known by other names such as Missakapabbata, Mihintale, (See *DPPN.*).

The author of this text, after describing the many virtues (Tib. *yon-tan chen-po*) of the Buddha, emphasises, at the end of the text, that one should read through this text several times and learn by heart so that he would be possessed of the three qualities (Tib. *phun-sum-tshogs*) namely, grace, glory and wealth.

I.K.

BUDDHĀNUSMṚTI-VṚTTI, the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan version of which is incorporated in the Mdo-ḥgrel (sūtra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *saṅs-rgyas rje dran-paḥi ḥgrel-pa*. The authorship of the work is attributed to Thogs-med (Asaṅga) and the Tibetan translation to Ajitaśrībhadra of India and Śākya ḥod (Śākya-prabha: *TT*. Vol. 104, No. 5482 ; *TM*. No. 3982 ; *Cordier*. III, p. 361). The names of the author and the translators are also mentioned at the end of the text.

After paying obeisance to Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta (Tib. Ḥjam-dpal gshon-nur), the author describes the epithets of the Buddha, such as 'the victorious one' (Skt. *bhagavān ;* Tib. *bcom-ldan*), 'the one who has subdued his enemy' (Skt. *arahan ;* Tib. *dgra bcom-pa*) 'the sublime one' (Skt. *samyak sambuddho*; Tib. *yan-dag-par rdsogs-paḥi saṅs-rgyas*), 'the well gone one' (Skt. *sugata ;* Tib. *bde-ba gṣegs-pa*), 'the knower of the world' (Skt. *lokavidū* ; Tib. *ḥjig-rṭen mkhyen-pa*), 'the chief of men' (Skt. *anuttaro* ; Tib. *bka-ma med-pa*), 'the guide of tractable men' (Skt. *puruṣadamyasārathī ;* Tib. *skyes-bu ḥdul-bdaḥi kha-lo sgyur-ba*), 'the teacher of gods and men' (Skt. *satthā devamanuṣyānam ;* Tib. *lha-daṅ mi maṅs-kyi ston-pa*), and 'the awakened one' (Skt. *Buddha* ; Tib. *saṅs-rgyas*). Thereafter, the author describes these epithets at length and says that the Buddha was called the victorious one, because he was able to destroy all the fetters (Tib. *ḥchin-ba*). The epithet *arahan* was given to him because he has put an end to all the misery (Skt. *duḥkha ;* Tib. *ñon-moṅs-pa*) which in Buddhism is divided into two categories namely, the ten smaller causes and ten greater causes of moral misery. The ten smaller causes are : wrath (Tib. *khro-ba*), spite (Tib. *ḥkhon-ḥdsin*), ostentation (Tib. *ston-pa*), adherence to what is contrary to Buddhism (Tib. *ḥchig-pa*), illusion (Tib. *sgyu*), deception (Tib. *gyo*), jealousy (Tib. *phrag-dog*), covetousness (Tib. *ser-sna*), pride (Tib. *ṅa-rgyal*), and arrogance (Tib. *lhag-paḥi ṅa-rgyal*). The ten greater causes are : want of faith (Tib. *ma-dad-pa*), repentance (Tib. *ḥgyod-pa*), vacillating (Tib. *brjed-ṅas-pa*), inattention or changing the mind (Tib. *gyeṅs-pa*), confusion (Tib. *śes-rab ḥchal-ba*), practising actions in accordance with custom (Tib. *tshul-bshin-ma-yin-pa yid-la byed-pa*), irreverence (Tib. *log-par mos-pa*), laughing aloud (Tib. *rgod-pa*), ignorance (Tib. *ma-rig-pa*) and immodesty (Tib. *bag-med-pa*). Since he was able to subdue even the lustful god (Skt. *kāmadeva, devaputramāra ;* Tib. *lhaḥi-buḥi bdud*), he was known as the teacher of gods and men. Because he possessed comprehensive intellectual power and was compassionate, he was called the Buddha.

The title of the text suggests that the work is a commentary (Skt. *vṛtti ;* Tib. *ḥgrel-pa*) on the *Buddhānusmṛti*, but the author himself refers to it as *Buddhānusmṛti* at the beginning of the work.

I.K.

BUDDHĀNUSMṚTYANUTTARA—BHĀVANĀ-NĀMA (var.° *smṛtyuttara*°), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text *Saṅs-rgyas rjes-su dran-pa bla-na med-paḥi sgom-pa shes-bya-ba*, incorporated twice in the Dbu-ma (Mādhyamika) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 102, No. 5318; Vol. 103, No. 5457; *TM*. Nos. 3923, 4543 ; *Cordier*. III, Nos. 319, 355). The authorship of this work is attributed to Mahāmati (Bodhibhadra) and the translators are mentioned as Vinayacandra, Chos-kyi śes-rab (Dharmaprajñā).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas. The text is written in poetic form and the aim of the author is the realisation of bliss through meditation on the idea of the Buddha. The author pays homage to the Buddha, after describing him as one who is free from all the worldly obstacles. Thereafter the author says that a person who reflects on the supreme Buddha should do the following : the meditator should get up early in the morning, attend to his ablutions and utter the following magical formula three times: *Oṃ svabhāva śuddha sarva dharmā svabhāva śuddhe haṃ.* Thereafter he is instructed to contemplate on various parts of the body which does not exist as a permanent entity. On the completion of the meditation on the body as a non-entity, the meditator should recite the formula, *Oṃ śūnyatājñāna vajra svabhāva ātmakohaṃ.* He is also asked to contemplate on the Buddha in the morning and again during the mid-day. The author mentions that a person who is engaged in such meditation should not take delight in companions, praise, glory, prosperity, etc., and if such a thought were to arise, he should overcome that thought and feel humble.

Then follows a description from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* which refers to the body of the Buddha (Skt. *Buddhakāya*) and the body of the Dhamma (Skt. *Dharmakāya*), and which further declares that whosoever wishes to obtain tranquility should always meditate on the Buddha.

I.K.

BUDDHĀNUSSATI, recollection of the Buddha, a type of meditation with the Buddha's special qualities as its object (*Vism.* vii, §§2–67, pp. 162–76 ; *Vimuttimagga*, trsl. *The Path of Freedom*, Colombo, 1961, pp. 140–8). Those good qualities of the Buddha which function as a topic for meditation (*buddhaguṇārammaṇa*) are enumerated frequently in the Pali texts, e.g., *D.* III, p. 76 ; *M.* I, p. 37 ; *S.* V, p. 197 ; *A.* III, p. 285 ; *Sn.* p. 132 ; while commentarial works explain them in full (*SnA.* p. 442 ; *Vism.* loc. cit.). They are nine : *arahant, sammāsambuddha, vijjā-caraṇa-sampanna, sugata, loka-vidū, anuttara purisadamma-sārathi, satthā deva-manussānaṃ, buddha, bhagavant.*

Many are the explanations, in which Buddhaghosa appears to revel, giving them sometimes an undeserved status, etymologically. But, as the purpose of this meditation is to bring about a mental state of peaceful devotion, the value of his statements should not be examined too critically.

And, thus, the Blessed One is called (1) *arahant,* literally, one who deserves (*arahati*) honour, but with the acquired technical meaning, one who has attained the goal of all striving, who has accomplished his task to perfection, who has achieved the supreme good of Nibbāna, and has destroyed (*hanati*) the spokes (*arā*) of the wheel of rebirth (*Vism.* vii, §§ 4, 22).

(2) *Sammāsambuddha,* supremely enlightened, by himself, which quality distinguishes the Buddha from his accomplished disciples who become enlightened arahants by their listening to and following the teaching of the Buddha.

(3) *Vijjā-caraṇa-sampanna,* endowed with true knowledge and virtuous conduct. This refers to the direct knowledge of insight (*vipassanā-ñāṇa*) as well as to supernormal psychic powers (*abhiññā*), and to the virtuous conduct of moral restraint (*sīlasaṃvara*), guarding the sense-doors, acquiring the seven virtues and the four states of mental absorption in the sphere of form (*rūpāvacara-jhāna* : q.v.).

(4) *Sugata,* literally, who has happily attained, and, therefore, one who will not return again to saṃsāric existence. Excellent in this achievement, the Buddha is called sublime, but also sublime in his teaching.

(5) *Loka-vidū,* knower of the world, i.e., he knows the world as regards its essence, its origination, its cessation, and the method thereto, for "not by going can world's end be reached. For the world is in this body, a fathom long, with all its percepts and concepts......... And until this world's end has been reached there cannot be a cessation of conflict" (*S.* I, p. 62). The world is of beings (*satta-loka*) and that is known to the Buddha through their varying desires, habits, tendencies, temperaments, faculties, behaviours and achievements. The world is also of formations (*saṅkhāra-loka*), and that world is known to the Buddha through sensations, mental aggregates, sense-organs and bases, types of consciousness, etc. A third type of world (not mentioned in the *Vimuttimagga*) is that of location (*okāsa-loka*) ; it is the physical world in which the sun and moon rotate and shine their light in all directions ; and that world, too, is known by the Tathāgata (*Vism.* vii, 37, p. 169).

(6) *Anuttara-purisa-damma-sārathi,* incomparable trainer of men to be tamed, for the Buddha surpasses all in virtue and understanding, and hence he is matchless. He tames all who are fit to be tamed, i.e., he guides them with his discipline.

(7) *Satthā devamanussānaṃ,* teacher of heavenly and human beings. Buddhaghosa stresses the point that the Buddha bestowed his teaching upon animals as well, but here only gods and men are referred to, as they are in general best capable of progress. This he illustrates with the story of the frog (*maṇḍūka*) which was crushed to death while listening to the voice (*sara*) of the Buddha preaching to the people of Campā (*Vvu.* p. 49) and was born in heaven.

(8) *Buddha,* the enlightened one, because he has acquired the knowledge that belongs to the fruit of deliverance (*vimokkhantika-ñāṇa*) ; he discovered the four truths by himself (*cattāri saccāni attanā pi bujjhi*) and brought Enlightenment to others (*aññe pi satte bodhesi*).

(9) *Bhagavant,* deserving respect, a designation based on his realisation (*sacchikā paññatti : Ps.* i, p. 174 ; *Nd.* I, p. 143). Buddhaghosa goes into many detailed and analytical explanations of this epithet, some of them based on the *Mahā Niddesa* (I, p. 142) and its fanciful etymological exegesis. In Vedic literature the term *bhagavat* occurs also, frequently applied to gods, demigods and saints, with the

meaning: of glorious, illustrious, venerable, prosperous, auspicious; and that is indeed the basic meaning of the epithet as applied to the Buddha, usually translated as the Blessed One.

Now, while the mind is concentrated on these various good qualities of the Buddha, there will be no occasion for the arising of greed, hate and delusion (*A.* III, p. 285). And further, when these mental obsessions (*pariyuṭṭhāna*) are thus prevented from being effective, the hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) to spiritual advancement are suppressed (literally, paralysed, *vikkhambhita*: *Vism.* vii, § 66, p. 175), whereby is created the proper atmosphere for the arising of spiritual zest (*pīti*) and tranquillity (*passaddhi*), culminating in that mental ease (*sukha*) which is the absence of conflict (*dukkha*).

The following 13 benefits are mentioned in the *Vimuttimagga* (loc. cit.), although it is said there that 18 benefits accrue: fulness of confidence, abundance of mindfulness, completion of wisdom, reverence, plenty of merit, great joy, ability to endure hardship, fearlessness, steadfastness in the presence of evil, the state of living near the Teacher, enjoyment of activity belonging to the ground of the Buddhas, (the happiness of) faring well and approaching the deathless state. The list in the *Visuddhimagga* appears to be more complete when it adds: When he encounters an opportunity for transgression, he has awareness of conscience and shame as vivid as though he were face to face with the Master; and even if he penetrates no higher, he is at least headed for a happy destiny (trsl. Ñāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, Colombo, 1956, p. 230).

In the suttas (e.g., *Mahānāma Sutta*: *A.* III, p. 285) we are given another set of gains: And at whatever time a noble disciple concentrates with mindfulness on the Tathāgata, his mind will never be swamped by lust, hate or delusion, but will be directed (*ujugata*) on to the Tathāgata; and thus straightened, he is filled with enthusiasm concerning the goal and the teaching (*labhati atthavedaṃ, labhati dhammavedaṃ*), from which arise joy (*pāmujja*) and delight (*pīti*), tranquillity (*passaddhi*) and ease (*sukha*); and thus the mind is concentrated (*cittaṃ samādhiyati*).

Here are outlined the various stages of mental absorption (*jhāna*: q.v.), the principal goal of this type of meditation. Yet, according to Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* vii, § 66, p. 175), these *jhāna* factors arise for a single moment only (*ekakkhaṇe jhānaṅgāni uppajjanti*); and thus the state of concentration does not reach full absorption, but remains as access-concentration (*upacāra*). Due to the profundity of the object of meditation and to the variety of the Buddha's great qualities which are contemplated, one-pointedness of mind (*ekaggatā*) is not attained. Also Upatissa's *Vimuttimagga* (op. cit. p. 148) agrees that one who meditates on the Buddha attains to access-concentration, and not to fixed mental absorption (*jhāna*), owing to the abstruseness of the object of the Buddha's virtue and because one has to recollect not merely one virtue. Even so it is admitted (loc. cit.) with reference to the *Mahānāma Sutta* (*A.* III, p. 285; cp. *AA.* III, p. 337): " Again it is taught that from the recollection of the Buddha, the four meditations, *jhānas* arise."

H.G.A.v.Z.

BUDDHAPĀD (var. Buddhavani, Buddhāni), in the Kṛṣṇa valley, an early site within the Buddhist empire of the Āndhra Sātavāhanas.

The relation of Buddhapād to the earliest phase of Buddhist culture in the Veṅgi region could be seen by its location within the circle of early Buddhist sites like Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntupalli, Gundivāda, Ghāṇṭaśāla and Bhaṭṭiprolu. Buddhapād is situated about 20 miles westwards from the right bank of the Kṛṣṇa river, 15 miles west of Bhaṭṭiprolu and about 25 miles south of Amarāvatī.

Figures of the Buddha and other carvings in bronze discovered at Buddhapād made the site important for the study of early Buddhist iconography in metal. As revealed by a report published by J. Boswel, the discoveries were made as early as 1870 (R. Sewell, 'Some Buddhist Bronzes and Relics of Buddha,' *JRAS.* 1895. pp. 617f.).

An excerpt from Boswel's report, quoted by R. Sewell (op. cit.) is as follows: " There are a number of copper Buddhist images in the library at Bezwada. These were found buried at Buddhavani in the Rapalle Taluqo ..... There are a number of images of the Buddhist saints varying in size from one to two feet in height. They are beautifully executed ...... Each figure formarly stood on a pedestal of its own, but I am informed that, as these pedestals bore certain characters, probably the names of the saints, they were sent to Madras to be deciphered. They have, however, never been returned. I presume they are in the Government Central Museum. I would recommend bringing the figures and the pedestals together again " (ibid. pp. 617f.).

In 1875, these bronzes, mostly broken into pieces through years of neglect, were found at a Government workshop building, by Robert Sewell, who took care of them and kept them in the Bezwada Museum library. Later, in 1882, some of the fragmentary remains were handed over to the India Office in London at the instance of the famous antiquary James Burgess (R. Sewell, op. cit, p. 619).

Of these bronzes three small images of the Buddha stand unique, in respect of their archaic features, corresponding to other bronze Buddha images discovered from sites in the Kṛṣṇa valley and related sites in and outside India (ibid). Two figures show the Buddha in *Varada mudrā* of the right hand, with the left holding one end of the robe. In one figure the right hand is shown in the *Abhaya mudrā*. In all the three images the right shoulder is left bare. The *ūrṇa* mark is shown only in one figure while the *uṣṇīsa* (cranial protuberance) is shown in all three images. These bronze Buddha images are now considered to be the products of the same school of art as the one that claims the bronze images of the Kṛṣṇa valley usually termed Amarāvatī bronze Buddhas, and could be dated between the 2nd and the 5th centuries A.C.[1]

Two bronze heads of the Buddha (*JRAS*. 1895, Pl. II, nos 1 & 2) expressing lively, serene features common to the early Buddha images in bronze and in other materials, are noteworthy, as they depict the features seen in images from the same repertoire in the Kṛṣṇa valley as well as from other places like Ceylon, Java, Siam, etc. (A comparative study of the bronzes from these sites could be had in Mirella Levi Dancone's 'Amāravatī, Ceylon and three Imported Bronzes' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIV, No. I for 1952). The faces of these two heads express a serene smile which is explicit in the entire region of the countenance, unlike in certain images of the period, where the smile is localised within the region of the lips only. The stylised eyebrows, the narrow line of the forehead, the *ūrṇa* and the *uṣṇīsa*, the cutting edge of the nose, the snail shell pattern of the hair curls, all combine to produce a striking similarity to the bronze Buddha images discovered at sites dating back to the Āndhra period of Kṛṣṇa valley art.

The remnant of a lotus pedestal (*JRAS*. 1895, Pl. II, fig. 4), shows faint traces of a stylised lotus. This type of lotus pedestal, commonly known as *padmāsana*, is not uncommon in Buddhist art from its inception (For similar type *padmāsanas* see, T. N. Ramachandran, 'Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes, *Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, New series, Vol. III, No. 1, Pls II, III, V. VI, etc.; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, (Buddhist, Hindu and Jain), Penguin Book, 1956, Pl. 94B, from Nālandā, Pl. 137 A&B, from Ceylon, Dung Duong (Vietnam); Pl. 163A, from Ayudhyā (Siam); Pls. 182B, 187, from Barabudūr (Java); D. T. Devendra, *Classical Sinhalese Sculpture*, London, 1958, Pl. 71).

A miniature replica of a dāgāba in bronze from Buddhapād (*JRAS*. 1895, Pl. 13, No. 5) represents the form of the earliest type of dāgābas. The dome of the dāgāba is in the shape of a pot placed on a resting pad, thus reminding us of the traditional *ghaṭākāra* (pot-shape) dāgābas of the early canons of architecture (*Śilpaśāstras*; see S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, p. 27; Parker's *Ancient Ceylon*, Luzac, 1909, p. 337). The base of the dome does not rest vertically on the platform, but curves inwards as if to emphasise its round appearance more.[2] This type is found among the dāgābas of the earliest phase in India, as seen in the bas-relief and in the structural forms, found at Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Bodsā, Karle, Ajantā, etc. (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, Pl. X, figs, 32, 34 from Bedsa and Karle; Pl. XII fig. 42 from Sāñcī; Pl. XXXIV, 146, from Amarāvatī).

Another important find among the Buddhapād bronzes, is a remarkably carved group with a central Buddha figure in the Dhyāni Mudrā. Three acolytes are seen on either side. The entire piece is badly encrusted with dirt and decay, but traces of a stylised *āsana* (seat) with Makara projections at the back could still be seen (*JRAS*.1895, p. 625). The central Buddha image is placed on

1 This date has been arrived at by bringing down a period of more than eight centuries beginning from the first century of this era, to a more probable period of three centuries, on an analysis of studies made by several scholars, on both stylistic and epigraphic grounds (i.e. Mirella Levi Dancone, op. cit. pp. 10 ff.; K. R. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra*, Madras, 1932, pp. 24, 138; *Story of Buddhism*, published by the Government, of Madras, 1960, edited by A. Ariyappan and P. R. Sirinivasan, Pl. VI, fig. 8, probably of the same period as the Buddhapād bronzes: T. N, Ramachandran, Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes *Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, New Series, Vol. III, No. I. pp. 31, 47, 59, 77).

2 Recent excavations at the Kirivehera dāgāba at Kataragama in Ceylon, a site dating back to the pre-Christian era, has revealed such a curve inwards at the base of the dome. The authorities who executed excavations at Kirivehera, told the author that this type of dome is quite common to dāgābas of South Ceylon. See. S. Paranavitana, loc, cit.; Parker, loc. cit.).

a lotus pedestal, and the attendant figures are shown in the attitude of worshipping the central figure. A *stūpikā* (small stūpa) surmounts the entire sculpture with three protruding hoods (like umbrellas above the head of the Buddha. The figures at the base are much decayed.

Among the other finds are parts of bronze heads, hands and a pedestal with a Sanskrit inscription (ibid. Pl. V. nos, 2a, 2b, and 2c.).

Deciphering the fragmentary inscription in the pedestal, Bühler has attempted to trace an indication of a dedicatory image to the goddess Jayamatī (an aspect of the Mahāyāna goddess Tārā). On epigraphical grounds, Bühler suggests a date around the 9th century A.C. or a little earlier (Bühler, *The Inscription on the Pedestal from Bezwada*, *JRAS.* 1895, appendix, p. 635). This shows that the region continued to flourish as a Mahāyāna Buddhist centre after a lapse of several centuries from the final disappearance of the Imperial Āndhra Sātavāhanas of the Kṛṣṇa-Veṅgi country, whose favour and patronage towards Buddhism was immense (Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930, p. 127). This short period of Mahāyāna survival could have synchronised with the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. When the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang visited the area in the 7th century A.C, Buddhist establishments were in ruins and desolate.

The Buddhist kingdom in the Kṛṣṇa-Veṅgi region never rose after the Guptas. The Chinese accounts gives a clear indication of this (S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Chinese Accounts of India*, Indian Edition, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 420ff.). It is likely that the Pāla rulers of Bengal had attempted to improve the conditions of these once magnificient sites of the Āndhras, but that too evidently did not have more effect than the spreading of certain Mahāyāna cults.

A.D.T.E.P.

BUDDHAPĀDA, foot-print of the Buddha, venerated and worshipped by the Buddhists of almost all Buddhist countries, probably from a very early period. The practice of such veneration probably began, according to Cunningham (*Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 113), in imitation of the reverence shown by Mahākassapa and other disciples to the actual feet of the Buddha when his body was lying on the funeral pyre. As stated in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* II, pp. 163 f.), Mahākassapa, adjusting his robes so as to leave one shoulder bare, went round the pyre three times, with clasped hands, and when the pyre opened, revealing the Buddha's feet, he reverentially bowed down his head at the feet of the Buddha. The other five-hundred monks that were with him did likewise and then the funeral pyre ignited spontaneously. However, the above surmise of Cunningham goes contrary to other literary evidence, according to which the Buddha, in his very lifetime, left the impression of his feet to be venerated by faithful disciples. Of such impressions, the one on the Sumanakūṭa in Ceylon is the most venerated. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*(*Mhv.* i, *v.* 77) the Buddha, on his third visit to the island of Laṅkā, left the traces of his footsteps on the Sumanakūṭa, the abode of the god Sumana. The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary (*MhvA.* p. 114), commenting on this statement, says that the Buddha left the impression of his foot on the summit of Sumanakūṭa in order to commemorate his three visits to the island and to prepare the country to receive his Dhamma and also to show his own majesty.[1] Fa-hsien (Legge, *Travels of Fa-hsien*, Oxford, 1886, p. 102), who visited the Island in the fifth century A.C., refers to the foot-print on Sumanakūṭa and to another found to the north of the royal city (Anuradhapura). According to him (op. cit. p. 29), there was a tradition in his time in India, too, that when the Buddha went to north India he visited the country of Udyāna, just north of the Punjab, and left there a print of his foot, which would become long or short according to the wish of the beholder. Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1853, pp. 209 f.) refers to a tradition, which says that the Buddha left an imprint of his foot on the bank of the river Narmadā in the midst of a sandy desert, on a spot that is occasionally covered by the flooding waters. This impression, reports Hardy, may still be seen in the Yon (Yavana) country, at a place where the waves strike upon a sandhill and then again retire. It is only when waves retire that the mark of the foot can be seen. Hardy suggests, as noted by Cunningham (loc. cit.), that a town named Śrīpāla, which placed by Ptolemy on the Narmadā river, should probably be Śrīpāda, meaning 'Illustrious Foot.' This tradition further says that from the river the Buddha went to a rock named Saccabaddha, upon the summit of which, at the request of a monk by the same name, he left the impression of his foot on clay. From there the Buddha is said to have gone to Ceylon, where he left two imprints of his foot, one in the bed of the river at Kalyāṇī, modern Kälaṇiya,

1 The Hindus regard the foot print at Sumanakūṭa as that of Siva and the Muslims as that of Adam. Some Christians attribute it to Satan or to St. Thomas.

and the other on the summit of Sumanakūṭa. However, the story of the foot-print at Kalyāṇī is not generally known in Ceylon. Monier-Williams (*Buddhism*, London, 1889, p. 512) states that there is another legend, according to which the Buddha, standing on Sumanakūṭa on his left foot, crossed over to Siam in one stride and there left the print of his right foot. This foot-print called Phra Bat (q.v.) is held by the Siamese in great reverence. The *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, (PTS. *vv.* 777 and 778) a Pali poem on the Sumanakūṭa, composed by Vedeha thera of Ceylon in the 13th century A.C., also mentions Nammadā and Saccakabaddhasela as two of the places where the Buddha left imprints of his feet. It is this tradition that is also contained in a later Pali stanza, popularly known in Ceylon, viz.

Yannammadāya nadiyā puline ca tīre
Yaṃ Saccabaddhagirike Sumanācalagge
Yaṃ tattha Yoṇakapure munino ca pādaṃ
Taṃ pādalāñcanam ahaṃ sirasā namāmi[2]

(I worship the footprint of the Buddha, on the sandy bank of the Nammadā river, on the Saccabaddha rock, on the Sumana mountain, and in the city of the Yonakas).

Another early reference to a foot-print left by the Buddha, not as an object of veneration, but for the observation and subsequent Enlightenment of the brāhman Māgandiya (q.v.) and his wife, is found in the *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA*. p. 200).

A sutta in the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. II, pp. 37ff.) also states that, on a certain occasion, the Buddha was journeying along the highroad between Ukkaṭṭhā and Setabbya, and a brahmin named Doṇa, who also happened to be going along that road saw, on the footprints of the Buddha, the wheel-marks with their thousand spokes, with their rims and hubs and all their attributes complete. From these marks the brahmin concluded that the footprints were not of a human being. The commentary (*AA*. III. pp. 77 ff.) adds—*Buddhānaṃ hi sukhumacchavitāya akkantaṭṭhānaṃ tūlapicunā patiṭṭhitaṭṭhānaṃ viya hoti, padavalañjo na paññāyati ; yathā ca balavato vātajavasindhavassa paduminipatte akkantaṭṭhānaṃ akkantamattaṃ eva hoti, tattha padavalañjo na paññāyati. Buddhānaṃ ca anupadaṃ mahājanakāyo gacchati. Tassa satthu padavalañjaṃ disvā madditum avisahantassa gamanavicchede bhaveyya, tasmā akkantakaṭṭhāne yo pi padavalañjo bhaveyya so antaradhāyateva, Doṇo pana brāhmaṇo adhiṭṭhānavasena passi. Bhagavāhi yassa padacetiyaṃ dassetukāmo hoti taṃ ārabbha asuko nāma passatū ti adhiṭṭhāti. Tasmā Māgandiyabrāhmaṇo viya ayaṃ pi brāhmaṇo tathāgatassa adhiṭṭhānavasena addasa*—i.e., the soles of the feet of the Buddhas are soft, and when they tread, it would be as if cotton falls on the ground. Just as the footprint of a swift Sindhava horse does not stay on a lotus leaf, likewise the footprint of the Buddhas does not become visible. Further, if the footprints of the Buddhas become visible, the multitudes which follow will not be able to tread on them, and, therefore, even when they become visible they soon disappear. In this particular instance the Buddha wished that the brahmin Doṇa should see them, as in the case of brahmin Māgandiya.

The *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D*. III. pp. 142ff.) states that the Buddha once addressed the monks, while staying at the Jetavana monastery, and enumerated to them the thirty two special marks of the Superman (*Mahāpurisa*) who becomes either a world-ruler or a Buddha. Of these, several marks relate to the feet, viz., the feet have a level tread ; on the soles of the feet are the wheel-marks with thousand spokes, tyre and hub ; the heels project out ; the toes are long ; the feet are soft and tender ; and they resemble a net (*jālapādo hoti*).[3]

It has been observed (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, trsl. p. 43, n. 4) that this idea of the Superman, expressed in the sutta, points to a later period when the Buddha's quasi-divinity had become established.

The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (*D*. II, p. 17) also gives an account similar to that of the *Lakkhana-sutta*, but its commentary (*DA*. II, pp. 445ff.) states that, besides the wheels, complete in themselves in every way, there are, on each sole, the marks of (1) *satti*, (2) *sirivaccha*, (3) *nandiya*, (4) *sovattika*, (5) *vaṭaṃsaka*, (6) *vaḍḍhamānaka*, (7) *macchayugala*, (8) *bhaddapīṭha*, (9) *aṅkusaka*, (10) *pāsāda*, (11) *toraṇa*, (12) *setacchatta*, (13) *khagga*, (14)

2 H. H. Prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa (*JSS*. XXVIII, pp. 1ff.) quotes a different stanza which mentions three of the places of this stanza and two others as follows.

Suvaṇṇamālike Suvaṇṇapabbate Sumanakūṭe Yonakapura Nammadāya nadiyā pañcapadavaram vandāmi dūrato.

3 In the usual foot-prints of the Buddha there are two parts, upper and lower. The five toes constitute the upper part. Each toe is divided into three squares corresponding to the joints. Each square has one spiral or undulating line. This, in fact, according to some scholars (eg. Henry Alabaster), is what is meant by *Jālahatthapāda* of the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta*.

tālavanta (15) *morahatthaka,* (16) *vālabījanī,* (17) *unhīsa,* (18) *mani,* (19) *patta,* (20) *sumanadāma,* (21) *nīluppala,* (22) *rattuppala,* (23) *setuppala,* (24) *paduma,* (25) *pundarīka,* (26) *punnaghata,* (27) *punnapāti,* (28) *samudda,* (29) *Cakkavālaka,* (30) *Himavā,* (31) *Sineru,* (32) *Chandimā,* (33) *Suriya,* (34) *nakkhattāni,* (35–38) the four great continents, surrounded by two thousand smaller ones, and (39, etc.) the whole retinue of a Cakkavattirājā (like the *hatthiratana*). The lists in the *Jinālankāra-tīkā* and the *Anāgatavamsa-atthakathā* on the subject are more lengthy, and, according to them there are 108 auspicious marks in all. The latter, however, is in respect of the future Buddha Metteyya. The following is a list of the 108 marks mentioned in them, and their English equivalents, where possible, as given in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1930–4, pp. 324–6).

I *Jinālankāra-tīkā*	II *Anāgatavamsa-atthakathā*	English Equivalents where possible
1. Satti	Same as in I	Spear
2. Sirivaccha	Same as in I	
3. Nandiyavatta	do.	
4. Sovatthika	do.	
5. Vatamsaka	do.	An ear ornament
6. Vaddhamānaka	Vaddhamāna	A receptacle or cup for food
7. Bhaddapittha	Same as in I	A seat or table
8. Ankusa	Same as in I	A goad
9. Pāsāda	do.	A palace
10. Torana	do.	An archway
11. Setacchatta	do.	A white umbrella
12. Khagga	do.	A sword
13. Tālavanta	do.	A talipot fan
14. Mayurahattha	Morapattam	Fan made of peacock's feathers
15. Cāmara	Nil	A fly-whisk
16. Unhīsa	Same as in I	A headdress
17. Patta	do.	A bowl
18. Mani	do.	A jewel
19. Sumanadāma	do.	A garland
20. Nīluppala	Rattuppala	Five kinds of lotuses
21. Rattuppala	Setuppala	
22. Rattapaduma	Nīluppala	
23. Setapaduma	Rattapundarīka	
24. Pundarīka	Setapundarīka	
25. Punnakalasa	Punnaghata	A full vase
26. Punnapatta	Punnapāti	A full cup
27. Samudda	Same as in I	An ocean
28. Cakkavālapabbata	Cakkavāla	The Universe
29. Himavantapabbata	Himavā	The Himalayas
30. Meru-pabbata	Meru	Mt. Meru
31. Suriyamandala	Suriya	The sun
32. Candamandala	Candimā	The moon
33. Nakkhatta	Same as in I	Constellations
34–37. Saparivāra-catu mahādīpa	Cāturmahā-dīpāparittadīpā	The four great continents surrounded by smaller ones.
38. Saparivāro sattaratana-samangi Chakkavatti	Sapariso Cakkavatti	Cakkavattin with attendants
39. Dakkhinavattaseta sankha	Same as in I	Right-voluted conch
40. Suvannamacchayugalam	do.	A pair of golden fish
41. Cakkāvudham	Cakka	A wheel or discus
42–48. Sattamahāgangā	Same as in I	Seven great rivers

49–55. Sattakuḷapabbatā	Sattamahāselā	Seven great rocks
56–62. Sattasīdantasāgara	Sattamahāsarā	Seven great lakes
63. Suvaṇṇahaṃsarāja(?)	Supaṇṇarāja	I. (?) II. Garuḍa king
64. Suṃsumāra	Saṃsumārako	A crocodile
65. Dhajapatāka	Same as in I	Flags
66. Suvaṇṇasivikā	Ratanāpāṭaṅki	Golden litter or jewelled litter
67. Suvaṇṇavālabījani	Same as in I	Golden yak's tail
68. Kelāsapabbata	do.	Mt. Kailāsa
69. Sīharāja	do.	Lion king
70. Byaggharāja	do.	Tiger king
71. Valāhaka Assarāja	Valāho-assarāja	Valāhaka, king of horses
72. Uposathachaddantahatthirāja	Uposathavāraṇarāja	Uposatha Chaddanta, king of elephants. II. omits Chaddanta
73. Vāsukīnāgarāja	Bāsukīuragarāja	Vāsukī or Bāsukī, king of serpents
74. Haṃsarāja	Same as in I	King of swans
75. Usabharāja	do.	Bull king
76. Erāvanahatthirāja	Erāvanonāgarāja	Erāvana, the elephant king
77. Suvaṇṇamakara	Same as in I	Golden Makara
78. Catumukhasuvaṇṇanāvā	Catumukhāni suvaṇṇanāvā	Golden boat with four bows
79. Savacchakadhenu	Savacchakagāvī	Cow with a calf
80. Kimpurisa	Kinnaro	A kinnara
81. Kinnarī	Same as in I	A Kinnarī
82. Karavīko	do.	An Indian cuckoo
83. Mayūrarāja	do.	Peacock king
84. Konjarāja	Koñcarāja	Heron king
85. Cakkavākarāja	Same as in I	Ruddy goose king
86. Jīvañjīvakarāja	Jīvajīvakarāja	Pheasant king
87–92. Chadevalokā	Chakāmāvacaradevalokā	Six deva lokas or heavens
93–108. Soḷasabrahmalokā	Same as in I	Sixteen Brahma worlds.

Other foot-prints of the Buddha, some said to be left by him and others carved by architects, could be found in various places throughout India, Burma, Siam, Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan. Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, in their tours, had seen several of them. In Ceylon, in a shrine near the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, there is a facsimile of the foot-print found on the Sumanakūṭa, meant to be venerated by those physically unable to toil up the mountain to bow down before the sacrod impression of the rock (Monier-Williams, op. cit. pp. 510 f.). There is a similar object of worship in the temple at Kälaṇiya near Colombo. It is very modern.

The most celebrated foot-print in India was that seen by Fa-hsien, on a stone in Pāṭaliputta, near the stūpa of Relics in the 5th century. Two centuries later Hsüan-tsang saw it and has left a detailed description of it (Watters, *On Huan Tsang's Travelos in India*, II, London, 1904, p. 92). It is said that the stone was luminous. It was on this stone, says Hsüan-tsang, that the Buddha, a little before his Parinibbāna, stopped to have his last look at Magadha, before going to Kusinagara. The Buddha told Ānanda: "This is the last imprint of my feet ." Asoka built a shelter over it. Later, several princes tried to take the stone away to their homes but their efforts were in vain. King Sasaṅka, foe of Buddhism, could not damage it either.

Another famous imprint was that at the source of the Swat, left by the Buddha after the conversion of Ajapāla. Its dimensions vary according to the merits of those who saw it (Watters, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 231 ; cp. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p.29). In Udyāna, an imprint was left by the Buddha when he visited the monastery of Mahāvana. Near Nagarahāra, in Gandhāra, was venerated a luminous imprint on a square stone. In Tamasāvana, Hsüan-tsang saw the foot-prints of four previous Buddhas.

At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, there is a Buddhapāda, bearing an undated inscription, near the monastery, Site 38, which states that the monastery was

established by the Mahāvihāravāsins, a Ceylonese sect. It is not certain whether the apsidal shrine (*chaitya-griha*) of this monastery was meant to house this Buddhapāda or a chaitya (Cp. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966, pp, 77f.).

In Burma, says U Mya (*ASIAR.* 1930–34, pp. 320 ff.), Buddhist children are taught to say at night before going to bed, a prayer in honour of the Buddha's foot-prints. The belief in Burma is that there are three such foot-prints, one in Ceylon, and two in Burma. The latter are placed at Shwezettaw in the Sagu township, in Minbu district. They had been left there by the Buddha, as the legend says, at the request of a *rishi* and a *nāga*, by the side of a stream called Nammadā, on the occasion of his visit to Vanizagāma, now known as Legaing, a village in the same district, in Sunāparanta, as told in the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and its commentary.

At least one or two of the Buddha's foot-prints can be seen in monasteries or pagoda platforms in Burma, either carved in stone slabs or rocks, or represented in paintings on the roofs of temples.

At Shwezettaw, originally, there were two egg-shaped depressions, Both considered to be the impressions of the Buddha's left foot. One was on the top, and the other at the foot of a hill by the side of a stream. Each impression is about 5ft. 9 in. deep. The impression on the top was damaged in the course of an attempt to shift it by a certain monk and afterwards a stūpa has been built over it. The one below is covered with thin gold leaves, which pilgrims stick on it annually, and two brass dragons encircle it.

Though legends attribute these two footprints to the time of the Buddha, it is agreed that they were discovered in the reign of Thalunmindaya, king of Ava (1629–48 A.C.) by the principal monks of the time who were the king's preceptors.

But, stone slabs bearing the impressions of the foot-print of the Buddha that have been discovered in Burma belong to a period as far back as the eleventh century. The earliest of them was found on the platform of the Lokānanda pagoda built by king Anawrahta (1044–77 A.C.) and is now preserved in the Museum, Pagan (See Pl. LXV, Fig. 1). Four other foot-prints, two from the platform of the Shwezigon pagoda (See Pl. LXV, Fig. 2) and the other two in the west porch of the Ānanda temple can be attributed to the reign of Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.C.). Since all these foot-prints contain marks already fully developed and follow very closely the lists as given in the *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* and the *Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*, which may, on stylistic grounds, be placed in the 8th-11th cen., the history of sculptured foot-prints in Burma may belong to an even earlier period.

The Lokānanda foot-print represents an impression of the left foot of the Buddha and measures 4′ 1″ × 2′ in its extreme length and breadth. The Shwezigon foot-print represents an impression of the right foot and measures 3′ × 14″.

The various auspicious marks in these foot-prints are carefully delineated. They are elegant in style and finely modelled. These are considered to be the work of Indian artists at Pagan.

The traditional number of 108 marks as given in the *Jinālaṅkāra* and the *Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* and displayed in the Burmese foot-prints came into vogue about the 5th or the 6th century (*ASIAR.* 1930–34, pp. 320 ff.).

In Siam there is a well-known foot-print of the Buddha at a place called the Phra Bat (var. Buddhabād, q.v.) in the district of Saraburi to the south-east of Lopburi and north-east of Ayudhya, on a hill known as Suvaṇṇapabbata (mentioned in the Pali stanza in n. 2). This foot-print attracts numerous pilgrims and has been held in great veneration from the time it was discovered or re-discovered. There is also another imprint of both feet of the Buddha on a stone slab measuring 3.6 metres in length 2.17 meters in breadth and .20 metres in thickness at Vat Vang Na in Bangkok. The slab was brought to Bangkok in 1834 from Vat Jai, Sukhodaya, under the care of king Mongkut.

M. Fournerau (*Le Siam Ancien*, Vol. I, Paris, 1895, pp. 242-54) has made an interesting study of this imprint. The stone slab also bears a Pali inscription, in Siamese characters, dated 1970 B. E. (i.e. 1426–27 A.C.). It is in two distinct parts. The first in flowery prose gives the history of the monument and the second, in four *anuṣṭub* ślokas repeats briefly what has been said in prose and ends with the formulas of blessing for all mankind and for the *sāsana*. This inscription states that the *Śrīpādas* were caused to be engraved on a stone slab which was brought to Sukhodaya through the patronage of king Parampala Dhammarāja by Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi and that the two feet in dimensions as well as in form exactly resembled "the monument of the Precious

Foot which was manifested by the Supreme Lord of the World on the summit of the Samantakūṭa, the jewelled crown of the island of Laṅkā."

This sculpture of the Buddha's feet at Sukhodaya is according to Fournerau "a veritable work of art in composition as well as in the finish of its execution." Paranavitana (*JCBRAS.* Vol. 32, No. 85, 1932, pp. 209 ff.) gives a translation of his description of it, *verbatum*, as follows :

"Framed by a rectangular double fillet, deeply engraved, the two feet in juxtaposition are represented in a cavity as if they were actually imprinted on a soft substance. The impression of the toes is represented in the same fashion, that is to say, they have been hollowed afterwards so that they have a greater depth than that of the two feet. The latter show, in relief, the sacred symbol of the *cakra* (wheel) in which are distributed by symmetrical radiation, the 108 other supremely propitious signs indited in concentric circles.... The part of the sole of the foot which is not covered by the *cakra* is strewn with flowers which seem to resemble the iris ; the toes, all of equal size, are oranmented with the same emblems ; their extremity is covered with an endless spiral. The two feet, we have said, are framed in a rectangular double fillet in contact with the tips of the toes, the heels and the exterior contours. The fillet itself is engraved with a band ornamented with a procession of theras. Those personages, standing upright, are draped in long mantles ; their hands are inclined towards the right shoulder and encircled in a nimbus. At every corner there is a figure in the same attitude, placed between two others of smaller size, apparently representing the Buddha between two bodhisattvas. Three lines of engraving encompass the whole ; but we have, very fortunately, in restoring them the Thai transcript at Vat Suthat engraved on a plaque of marble." The number of the theras represented on this stone is eighty and it is certain that they are intended for the eighty principal disciples of the Buddha (*asīti mahā sāvakā*). The names of these theras are contained in the inscription on the slab but this part of the inscription is too withered making an accurate reading impossible. Fortunately, the Thai transcript at Vat Suthat has a better preservation of the names, but there are several omissions, and the names do not always correspond to the Pali. Probably, there has been a lot of corruption in copying the names from Pali to Thai.

The description given above of the Buddhapāda of Sukhodaya does not agree with that of the foot-print now to be seen on the summit of Sumanakūṭa in Ceylon. If Medhaṅkara's statement that this was an exact copy of the Ceylon foot-print be true, then it is obvious that the foot-print existing today on Samantakūṭa is not the same as was there five-hundred years ago. On the other hand, it is also possible that Medhaṅkara, inspired by what he saw on Sumanakūṭa, embellished his work with additional ornamentation.

The Buddhapāda of Sukhodaya belongs to the category of gigantic *pādas* found particularly in the countries of southern Buddhism, e.g. India and Indo-China, of which the Śrīpāda on Sumanakūṭa is a prototype.[4]

From Angkor Vat of Cambodia comes a beautiful specimen of a foot-print, cir. 12th cen. A.C., covered with the 109 sacred symbols with the wheel at the centre (*The Unesco Courier*, Special Issue, June, 1956, p. 27 ; see Pl. XLIV).

In Central Asia, near Kutcha, on a stone of yellow jade, is a large foot-print of the Buddha, which shines on holy days. In China, many spots are shown as containing foot-prints of the Buddha, but these are more or less late. In the 7th century in the environs of the Temple of Asoka, near Ning Po, two of these were known, one a left foot, and the other the right, 37 li apart. The first is yet visible ; it is a natural crevice in a rock (*BEFEO.* XIV. viiii. p. 49).

In 840 A. C., the Japanese pilgrim Ennin saw another foot-print in Won t'ai Chan. On the heel was engraved an inscription, according to which this inscription was the copy of an estampage from India, in a temple of Asoka, brought by a Chinese ambassador, who was despatched to holy places between 627 and 650 A. C. The inscription gives the dimensions of the imprint and they correspond to the imprint of Pāṭaliputra, made famous in China by accounts of pilgrims. According to tradition all these imprints in China were copies of an imprint brought by Hsüan-tsang.

In Japan, the oldest foot-print is that carved on a stone, preserved at Yakushiji, near Nara. The ornamentation is identical with that found in the sole of the left foot of the great statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru in the same temple. This statue dates in the 7th century (680–97 A.C.). It is

4 The Siamese foot-prints have been examined first by the Dutch traveller Baldaeus in 1654, secondly by Colonel Low, who, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. has given a list of figures found on the Buddha's feet, and thirdly by Alabaster (*Wheel of the Law*, London,1871,pp.101ff.).

surmounted by a stele on which are inscribed 21 Japanese poems attributed to Empress Kômyô. These poems are considered among the oldest records of the Japanese language.

The imprints themselves are decorated with the wheel, the double fish, a vase of flowers, a thunderbolt (*vajra*), motifs in the shape of a shell-fish, and, on the heel, an emblem which contains the head-dress of Brahmā. On the periphery of the stone is inscribed an inscription in Chinese which says that the imprint was carved in 752 A.C. through the efforts of a Japanese nobleman, from a copy which had been brought from China by an ambassador. This copy was a reproduction, says the inscription, of a model brought from Central India by Ogenseku (Wang Hinan ts'o), and preserved in Fukōji in China. Fukōji was the name of one of the chief temples of Chôan (Tch'ang ngan). It was founded in 631 A.C. and was later known as Chūkoji and Ryukoji.

The imprint at Yakushīki-ji has been copied in numerous temples, four of them in Tokyo (See article on BUSSOKUSEKI in *Hbg.* II. pp. 187ff.).

Though there are several accounts that refer to the foot-print of the Buddha becoming an object of veneration in his very lifetime, since even the oldest of them belongs to a period later than the account in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Cunningham's surmise that the practice of venerating the foot-print began soon after the death of the Buddha, as stated earlier, is worthy of consideration. Further, it is interesting to note, as Henry Alabaster (*The Wheel of the Law*, London, 1871. p. 225) points out, that it is not improbable that the stories of the Buddha leaving the impression of his foot for veneration originated somewhat later, when pilgrims from Ceylon, impressed by the designs of foot-prints at the ancient sites of Bhārhut and Sāñcī and also having heard some vague stories of actual foot-prints as stated above, on their return home, gave incorrect accounts of what they had seen, describing them not as sculpture but as actual foot-prints. This may have led to someone with vivid imagination, discovering on Sumanakūṭa an indentation, so much in accordance with floating rumours, that he believed he had found a real foot-print. The foot-print in Siam, too, may have thus been the discovery of some pilgrim who had seen the impression on the summit of Sumanakūṭa. Alabaster also observes (op. cit. p. 261) that the idea of foot-prints on rocks belongs to the stage of sculpture next to that of the flint tools and rough carvings of the prehistoric Stone Age. During this Age, it is said, imitations in stone of the marks of wet feet and hands were made. These were first made at fords, and afterwards on the top of mountains. Primitive people cross a river by swimming and dry their dripping bodies on some sun-lit rock. Meanwhile they peck away at one of the damp footsteps on the rock. Others, who notice what he has left undone, would finish it. The foot-print thus becomes a permanent landmark. Some battle there in subsequent days would make it famous and the deified hero would be propitiated by sacrifices. In this way could be seen the origin of the practice of veneration and worship of foot-prints.

The foot-prints of the Buddha found at different places differ in length, from about five and half feet to two feet. The soles are represented as quite flat and all the toes are of equal length. The sole is frequently marked distinctly with one hundred and eight auspicious marks (*maṅgala-lakkhaṇa*), of which the principal is generally the wheel (*cakra*) while around it are grouped representations of animals, inhabitants of various worlds and symbols of different kinds. A good specimen of a foot from Burma is preserved in the British Museum. Its sole is divided into compartments, each compartment containing a mark. There are five conch shells, one in each of the five toes. Among the other auspicious marks are the following :—a spear, trident (*tri-ratana*), book, elephant-goad, Indra's elephant, dragon (*makara*), ocean, golden ship, water with lotuses, four-faced Brahmā, umbrella, king of nāgas, king of horses, of tigers, of birds, sun, moon, ten mountains, peacock, flag of victory, deer, fish and a water-jar. Some of the marks vary in different specimens. In the list of marks on the Siamese foot-print, the wheel (*cakra*) does not occur, but in two foot-prints discovered at Bhārhut and one at Sāñcī only the wheel appears in the centre of the sole, it being the principal mark. In two foot-prints discovered at Amarāvatī, the wheel appears in the centre of the sole and above it is the *tri-ratana* emblem with a *svastika* symbol on either side. The foot-prints discovered at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī are of immense value as they are a good guide to the time when the foot-print came to be considered an object of veneration by Buddhists and also as to when the idea of the auspicious marks were incorporated into Buddhist tradition (See Pls. LXII & LXIII). The two foot-prints among the Bhārhut sculpture belong to the second century B.C. and here they depict a highly developed and systematised stage of representation. Hence Cunningham (op. cit. p. 112) is of opinion that the foot-print of the Buddha became

an object of worship sometime before the construction of the Bhārhut stūpa. In the two representations at Bhārhut, as mentioned above only the *cakra* appears but in the two representations at Amarāvatī, belonging to the second or third century A.C. (Monier-Williams, op. cit. p. 510), we find the *tri-ratana* emblem and the *svastika* symbol in addition to the *cakra* mark. This probably shows that in the second century B.C. when the Bhārhut foot-prints were sculptured only the *cakra* was considered an auspicious mark on the sole of the Buddha and that during the next four centuries the *tri-ratana* emblem and the *svastika* symbol also came to be included. *The Mahāpadāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* II, p. 17) states as referred to above that the soles of a 'great being' (*mahāpurisa*) are flat and that the wheels with a thousand spokes rim and hub appear on the sole. The heel projects backwards and all the toes which are longer than usual are of the same length. The *Dhammapada* commentary (loc. cit.) also states that the wife of the brāhman Māgandiya saw certain signs on the foot-print of the Buddha and concluded that it was not the foot-print of one who possessed the five lusts. But, here, the signs are not specifically mentioned. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* and the *Bhagavat-Purāṇa* give lists of marks found on the sole of the foot of Viṣṇu (Monier Williams, op. cit. pp. 513 f.). Senart (*Legend du Buddha*, Paris, 1875, pp. 166–9, 423–9) says that the wheel (*cakra*) with a thousand spokes is found also in the feet of Viṣṇu. Burnouf (*Lotus*. App. viii) says that in Indo-Chinese foot-prints there are at least 65 symbols which correspond to those given in Sinhalese lists. In some foot-print carvings are to be found the double-fish (also one of the *maṅgala* of Viṣṇu) and the *Vajra* (thunderbolt). On the heel is found the head-dress of Brahmā and on the extremities of the toes are vermiculiar designs or those like shell-fish. Some Mahāyāna sūtras explain the merits which devotees can gain by looking at the feet of the Buddha or their representations (Cp. *Hbg.* Vol. II, pp. 187 ff.).

Henry Alabaster (op. cit. p. 254), in an attempt to trace the origin of the idea, states that the view that a very superior man should be distinguished by extra-ordinary physical characteristics, probably existed before the Buddha was born. Further, the peculiar features and marks on the body, ascribed by ancient poets to their heroes, may have been collected into lists, enumerating thirty-two chief characteristics, one hundred and eight marks, etc., when people helped their memory by classifying everything into numbered lists. It is the opinion of Alabaster that the mark of the simple wheel, engraved on the foot-print at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, symbolised the fleetness of the feet of the Buddha, though in later times the discus or quoit, the radiant and most powerful weapon, replaced the simple wheel, thus representing the *Dharma-cakra*, exterminator of ignorance and sin.

Prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa (*JSS.* XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.) however thinks that it is impossible to believe that there were really distinct pictures of the symbols on the soles of the feet of the Buddha. For instance, a *rattuppala*, i.e. a red lilly could not have been a lilly coloured red, but a line, or swelling somewhere on the sole of the foot, just as in palmistry the 'mount of the moon' does not mean a picture of a mountain or of the moon. It is possible, he thinks, that in ancient times there was a system, like present palmistry, for reading the foot-print.

Literary evidence also shows that a notion of miraculous powers attached to the foot-print of the Buddha prevailed from early times. It was mentioned earlier that Fa-hsien had heard of a tradition about a foot-print in Udyāna which became long or short according to the wish of the beholder. Hardy's statement about the foot-print in the Yon country, referred to above, is also curious. Further, the *Dhammapada* commentary (loc. cit.) and the *Aṅguttara* commentary in the stories about Māgandiya and the brahmin Doṇa gives accounts somewhat similar to that of Fa-hsien regarding the foot-print in Udyāna. Here, it is stated that the foot-print of a Buddha appears only on a place that is trodden and not elsewhere, and only those, for whose benefit it is established can see it. Even if elephants and other wild animals tread upon it, violent storms pour forth rain and roaring winds beat upon it none of these things could obliterate it. It is worth noting that both Fa-hsien's account and that in the *Dhammapada* commentary belong to the fifth century A. C.

One more point worth mentioning in regard to the early representations of the foot-prints of the Buddha, such as those at the ancient site of Bhārhut, is that here the foot-print symbolises and represents the Buddha. One of the foot-prints at Bhārhut, observes Cunningham (op. cit. p. 112), is represented as placed on a throne or an altar, canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands, with a royal personage, kneeling before the altar, reverentially touching the foot-print with his hands. The other representation is in bas-relief, depicting the visit of Ajātasatru to the Buddha. Here, as in all other Bhārhut sculptures, the Buddha does not appear in person, his presence being marked by the

two foot-prints. Benjamin Rowland observes in his article on Gandhāra (q.v.) that this practice was due to the early Buddhist concept that it was inappropriate to represent the Buddha by anything except symbols, and that his foot-print was one of the symbols most suitable for the purpose.

Prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa (loc. cit.), on the other hand, thinks that the foot-print as a symbol represented a certain aspect of the Buddha's life namely, the propagation of his doctrine. Just as the seat symbolized Enlightenment, the wheel the first sermon and the stūpa the Parinibbāna, the foot-print, thinks prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa, symbolized the presence of the Buddha in that particular place or region and the preaching of his religion there. When it did not symbolize his visit, it at least symbolized the spread of his religion. Prince Bidyālaṅkaraṇa further states that when images replaced the symbols, the walking Buddha in Siam represented the foot-print.

The fact that the veneration of the foot-print is not confined to Buddhism, is seen from the observation of Monier-Williams (op. cit. pp. 506 ff.) that the Vaishnavas, Jainas and also the Christians engage in this practice. But their modes of veneration differ.

H.R.P.

BUDDHAPĀLITA (1), one of thrity-eight Buddhist teachers listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* ; the twenty-first in the list (*BB*. XIII, p. 51). He lived in the 5th century A.C. Following Nāgārajuna and Āryadeva, he maintained the *prāsaṅgika* position of the Mādhyamika system. (i.e., the method of leading an opponent *ad absurdum*), by writing a commentary named *Mādhyamika Vṛtti* on the *Mādhyamika Śāstra*. The original is lost but is available in Tibetan ; no other work of his has come down to us.

He takes the essence of the Mādhyamika method to consist of the use of *reductio ad absurdum* arguments alone (*prasaṅgavākya*). The true Mādhyamika cannot uphold a position of his own ; he has, therefore, no need to construct syllogisms and adduce arguments and examples. His sole endeavour is to reduce to absurdity the arguments of his opponent on principles acceptable to him.

U.K.

BUDDHAPĀLITA (2), a banker (*seṭṭhi*) of the Paṇḍu race, mentioned as a donor in an inscription of the Sāñcī stūpa II (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 281).

BUDDHAPĀLITA (3), a donor mentioned in an inscription of the Sāñcī stūpa II (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 283).

BUDDHAPĀLITĀ, a Buddhist nun whose donation to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded in an inscription on the southern gateway of the stūpa (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 263).

BUDDHAPĀLITA-MŪLAMĀDHYAMAKA-VṚTTI (var. °*pālitā*°), the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a Tibetan text, the *Dbu-ma rtsa-baḥi ḥgrel-pa buddha-pā-li-ta*, incorporated in the Dbu-ma (*Mādhyamika*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authorship of the work is attributed to Saṅs-rgyas bskyaṅs (Buddhapālita) and the translators are known as Jñānagarbha of India and Cog-ro kulḥi rgyal-mtshan (Nāgadhvaja ; *TM*. No. 3842 ; *Cordier*. III, p. 295 ; *TT*. Vol. 95, No. 5242).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Buddha, Dhamma and the Saṅgha, Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta (Ḥjamdpal gshon-nur), Nāgarjuna (Klu-sgrub-pa ; the expounder of the Mādhyamika School of Buddhist philosophy) and an eulogy of himself.

It could be assumed from the title of the text that it was named after the commentator himself. The work is a commentary by Buddhapālita on the text, *Mūlamādhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna which is extant in Sanskrit. There is another commentary on the same text by Chandrakīrti which is also available in Sanskrit.

This philosophical treatise consists of ten sections containing twenty seven chapters. They are as follows :

I. (1) *Rkyen brtag-pa rab-tu byed-pa* (the thorough examination of conditions ; Tib. *rkyen*, Skt. *pratyaya*, Pali. *paccaya*). The four conditions are, the root-condition (Tib. *rgyuḥi rken*, Skt. *Hetu-pratyaya*), the anterior-condition (Tib. *de-ma-thag-paḥi rkyen*, Skt. *samananta-pratyaya*), the dominant condition (Tib. *bdag -rkyen ;* Skt. *adhipatipratyaya*), and the object-condition (Tib. *dmigs-rkyen* ; Skt. *ālambana pratyaya*). (2) *Soṅ-ba daṅ ma soṅ-ba daṅ bgom-pa* (motion and stationariness, Skt. *gatāgata*). II. (3) *Skye-mchod* (the sources and places of origin of the senses ; Skt. *āyatana*), which are four in number. They are as follows : *nam mkhaḥ mthaḥ yas skye-mchod*

(the stage of the infinity of space, Skt. *ākāśānantyāyatana*, Pali. *ākāsānañcāyatana*), *rnam ṣes mthaḥ yas-skye-mchod* (the stage of infinity of conciousness; Skt. *vijñānantyāyatana*, Pali. *viññānañcāyatana*),*ci-yaṇ med-paḥi skye-mchod*, (the stage of nothingness ; Skt. *ākiṃcanyāyatana*, Pali. *ākiṃcaññāyatana*), and *ḥdu-ṣes-med ḥdu ṣes-med miṅ skye-mchod* (the stage of neither conciousness nor unconciousness ; Skt. *naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*, Pali. *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*), (4) *phuṅ-po* (aggregates ; Skt. *skandha*, Pali. *khandha*), (5) *Khams* (elements ; Skt. *dhātu*), (6) *Ḥdod-chags* (attachment to passion ; Skt. *rāgarakta*) which in Buddhism are of four kinds. They are, *gzugs kyi-ḥdod-chags* (bodily or physical wants), *dbyiṅs-kyi ḥdod-chags* (the desires of the intellect), *reg-paḥi ḥdod-chags* (sensual desires), and *rnam-par grol-ba-ma-yin-paḥi ḥdod-chags* (moral desires other than those for perfect emancipation),(7) *Skye-ba daṅ gnas-pa daṅ ḥjig-pa* (nascence, persistence and essence ; Skt. *utpāda-sthiti-bhaṅga*). III. (8) *Byed-pa-po daṅ las* .... (the doer of the deed; Skt. *karmakāraka*)- IV. (9) *Ñe-bar len-pa-po daṅ ñe-bar blaṅ-ba* (the criticism of the present and the future, Skt. *bhava-bhaviṣyatparīkṣā*), (10) *me daṅ bud-śin* (the fire and the fuel; Skt. *agnīndhana*), (11) *ḥkhor-ba* (transmigration ; Skt. *saṃsāra*). V. (12) *sdug-bsṅa-* (misery ; Skt. *duḥkha*, P. *dukkha*), (13) *de-kho-na-ñid* (the void ; Skt. *śūnyatā*), (14) *phrad-pa* (attachment; Skt. *saṃsarga*), (15) *dṅos-po daṅ dṅos-po med-pa* (reality and unreality ; Skt. *svabhāva*). VI. (16) *Bciṅs-pa daṅ thar-pa* (bondage and salvation ; Skt *bandhana-mokṣa*), (17) *las daṅ ḥbras-bu* (action and effect ; Skt. *karma-phala*). VII. (18) *Bdag daṅ chos* (the doctrine of self ; Skt. *ātman*), (19) *dus* (time ; Skt. *kāla*), (20) *rgyu daṅ ḥbras-bu* (cause and effect ; Skt. *sāmagri*). VIII. (21) *Ḥbyuṅ-ba daṅ ḥjig-pa* (origin and destruction ; Skt. *sambhava-vibhava*), (22) *de bshin-gśegs-pa* (he who has gone or passed away as was done by the other one ; Skt. *Tathāgata*). IX. (23) *Phyin-ci-log* (that which is false or deceptive ; Skt. *viparyāsa*) (24) *ḥphags-paḥi bden-pa* (Noble Truth ; Skt. *ārya-sattya*, Pali. *ariya-sacca*), (25) *mya-ṅan-las ḥdas-pa* (that which is devoid of suffering ; Skt. *nirvāṇa*, Pali. *nibbāna*). X. (26) *Srid-paḥi yan-lag bcu-gñis* (the twelve casual limbs ; Skt. *dvādaśāṅga*), (27) *lta-ba* (views ; Skt. *dṛṣṭi*).

I. K.

BUDDHA-PIṬAKA-DUḤŚILA-NIGRAHA (°-*nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*), a Sanskrit work preserved in its Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Tibetan translation was the work of Dharmaśrīprabha and Dpal-gyi lhun-po and is incorporated in the Mdo-sde (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Tibetan Kangyur under the title *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi sde-snod tshul -khrims ḥchar-ba tshar-gcod-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*T.M.* No. 220 ; *TT.* Vol. 35, No. 886). It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva of the later Tsin dynasty in 405 A.C. The Chinese translation bears the title Fo-tsang-ching and is included in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Taishō*. No. 563 ; *Nanjio*. No. 1095).

The text contains a discourse of the Buddha condemning immorality (*duḥśīla*) addressed to Ānanda (Tib. Kun-dgḥ-bo), Śāriputra, Maudgalīputra, Mahāsubhūti (Tib. Cab-ḥbyor chen-po) and Mahākāśyapa (Tib. Od-sruṅ chen-po). The venue of the sermon was the monstery of Isipatana (Skt. Ṛsipatana, Tib. draṅ-sroṅ lhuṅ-ba) in the deer-park at Bārāṇasī. The Buddha is said to have been resident there with a large retinue of *bhikṣus* who had attained arahantship.

This long text which the author begins with a salutation to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas, is composed of eight chapters. They are as follows :

(1) *Gleṅ-gshi* (the cause which led to the preaching of the sūtra, (2) *Dran-pa bstan-pa* (discourse on remembrance (Skt. *anusmṛti*), (3) *Dge-baḥi bśes-gñen* (the acquaintance with good-conduct), (4) *Ḥphags-paḥī dge-ḥdun* (the Order of the *bhikṣus*), (5) *Ḥchal-paḥi tshul-khrims* (immorality), (6) *Yaṅs-su ma-dag-paḥi chos bstan-pa* (the teachings of all the heretical views), (7) *Sṅon-gyi spyod-pa* (the early practices), (8) *De-bshin-gśegs-pa-la bkur-sti byas-pa-daṅ bla-mar byes- daṅ mchod-pa daṅ mñes-par byas-pa* (the methods of paying homage to the Tathāgata and respecting the lamas and the strangers with a happy mind.

I. K.

BUDDHAPPIYA (1), a thera, one of those at whose request Buddhaghosa wrote the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (*Gv.* p. 68). However, his name does not occur in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* introduction (*J.* I, p. 1).

BUDDAPPIYA (2), an author, also known as Dīpaṅkara. He has been given the epithet Coḷiya as he was a native of the Coḷa country in south India. But, he belonged to the Vanavāsī sect in Ceylon and was a

pupil of Ānanda Vanaratana. He is the author of a Pali Grammar, the *Rūpasiddhi* and a Pali poem, the *Pajjamadhu*. In the colophon to the *Rūpasiddhi* he describes himself thus : " This perfect *Rūpasiddhi* was composed by thera Buddhappiya who was also called Dīpaṅkara and who was a pupil of thera Ānanda, the celebrated preceptor, who was like a banner unto the island of Ceylon. He (Buddhappiya) was renowned like a lamp in the Damiḷa country and was the resident superior of two monasteries including the Bālādicca, causing the religion to shine forth ." According to the Sinhalese commentary to the *Rūpasiddhi*, the other monastery was Cūḍāmaṇikarma-vihāra, obviously to be identified with Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra or Cūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra of Nāgapaṭṭana. In the colophon to the *Pajjamadhu*, he gives his name as Buddhappiya and that of his teacher as Ānanda-araññaratana, i.e., Ānanda Vanaratana.

These two works were probably written in the Cola country where Buddhism was flourishing at this time. Buddhappiya is mentioned as the author of these works in later books too (*Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, *vv.* 1239, 1260 ; the *Pajjamadhu* is omitted at *Sdms.* p. 63 ; *Gv.* pp. 60, 70). A *ṭīkā* on the *Rūpasiddhi* has also been ascribed to him (*Gv.* loc. cit).

Buddhappiya, described by Siddhattha, the author of the *Sārasaṅgaha*, as his teacher, probably refers to the same Buddhappiya. In the colophon, Siddhattha describes Buddhappiya as being well-versed in the three Piṭakas and as the incumbent of the Dakkhiṇārāma.

Buddhappiya occupies an important place in the history of Theravāda Buddhism in south India. He was responsible for the reform of Theravāda Buddhism at a time when heretical views crept in. The *Vimativinodanī*, a *ṭīkā* on the *Samantapāsādikā*, written by the south Indian thera Kassapa, records that false views, e.g. that it is an offence to drink intoxicating liquor only if it is taken intentionally, had found their way into Theravāda as a result of the efforts a heretical monk, named Nāgasena, at whose instigation the Tamil work *Kuṇḍalakesī* was written, incorporating these views. Buddhappiya is said to have re-established the pure doctrine by quashing these heretical views (*Vimativinodanī*, ed. Beratuḍuwe Dhammādhāra Tissa, Colombo, 1935, pp. 99 f; S. Paranavitana, 'Negapatam and Theravāda Buddhism in South India,' in *JGIS.* XI, pp. 17 ff.).

There is no agreement regarding the period in which Buddhappiya lived. His date is linked with that of his teacher, Ānanda Vanaratana regarding whose identity different views have been expressed. If Ānanda Vanaratana is to be identified with Ānanda, the disciple of Udumbaragiri Medhaṅkara, who lived during the reign of Paṇḍitaparākramabāhu, Buddhappiya is to be dated in the thirteenth century (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, pp. 211 f. and 220). It has been suggested that he was the pupil of an Ānanda, who lived earlier, and Buddhappiya has been accordingly dated a century earlier (S. Paranavitana, loc. cit.). On the other hand, if it can be established that Buddhappiya's teacher, Ānanda Vanaratana, was the author of the *Mūlaṭīkā* to which the commentator Dhammapāla wrote a sub-commentary, he will have to be dated before the end of the tenth century (A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, II, Ambalangoda (Ceylon), 1957, pp. 399, 469).

L. R. G.

BUDDHAPRABHĀMAṆḌLAŚRĪPRADĪPĀ, name of a world system (*lokadhātu*) mentioned in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (p. 420).

BUDDHARAKKHITA. In Pali literature four different bhikkhus are mentioned by this name.

The first is said to have been very learned in the Vinaya andw as a teacher of the same (*Vin.* V, p. 3 ; *VinA.* I, p. 62).

The second was a bhikkhu of Ceylon who, eight years after his admission to the Order of bhikkhus, while attending on Mahā Rohaṇagutta thera at Therambatthala, saw the king of the Supaṇṇas swooping down from the sky to seize the nāga king who was offering rice-gruel to the thera. He immediately created a rock and, having seized the nāga king by his arm, pushed him inside it, thereby saving the nāga's life (*Vism.* pp. 125, 316).

The third bhikkhu is supposed to have lived about 426 B.C., on the west coast of Ceylon, as a leader of a congregation of monks. In the introduction to the *Jinālaṅkāra*, James Gray has attributed that work to the bhikkhu Buddharakkhita. According to other works (e.g. the *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 72), Buddharakkhita is said to have written both, the *Jinālaṅkāra* and its *ṭīkā*.

The fourth bhikkhu by this name was also known as Mahā-Buddharakkhita. He was a monk of Piyaṅgudīpa, described as Yonakarāja-putta (*DPPN.* II, p. 1360).

I. K.

BUDDHARAKṢITA (1), name of a wealthy householder of Śrāvasti. He gave his son Saṅgharakṣita (q.v.) to Śāriputra to be ordained (*Divy.* pp. 330–1).

BUDDHARAKṢITA (2), a monk whose gift of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I is recorded in a third century B.C. inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 255, 271).

BUDDHARAKṢITA (3), a sculptor of the Bhārhūt bas-reliefs, whose gift of a railing to the stūpa is recorded in an inscription on that railing (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 141).

BUDDHARAKṢITA (4) is supposed to have gone from Ceylon to India, where he, along with his brother, Buddhamitra ([3] s.v.) had caused to be built two cave shrines at the site presently known as Junnār (s.v.) in western India, famous for its remains of an early Buddhist vihāra of the rock-cut type. They had probably introduced there a type of Buddhist temple architecture, novel to India at that time, but quite common in Ceylon. This was the circular *stūpa-ghara*, the 'vaṭadāge' of Ceylon.

A.D.T.E.P.

BUDDHARAKṢITĀ, a nun whose gift of a railing pillar to the stūpa of Bhārhūt is recorded in an inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 140).

BUDDHA-RAŚMI (var. *Buddha-raṃsi*), the rays issuing from the Buddha's body and reported to be of six hues, blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*lohita*), white (*odāta*), crimson (*mañjeṭṭha*)and sixthly, the combination of the first five colours (*pabhassara*). Hence, the radiance emitted by the Buddha is generally referred to in literary works as 'the six-coloured Buddha-ray' (Skt. *ṣaḍvarṇa-buddha-raśmi*; P. *chabbaṇṇa-buddha-rasmi* or *chabbaṇṇaghana-buddha-rasmi*). See also AURA.

G. K. W.

BUDDHASAMUDRĀVABHĀSA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. *The Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 297) gives the following description: "Then at the very seat of Enlightenment a Tathāgata named Guṇasumeruprabhateja was propitiated. As I saw him, I obtained the samādhi called *Buddhasamudrāvabhāsa.*"

Almost the same passage appears also in the classical Chinese versions of the above sūtra (*Taishō.* No. 278, Vol. 9, p. 736 b; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 386 b; No. 293, Vol. 10, p. 758 c).

S. Mo.

BUDDHA-SAṄGĪTI-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (or *Ārya-B°*), the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Ḥphags-pa saṅs-rgyas bgro-ba shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TT.* Vol. 35, No. 894). The names of the author and translators are not known.

The introduction of the text discusses the circumstances that led to the preaching of the sūtra and the reason for its being called the *Buddhasaṅgīti.*

The Buddha, it is said, was once residing in Magadhadeśa with a large number of monks, bodhisattvas and gods. At that time, there arose five types of impurities in the world — impurities relating to religion, people, time, defilements and views. As a result, people did not come regularly to listen to the doctrine. Even when they came, they were not attentive. They did not pay respect to the Buddha. They were averse to following the doctrine. The Buddha observed this and thought that he would preach the discourse called *Buddha-saṅgīti*, to rouse in them the desire for the doctrine.

At this time, people in other Buddha-fields, too, were averse to listening to the doctrine. The Buddhas in those Buddha-fields, too, decided to preach the *Buddha-saṅgīti-sūtra* to remedy the situation.

All the Buddhas assembled in a Buddha-field called Kun-du snaṅ-ba (Sarvāloka) in the East and discussed the doctrine. Hence the name *Buddha-saṅgīti*. A number of themes, like the analysis of the nature of all dharmas and the generation of pure thoughts of bodhisattvas, are discussed in detail in the text. A Chinese translation of the *Buddha-saṅgīti* is found in the Sūtra-piṭaka of the Chinese Canon under the title *Chu-fo-yao-chī-ching.* Chu Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty 265–317 A.C. is said to be the translator (*Taishō.* No. 810; *Nanjio.* No. 401). The *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, Section 65, No. 35) refers to the original Sanskrit work.

For information about a Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma book called the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, see *JPTS.* 1904–5, pp. 99 f. Two fragments of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* of the Dīrghāgama have been edited

translated and annotated by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* Vol. I, (Oxford, 1916). Further fragments of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* of the Dīrghāgama have been printed in the *Faksimile-Wiedergaben von Sanskrithandschriften aus den Berliner Turfanfunden Indo-Iranian Facsimiles Series*, Vol. I (Hague, 1963).

R. H.

BUDDHASAÑÑAKA (1), an arahant thera. Ninety-one kappas ago, in the time of Buddha Vipassi, he was born as an earth-bound deva. At the passing away of the Buddha, the earth quaked and with it also the deva's abode. Realising the Buddha's greatness, he honoured the Buddha. Because of this good deed, he was delivered from rebirth in woeful states. Fourteen kappas ago he was born as a cakkavatti (world-ruler), named Samita (*Ap.* I, pp. 151 f.; *ApA.* p. 422). He was, terrestial after death, in the deva world and among men until in this Buddha-age he was born in a noble family. Renouncing worldly life, he entered the Saṅgha and became an arahant (*ApA.* pp. 422 f.). He is probably identical with Meghiya thera of the *Theragāthā* commentary, according to which account, however, in the time of Buddha Vipassi, he was born as a man of good family and not as an earth-bound deva (*ThagA.* I, p. 159; var. Buddhasaññika).

L. R. G.

BUDDHASAÑÑAKA (2), designation of an arahant thera. In a previous birth, ninety-four kappas ago, he saw Buddha Siddhattha and his heart was gladdened. After death he was reborn in the deva world (*Ap.* I, p. 252; var. Buddhasaññika).

BUDDHASAÑÑAKA (3), an arahant thera. In the time of Buddha Siddhattha, ninety-four kappas ago, he was a learned brāhman ascetic. When he heard from his pupils of the appearance of the Buddha in the world, he left his hermitage to meet the Buddha. But he fell ill while he still had one and half leagues to go and he died thinking of the greatness of the Buddha (*Ap.* II, pp. 419 f.). He is to be identified with Vītāsoka thera of the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* (II, pp. 44 ff.).

L. R. G.

BUDDHAŚĀNTA, a north Indian, who went to China, and translated the Buddhist texts. He became proficient in Central Asian languages and, having mastered all the accomplishments, was called Fu-t'o-shan-to (C. 204) which was a transliteration from his Sanskrit name. He was also called *Chüeh-ting* (C. 205), according to a derivation of the Sanskrit name.

In 508, Buddhaśānta translated the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* (*Shih-ti-ching-lun:* C. 206) in conjunction with Bodhiruci (C. 207) the founder of the Tin-lun Tsung sect, and Ratnamati (C. 208) at the emperor's court in Loyang, on the order of the emperor Hsüan-wu-of the Pei-wei dynasty. They completed the work of translation in 511 A.C. Later, he lived in Pai-ma Ssŭ Temple (C. 209) and translated the '*Ju-lai-shih-tzü-hou-ching*' (C. 210) and other works in 525. In 531, he translated the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (*Shê-ta-chêng-lun,* C. 211). Afterwards, he removed six sūtras including the '*Shih-fa-ching,*' etc., to the Chin-hua Ssū temple (C. 212) at Yeb, the capital of the Tung-wei dynasty and there translated them in 539. About his last days there is no record.

The Pei-wei dynasty (386–534) took a stand against the Sung, Ch'i and Liang dynasties in South China, and the development of Buddhism was remarkable both in the former as well as the latter periods. In 446, the prosperity of Buddhism in the Pei-wei dynasty resulted in a persecution started by emperor Shih-tsu (Wu-ti, C. 213). This was because the emperor was afraid of the financial exhaustion of the state owing to the increase in the number of temples and monks; he was also indignant at the corruption and apostasy of the Saṅgha. Therefore, Buddhist activities were prohibited for six years till the order for the revival of Buddhism was issued by the emperor Wen-wu (C. 214) who was persuaded by T'an yao (C. 215). Then, the construction of cave temples at Yün-kang was begun under the assistance of Wen-wu. The emperor Hsiao-wen (C. 216, 471–99) who, in regard to his devotion to Buddhism, may be compared with the emperor Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty, helped the revival of Buddhism and availed himself of the opportunity to study Buddhism under the guidance of Tao-têng (C. 217) and Sêng-yüan (C. 218). Hsiao wen helped to build the great stone image of the Buddha at Lung-mêm. The emperor Hsüan-wu (C. 219, 499–515) assisted the work of translation as a copyist, when the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* was translated by Buddhaśānta and others and he lectured on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra* to his subjects. At that time it was said that there were nearly three

thousand monks who came from Central Asia. During the period of the Pei-wei dynasty, the work of translation flourished under the reign of his emperor. Among the famous translators of this time were Bodhiruci, Ratnamati, Prajñāruci, T'an-yao, Chi-chia-yeh (C. 220) and Buddhaśānta.

The *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna* written by Vasubandhu is a commentary of the chapter entitled *Daśabhūmi* of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* The *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* written by Asaṅga, who was an elder brother of Vasubandhu, is an introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism from the view point of the Yogācāra School as compared with the *Mādhyamika-śāstra* of the Mādhyamika School. Accordingly, it should be noted that the doctrines of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu had been introduced for the first time to China in 531 and 511. At that time, the study of the *Daśabhūmivyākhyāna* was popularised and the Ti-lun Tsuna sect was thereby founded. On the other hand, since Chên-ti (C. 221) re-translated the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* and also translated Vasubandhu's commentary to it in 564, studies on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* were promoted and this resulted in the establishment of the Shê-lun Tsung sect. The position of Buddhaśānta in the history of Chinese Buddhism is characterized by the fact that he was the first to introduce the doctrines of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu into China.

Besides the above mentioned translations, Buddhaśānta also translated the following sūtras: *Yin-sê-nü-ching, Wu-wêi-tê-p'u-ching, Chuan-yu-chin, Wo-nan-mu-chü-ni-hê-li- t'o-lin-ni-ching* (*Ananta-mukhanirhāra-nāmadhāraṇi Sūtra*), *Chin-kang-sang-wei-t'o-lo-mi-ching* (*Vajramantradhāraṇī Sūtra*) and *Chêng-kung-ching-ching.*

K. H.

BUDDHASENA, king of Magadha, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Buddhasena was a scion of the Sena royal family and had witnessed the incursions of Muslim armies into his kingdom. According to the Tibetan pilgrim bhikṣu Dharmasvāmin (s.v.), he had his capital at the Vajrāsana, the name given in the mediaeval centuries to the locality of Buddhagayā, where Buddha attained Supreme Enlightenment.

The mighty Magadhan Empire was only a shadow of its early glory, during this period, and had deteriorated further when Buddhasena succeeded to the throne. It is probable that Buddhasena lived in constant fear of Muslim attacks and would have preferred allegiance to the Muslim overlord. The eastern part of India was under the sway of Muslims by the end of the 12th century when Ikhtiyar-Ud-din Muhammad conquered the Bengal region.

Tāranātha, the historian of Kashmir, mentions Buddhasena as the ruler of Magadha, but adds that these scions of the Sena ruling house were subservient to their Muslim overlords. Buddhasena was probably the sole Buddhist ruler to patronise the ancient seats of learning in Bihar, like Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, and Odantapurī, during these troublesome periods.

When Dharmasvāmin visited Buddhagayā, the area was deserted as the inhabitants were anticipating an imminant attack by a Muslim regiment. However, Dharmasvāmin saw Buddhasena returning from a jungle hide-out when the Muslim soldiers had left the place.

It is reported by Dharmasvāmin that Buddhasena had great respect for Buddhist monks and that he had alighted from his state elephant as soon as he saw the Tibetan monk.

A.D.T.E.P.

BUDDHASĪHA, an elder, and a pupil of Buddhadatta, the commentator. According to the colophon to the *Vinayavinicchaya*, and the introduction in the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary, it was at the request of Buddhasīha that Buddhadatta wrote these two works. This is also mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 69). The statement in the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (ix, p. 30) that Buddhasīha himself was the author of the *Vinayavinicchaya* cannot, therefore, be correct.

L. R. G.

BUDDHASIṂHA. There are two Indian monks bearing this name. The first was the monk who went to Lo-yang about 310 A.C.; he was noted for his magic power; in Chinese he is known as Fu-t'u-ch'êng (*DCBT.* p. 226b). The other was a disciple of Asaṅga who lived about the fifth century A.C., and of whose esoteric practices, lofty talents and final disappearance, a lengthy account is given in the *Fan-i-ming-i* (*DCBT.* p. 229b).

U. K.

BUDDHASIRI, a monk of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, Ceylon, at whose request Buddhaghosa wrote the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I, p. 2).

BUDDHASOMA, a monk of Ceylon. He was a contemporary and a close friend of the author of the *Saddhammopāyana,* which was composed to be

sent to Buddhasoma (*JPTS.* 1887, p. 36). Neville, in his manuscript catalogue, records a tradition which ascribes the authorship of the *Saddammopāyana* to Vanaratana Ānanda and says that this book was written in order to dissuade Buddhasoma from renouncing his life as a monk (Malalasekara, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, p. 212).

W. G. W.

BUDDHAŚRĪGARBHA, one of the bodhisattvas who accompanied the Buddha when the latter was staying in the Paranirmitavasavarti-deva-world, in the second week after his Enlightenment (*Dbhg.* p. 2).

BUDDHASTAVADAŚA, a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which is extant under the title, *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi bstod-pa bcu-pa,* in the Bstod tshogs (*stotra*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The work was written by Nags-kyi rin-chen and translated into Tibetan by Dā-ri dra-pa Rgya-mtshoḥi sde (*TM.* No. 1154).

BUDDHASTOTRA, the name of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Bstod-tshogs (*stotra*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, under the title *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi-bstod-pa shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 1114; *TT.* Vol. 46, No. 2006). The Chinese version is not available but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the '*Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime*' (Dr. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1167). The authorship of the work is attributed to Nor-rygun-ma and the translators are known as Rgyal-baḥi bzaṅ-po and Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan.

The first salutation is addressed to Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta. The text is a metrical composition in praise of the Buddha, who is described in laudatory terms. The text consists of eight verses, the last line of which repeats 'I shall worship the Buddha.'

I.K.

BUDDHA SUTTA, the eighth sutta in the *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V. p. 257).

The development of the four bases of psychic power is given as the reason that the Tathāgata is called an arahant, a fully enlightened one.

The *uddāna* (versified table of contents) at the end of this *vagga* gives this title, *Buddha Sutta,* in the *PTS.* edition. Two Sinhala manuscripts in Copenhagen and Paris, however, give the name as *Arahaṃ Sutta.*

BUDDHĀTMAṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which, entitled *Saṇs-rgyas gtso-boḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pal,* found in the Sna-tshogs (miscellaneous works) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is named as Ye-śes-sde (Jñānasena), but the translators are unknown (*TM.* No. 4361; *TT.* Vol. 145, No. 5848).

At the beginning of the text the author pays his homage to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

This work is a commentarial text, which deals with the five excellent (Tib. *phun-sum-tshogs*), aspects (of the Buddha). They are as follows: (1) Excellent cause (Skt. *hetu;* Tib. *rgyu-phun sum-tshogs-pa*). (2) Excellent effect (Skt. *phala*; Tib. *ḥbras-bu phun-sum tshogs-pa*). (3) Excellent natural disposition (Skt. *svabhāva*; Tib. *ran-btsin phun-sum-tshogs-pa*). (4) Excellent interest in one's own-self (Skt. *ātmārtha*; Tib. *bdag-gi-don phun-sum-tshogs-pa*). (5) Excellent interest in others (Skt. *parārtha*; Tib. *gshan-gyi-don phun-sum-tshogs-pa*).

I.K.

BUDDHATRĀTA, an Indian teacher of the Sammatīya School who wrote the *Vinayadvāviṃsati-prasannārtha-śāstra* in the sixth century A.C. (*Nanjio.* p. 251). Another teacher by this name, a *śramaṇa* of Kubhu (Kabul or Kāśmīr: *DCBT.* pp. 229 f.) translated the *Mahāvaipulya-pūrṇa-buddha-sūtra-prasannārtha Sūtra* into Chinese in the seventh century A. C. (*Nanjio.* pp. 103, 438 f.).

U.K.

BUDDHAVACANA, words in which the Buddha proclaimed his doctrine and framed rules for the Order of monks. These words are preserved, in the different collections of the sacred scriptures of the early Buddhist Schools, in the form of rules of discipline, speeches and sermons, dialogues and conversations, songs, sayings, and narratives, definitions and classifications of physical and psychological phenomena, and their analysis and synthesis made on an ethical basis.

The early disciples who collected and edited the *Buddhavacana* in Councils (*saṅgīti*) divided it into *dhammavinaya, tripiṭaka, pañcanikāya, navāṅga,* etc.

U.K.

BUDDHAVAJRASAṂDHĀRAṆASAṂDHI, name of a bodhisattva referred to in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (735) in a list of names of bodhisattvas.

BUDDHAVAMMA, a merchant of Pāṭaliputta. He once offered grape juice and treacle (*sakkara*) to the bhikkhus headed by the Buddha, whom he met while wandering in villages and hamlets along with other merchants. When they arrived at the desert called Mahāvatta (*Rsv.* p. 23) or Mahāvaṭṭa (*Ssvu.* p. 45), they ran short of water. When, in order to quench his thirst, Buddhavamma examined the water vessels he found that they were all filled with grape juice. Then, he realised that it was the result of his offering of fruit juice to the Buddha and the bhikkhus. He then shared that drink with all present there, including the oxen. On his return to Pāṭaliputta he invited the Buddha and his retinue for alms. From then onwards he did various meritorious deeds and was born after death in a deva world. Even there, he always received grape juice in golden vessels (*Rsv.* pp. 22–4; *Ssvu.* 44–5).

I.K.

BUDDHAVAṂSA, the fourteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*DA.* I, p. 17) of the Pali *Sutta Piṭaka*, giving in verse the poetical legends of the twenty-four Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded the historical Gotama Buddha. After an introductory chapter called the *Gem Caṅkama* section (*Ratana-caṅkama-kāṇḍa*), one chapter is dedicated to each of the twenty-four former Buddhas. In a somewhat dry manner, it is related in the case of each Buddha, how he set the Wheel of Law (*dhammacakka*) in motion and how the principal events recorded in the life of Gotama Buddha were enacted in the life of each one of the former Buddhas. It is Gotama Buddha himself who gives the narrative. Speaking in the first person, he recounts who he himself was under each of the preceding Buddhas, how he worshipped such Buddha and how his own Buddhahood had been foretold by the Buddha of that time. The only part which is somewhat more imaginative and poetical is the second chapter which deals with Dīpaṅkara, the first Buddha of the series. It is a kind of preliminary history to the autobiography which Gotama Buddha later gives in chapter 26, briefly summarising in twenty-five verses the chief events of his last existence on earth. A list of the Buddhas up to Metteyya, the future Buddha, and an account of the distribution of the Buddha relics, form the conclusion of the book.

The whole work is also divided into three broad sections (*nidāna*). The life-history of the Buddha extending from the age in which the formal assurance that he would become a Buddha was given to the great being (bodhisatta) at the foot of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, up to the time he was reborn in the Tusita heaven, is called the section of 'remote history' (*dūre nidāna*). The history of events from the Tusita heaven up to the attainment of Enlightenment at the foot of the bodhi-tree is called '*avidūre-nidāna*' (proximate history). And lastly the history from the attainment of Enlightenment to the final death (*parinibbāna*) is included under 'contemporary history' (*santike nidāna*).

The *Dīghabhāṇakas* excluded the *Buddhavaṃsa* from their canon, but it was accepted by the *Majjhimabhāṇakas* (*DA.* I, p. 15).

The commentator of the *Buddhavaṃsa* says that the work was recited by Gotama Buddha himself at Sāriputta's request at the Nigrodhārāma in Kapilavatthu, after the Buddha himself had performed the miracle of the *Ratana-Caṅkama*, and was handed down by an uninterrupted line of theras to the time of the third Council, and again, since then, passed down by an uninterrupted line of teachers and pupils (*BuvA.* pp. 3 ff.). As the earlier texts of the Pali canon are familiar only with six predecessors of Gotama, these statements of the commentator are to be regarded with reserve, and the *Buddhavaṃsa* can only be classed among the latest productions of canonical Pali literature. Moreover, the work is replete with that Buddha-worship and Buddha-deification, which is foreign to the earliest texts of the Pali canon, but is at its height in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, especially that of the Mahāyāna.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 60 f.) speaks of a *Buddhavaṃsa* written by an author named Kassapa. This is probably not the *Buddhavaṃsa* under reference.

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U.K.

BUDDHA-VAṂŚĀKṢAYA-KOŚA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 177), this is mentioned as an example of the 10 groups each having 100,000 meditation-entrances (*daśa-samādhimukha-śatasahasra*). Almost the same statement appears in two of the three classical Chinese versions of the above sūtra (*Taishō*. No. 278, Vol. 9, p. 711c; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 359b). But, in another version, the name of this samādhi can not be found (*Taishō*. No. 293, Vol. 10, p. 724a). See further AMOGHA-MAṆḌALA-VYŪHA.

S. Mo.

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The commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*) also called *Madhuratthavilāsinī,* was written by Buddhadatta. The *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 60) also makes mention of a *Buddhavaṃsa-ṭīkā* called *Paramatthadīpanī.*

U.K.

BUDDHA-VAṂŚĀKṢAYA-KOŚA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 177), this is mentioned as an example of the 10 groups each having 100,000 meditation-entrances (*daśa-samādhimukha-śatasahasra*). Almost the same statement appears in two of the three classical Chinese versions of the above sūtra (*Taishō.* No. 278, Vol. 9, p. 711c; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 359b). But, in another version, the name of this samādhi can not be found (*Taishō.* No. 293, Vol. 10, p. 724a). See further AMOGHA-MAṆḌALA-VYŪHA.

S. Mo.

BUDDHAVANAGIRI, a mountain near Rājagaha, famous for its rock caverns in one of which Gotama Buddha lived for some time (*DCBT*. p. 229b).

BUDDHAVARMAN (Buddhavarma), Chinese Fou-t'o-po-mo, meaning Armour of Intelligence, said to have been a monk of the western region, who, together with Tao-t'ai, translated the work called the *Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra* (*A-p'i-t'an-p'i-p'o-sha-lun*), attributed to Kātyāyanīputra. This translation originally contained one hundred chapters, but forty chapters were lost at the destruction of the Northern Liang dynasty in 439 A. C. (*Nanjio*. No. 1264 and Appendix II, 69).

According to Beal, forty chapters of this book were lost at the end of Wei dynasty (*Buddhist Literature in China*, Trubner, 1882, p. 21).

S.K.N.

BUDDHĀVATAṂSAKA SŪTRA (var. *Buddhāvataṃsa-mahāvaipulya Sūtra*), an important Mahāyāna sūtra extant in its Chinese translations. The Buddha is said to have preached this sūtra at eight assemblies held in seven different places, hence the name, *The Seven Places and Eight Assemblies* (*Ch'i-ch'u-hui* : C. 222). There are threo translations of this sūtra. The first translation known as *Ta-fang-kuang- fu-hua*: (C. 223) is by Guṇabhadra. The second translation is by Śikṣānanda. In this the sixth assembly of the earlier version is divided into two. There are also two prefaces to this version, one by Chan-tsu, the 3rd sovereign of the Ming dynasty (1412 A.C.) and another by the Empress Wu-Tsö-thien (684-705 A.C.), who not only took part in the translation, but also sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of the sūtra. The third translation is by Prajña (769-98 A.C.) of the T'an dynasty. This translation also contains sixty-two verses of the *Samantabhadra-praṇidhāna*, also called *Bhadracārī-praṇidhāna* and tallies with the Sanskrit text mentioned in tho *Catalogue of the Hodgson Manuscripts* (I, p. 33). The three works are often distinguished by the number of fascicles contained in each, as sixty, eighty and forty. See further AVATAṂSAKA SŪTRA.

S. K. N.

BUDDHAVĪMAṂSAKA, pupil of Brahmāyu; his actual name was Uttara. He was called Buddhavīmaṃsaka on account of his close watch over the Buddha (*MA*. III, p. 371).

He was sent by his teacher from Mithilā to Videha to find out whether the Buddha bore the thirty-two marks of the superman (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*). Having verified this, he dogged the Buddha's footsteps for seven months, in order to observe his carriage in his every posture. At the end of that period, he returned to Brahmāyu and reported what he had seen (*M*. II,pp. 134 ff.; *SnA*. I, p. 37).

U. K.

BUDDHA-VIṢAYĀLOKA, name of a Mahāyāna samādhi. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (p. 204) this is mentioned as one of the bodhisattva-samādhis which were taught to Sudhana by the female disciple Vasumitra. The following description is found there: Whoever, only by shutting one's eyes, leaves affections and attains to detachment, obtains the bodhisattva-samādhi named *Buddha-viṣayāloka*.

Some statements about the samādhi appear also in the classical Chinese versions of the above sūtra, though they do not agree fully with the above original nor with each other (*Taishō*. No. 278, Vol.9, p. 717b; No. 279, Vol. 10, p. 365 c ff.; No. 293, Vol.10, p. 732).

S. Mo.

BUDDHAYĀNA, another name for Mahāyāna. Since the attainment of Enlightenment (*bodhi*) as a pratyeka-buddha or a disciple of a Buddha (*śrāvaka*) was looked down upon as inferior (*hīna*) to perfect Enlightenment (*samyak-sambodhi*), with the development of the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna, more and more emphasis began to be laid on the necessity of everyone becoming a *Samyaksambuddha*. Thus, corresponding to the three kinds of *bodhi* (i e., *samyak-sambodhi*, *pratyeka-bodhi* and *śrāvaka-bodhi*), there are three ways (*yāna*) leading to *bodhi* called *Buddhayāna*, *Pratyeka-buddhayāna* and *Śrāvakayāna*. Thus, *Buddhayāna* is another name for Mahāyāna (the Great Way) which is also designated as *Bodhisattvayāna* or *Tathāgatayāna*, in contrast to the *Pratyekabuddhayāna* and the *Śrāvakayāna*, which are referred to as the *Hīnayāna* (the Lower Way). In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (pp. 37 ff.), there is a recurring passage in which it is said that innumerable Buddhas in innumerable world-systems (*lokadhātu*) preach only one *yāna*, namely, the *Buddhayāna*. In page 37, the Śākyamuni emphatically says that he preaches only one *yāna*, the *Buddhayāna*. Here, the Buddha completely denies a second or a third *yāna* (*na kiñcit Śāriputra dvitīyaṃ vā tṛtīyaṃ vā yānaṃ saṃvidyate*). There is only one *yāna* and that is the

Buddhayāna. In these pages (pp. 37 ff.), it is said that all those beings who listen to sermons on the *Buddhayāna* will become *Samyak-sambuddhas*. In page 39, the Buddha again says that nowhere does there exist a second *yāna*, let alone a third. These ideas show the extent to which the bodhisattva ideal has been developed in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*.

A. G. S. K.

BUDDHAYAŚA (S), named in Chinese Fou-t'o-yeh-she, meaning 'Brightness of Intelligence.' He was a monk either from Kāśmīr or Kabul and was also known as the Red-beard Vibhāṣā. He belonged to the Latter Ch'in dynasty, 384–417 A.C. According to Nanjio he translated four works. Two of these, namely the *Ākāśagarbha-bodhisattva Sūtra* (C. 224: *Hsü-k'ung-tsang-p'u-sa-ching*) and the *Buddha-bhāṣita-dīrghāgama Sūtra* (C. 225: *Po-shuo-chang-a-han-ching* [cp. *Dīgha Nikāya*]) are incorporated in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. This latter work he is said to have translated in 412–13 A.C., together with Chu-fo-nien of the same dynasty.

The other two translations belong to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. Of these the *Dharmagupta-vinaya* or the *Caturvarga-vinayapiṭaka* (C. 226: *Ssŭ-fên-lü-tsang*) was translated by him together with Chu-Fo-nien in 405 A.C. This work consists of four divisions (*vargas*) and twelve sections (*skandhas*) and is very similar to the corresponding text in Tibetan.

The other work is the *Prātimokṣa* of the *Dharmagupta-nikāya* or the *Caturvarqa* (*vinaya*) *Prātimokṣa* (C. 227: *Ssŭ-fên-ch'ieh-pên*). This deals with such disciplinary matters as the four rules of excommunication (*pārājikā*), thirteen rules of suspension and penance (*saṅghādisesa*), etc. (*Nanjio*. Nos. 68, 545, 1117, 1155 and also Appendix II, 61; S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, London, 1871, pp. 206–239).

S.K.N.

BUDDHENI, the only daughter of a wealthy merchant (*seṭṭhi*) of Pāṭaliputta, who was very pious and led a virtuous life. All the wealth that she inherited from her parents who, according to the *Rasavāhinī*, died when she was seven years old, she spent on such meritorious activities as giving alms to bhikkhus. One day, she received as gift from a merchant a horse that could fly through the air and she made use of it to make regular pilgrimages to the Bodhi-tree, where she made various offerings such as golden garlands, etc. The people, who saw her, informed the king about her beauty and the king decided to make her his chief queen. When she did not give her consent, the king engaged some robbers to capture her, but she was able to escape with the help of her horse (*Rsv.* I, pp. 11–13).

According to the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, the king is said to have sent a messenger to her parents, informing them about his wish to marry their daughter. Although the parents asked her to give her consent to the marriage, she did not agree (*Ssvu.* pp. 12–13).

I.K.

BUDDHI, intellect. In the *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta* (*D.* III, No. 30) intellect (*buddhi*) is used in a stanza (p. 165) as synonymous with insight (*paññā*), earlier in the text (p. 164) in an identical series, comprising also confidence (*saddhā*), moral virtue (*sīla*), learning (*suta*), charity (*cāga*) and righteousness (*dhamma*). But, in later works, e.g., *Milindapañha* (p. 93) the term *buddhi* is taken only in the sense of intellectual understanding, for the eight conditions which promote the ripening of intellect (*buddhi*) are not essential requisites for the opening up of insight (*paññā*): the advance of years, growth of reputation, frequent questioning, association with one's teacher, proper attention, converse with the wise, cultivation of the loveable and dwelling in a suitable district. Although T. W. Rhys Davids (*Questions of King Milinda, SBE*. XXXV, part I, p. 141) translates *buddhi* by 'insight,' I. B. Horner (*Milinda's Questions, SBB*. XXII, Vol. I, p. 130), is more accurate in her rendering of *buddhi* by 'discretion.'

Buddhaghosa, too, treats *buddhi* as a characteristic than an attainment. According to his psychological analysis, a prototype of behaviourism, an individual's character is one of six types, six kinds of temperament; greedy (*rāga-cariyā*), hating (*dosa-c°*), deluded (*moha-c°*), faithful (*saddhā-c°*), intelligent (*buddhi-c°*) and speculative (*vittakka-c°*):, *Vism.* iii, §74, p. 82), although, by means of combination, many more types could be admitted. An intelligent temperament, he says, is without affection (*asiniddha* or *nissineha*) and does not covet its object (*na ārammaṇaṃ allīyati*). It is not fault-finding but, like insight (*paññā*), investigates principles (*bhūtam pariyesati*) while avoiding complications (*saṅkhāra-parivajjanākārena*).

In many ways the intelligent temperament is parallel to the hating temperament, and shows itself in its behaviour, assuming a rigid posture while standing, keeping a firm grip on objects and eating not so much for taste as out of necessity. An intelligent person is selective in friendship, alert, devoted to duty, and so forth (ibid. § 95, pp. 86–7).

H.G.A.v.Z.

BUDDHIJA (var. Vuḍḍhija), the personal attendent of Buddha Kakusandha (*Buv.* xxiii, p.20; *J.* I, p. 42; *D.* II, p. 6; *ApA.* p. 46).

BUDDHIKA, name of a nāga king mentioned in a list of names in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 49) and the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*BHS.* p. 401).

BUDDHILA(1), a Sarvāstivāda teacher whose name is inscribed on the lion capital in Mathurā about the second centuary A. C. (*EI.* 1907-8, Vol. IX, p. 146).

BUDDHILA(2), a donor mentioned in an inscription of the Sāñcī stūpa II (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 280).

BUDDHISM. Since this entire Encyclopaedia is concerned with various aspects of Buddhism, no special article appears under this heading. A resumé of the teachings of the Buddha is given under DOCTRINE; a short account of the spread of Buddhism and the development of Buddhist Thought will appear under HISTORY, while another article, under the heading LITERATURE, will contain a review of the development of Buddhist texts.

BUDDHIST ART. I. Since Buddhism preaches withdrawal from the attractions of the senses, it might be questioned whether, strictly speaking, there is room for such a thing as a true Buddhist art at all. And, indeed, it is true that purists have existed, and do exist, who adopt this radical standpoint, which may be exemplified by the story of the Elder Cittagutta (*Vism.* 38) who dwelt in the Great Cave at Kurandaka which contained a lovely painting of the Renunciation of the Seven Buddhas. For sixty years he lived in this cave without ever once raising his eyes and noticing the existence of this picture. Yet the story itself presupposes the existence of that which Cittagutta ignored, namely, art in the service of Buddhism.

It is, however, necessary to realise clearly that, in studying Buddhist art we are studying works which are not primarily intended for pure aesthetic enjoyment, but whose values of form and expression stand in the first instance in the service of an essentially other-worldly cult; i.e., their purpose is to conduce to edification and, ultimately, salvation. While this applied with particular force to Buddhist art, it is also true of religious art in general, since for the believer it is, to begin with, of little consequence whether an image or other devotional object is 'artistic' or not. The earliest religious art, as we find it among primitive peoples, is at a stage before the seperation of 'religious' and 'aesthetic' functions, and its form has primarily a magico-symbolic significance. Gradually the 'beautiful' aspect gains in prominence—this is clearly observable, e.g. in Greek sculpture—until, in the 'classical' creations of great religious art the two aspects, the religious and the aesthetic, are so intimately linked that they support and enhance each other. This is certainly true of Buddhist art in a very high degree and in its finest manifestations the two aspects are inseparable.

Buddhism was the first world religion known to history. From at least the time of Asoka, Buddhist missionaries went out in various directions taking with them its universal doctrine of salvation for all men and all living beings, its philosophy and ethics, its learning and, not least, its art. It bridged all the differences that existed, and still exist, between the cultures of India, Indo-China, Indonesia, China and Japan, thus leading to the rise of a great spiritual and cultural community which may justly be called 'the Buddhist *oikoumene*.' It was possible for Buddhism to spread thus because it was not restricted in its appeal to certain peoples or groups. Instead of imposing limitations, it burst the bonds imposed by the social structures of the various peoples it encountered, by their codes of behaviour and mythologies, and introduced them to new realms of thought, which in turn made possible a new sense of freedom and raised their culture to an unprecedentedly high level. This applies not only to the peoples of SE. Asia, Korea or Japan, but also to the nomads of Central Asia, who were destined to play an important part in its spreading. They adopted Buddhism so readily because, having penetrated into areas of more advanced civilization, they were unable to become integrated into the well-established social and religious systems of those areas, and were therefore not fettered by them. Typical was the decisive role played by the Kushan Empire in N. India,

in Buddhist religion and art, and which produced the model Buddha image found in Gandhāra and Mathurā. Again, the Wei Dynasty in N. China, which was founded by the probably Turkic T'o-pa Tatars, played a major role in introducing Buddhist art into China itself, as well as, indirectly, into Korea and Japan.

Other factors contributed to the success of Buddhism as a unifying force. It had no centrally organised hierarchy, nor did it have a consistent orthodox doctrine absolutely binding on all believers. It included a variety of Schools whose tenets and modes of religious life often showed wide divergences. Naturally, each School regarded its own teachings as the best and surest road to salvation, but generally there was no attempt to persecute those who followed other roads. Even the Buddha himself, it was asserted by certain Schools of thought, revealed his doctrine only gradually, according to the ability of his disciples to grasp it. One of the most fundamental Buddhist convictions was that it is not possible to express in words what is most real, sublime and ultimate ; for this reality radically transcends all empirical means of perception and communication. Therefore even the most lucid doctrine was always regarded as provisional and non-real, as obscuring rather than revealing the ultimate truth at best as a limited aid to understanding. Accordingly, tolerance is an essential feature of Buddhism, not simply a concession to human nature. This fact enabled it to spread peacefully into vast areas with different cultural patterns. Wherever it went it accommodated itself to native beliefs, upon which it left a relatively strong imprint. In China it absorbed Taoist elements ; in Japan it adjusted itself to the Shinto myth ; in SE. Asia it fitted into the cult of the ruler. In its native India the process was reversed. Buddhism became absorbed by Hinduism and virtually disappeared. But where it prevailed, Buddhism did not merely adapt itself to other spiritual influences—it transferred them, bringing out their latent possibilities and leading them to make a creative response.

Buddhism spread by way of the trade-routes. In SE. Asia commercial settlements were the first centres of Indian influence, and Buddhist communities soon sprang up in them. Here it was Theravāda which eventually prevailed, though Mahāyāna influences were not lacking at first. Elsewhere it was the Mahāyāna form which was of decisive importance in the spread of Buddhist cultural influences northwards and eastwards along the 'silk roads' which ran from NW. India across the Pamirs and Central Asia. The oases along these routes were also religious centres, with huge Buddhist monasteries which transmitted India's religious and artistic heritage to the peoples of Central Asia and the Far East. Pilgrims, especially Chinese monks, journeyed in large numbers to the sacred land of the Buddha, while others travelled to China as missionaries, and especially to help with the difficult task of translating Buddhist texts. This transmission of Mahāyāna texts proved most effective means of blending Indian culture with that of Central and E. Asia. Still more important for the historian of art is the fact that the monks brought works of art as well as texts. They included copies of standard cult-images and buildings in the shape of small figures, models, etc., also iconographic drawings and instructions for the ritually correct representation of sacred figures.

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But many problems had to be solved to express in imagery the great variety of religious experience associated with Buddhism. For one thing, there was no single system of Buddhist ideas and artistic themes laid down by orthodox doctrine. Instead, primarily because there were no obligatory dogmas from the very beginning, and because a continuous dialogue occurred with other philosophies, Buddhism at an early date divided into a large number of Schools. The main trends only will be briefly characterised here, as far as is necessary for adopting the right approach to Buddhist art. Gotama's aim was, first, to liberate himself, and then others from the shackles of this world of mutability and illusion. Man must free himself from clinging to Saṃsāra, the so-called 'objective world' which is really only a constant succession of birth, death and re-birth, whether in higher or lower states, and therefore full of pain (*dukkha*). Above all, he must liberate himslef from the delusive ego-belief which binds him to the wheel of *karma* and, by extinguishing the passions, enter the peace of Nirvāṇa which is like the still depths of the ocean, far beneath the storm-tossed surface. This is the highest reality and no mere annihilation, and the way to it is by the various stages of meditation leading to increasing detachment from the phenomenal world, through growing insight, culminating in supreme Enlightenment. In this form the teaching spread to Ceylon and SE. Asia as the Theravāda.

The implied contrast between the Absolute of Nirvāṇa and the sorrowful, illusory world of Saṃsāra which characterised the early Schools (designated Hīnayāna by their critics), was countered by another view held by the Schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, whose origins can be traced

with certainty to within a few centuries of the Buddha's passing. This new view was formulated above all in the 'Middle' (Mādhyamika) teaching of Nāgārjuna and his successors, and scholastically developed in E. Asia in the Hua-yen (Kegon), T'ien-t'ai (Tendai) and Chên-yên (Shingon) Schools. Here the opposition gives way to a relationship in which both aspects, the phenomenal and the transcendental, have their value and their specific place in the Whole. Out of this conception a comprehensive philosophy was evolved which yet, in a certain sense, again admitted the concept of an Absolute Reality.

According to the T'ien-t'ai School, it is wrong to believe in the real existence of this illusory world, but it is equally wrong to consider it of no consequence, for it has provisional existence and relative value as an intimation of true Reality. It is also wrong to assert only one of these views, for the Absolute manifests in the phenomenal and this is ultimately not different from the Absolute, which is described as the 'Suchness' (*tathatā*) or the 'Buddha-nature' of the world. These three truths together in perfect fusion form the 'round Triple Truth.' All things have the Buddha-nature. In the esoteric teaching of T'ien-t'ai and especially Chên-yên, which is the E. Asian form of Tantrism, the entire phenomenal world possesses an absolute value, to be revealed to man only by special means—by mystic rites, words (*mantra*), gestures (*mudrā*), symbols and pictures (*pratimā*) pointing to the ultimate, ineffable.

The T'ien-t'ai School—so called after its chief monastery near Ning-po—grew out of the soil of Indian Mahāyāna thought (especially the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*; *Fa-hua-ching*, *Hokke-kyō*) but was founded in China (ca. 580). In 804 it was brought thence by the Japanese monk Saichō (767–822: posthumous name Dengyō Daishi) to Japan and established at Mt. Hiei overlooking Kyoto. It teaches a synthesis of all then-known Buddhist ideas, which it harmonises in a definite order of the 'Five Phases' of increasing difficulty, which the Buddha taught successively according to the capacity of his hearers. Religious life was similarly organised on a comprehensive plan. The influence of this School on E. Asian Buddhist art was rivalled only by, first, the Chên-yên teaching and later, though in completely different fashion, the Ch'an (Zen) School.

Allied to the T'ien-t'ai doctrine is that of the Hua-yen (Ke-gon, Avataṃsaka) School, founded in China ca. 630, brought to Japan ca. 750, which teaches the mutual interpenetration of the Absolute and the phenomenal and their final identity in the 'true Buddha-nature.' Both are but aspects of unity and are mirrored in each other; thus the ultimate mystery can be found in the most insignificant object. The phenomenal world is thus at once admitted and sublimated, with results of decisive importance for art. The Chên-yên (Shingon) School (in China usually called Mi-tsung, corresponding to Japanese Mikkyo, 'Secret Teaching') goes even further. This School is also called 'Esoteric Buddhism' and is the E. Asian form of Tantrism (*Vajrayāna*), but without much emphasis on the sexual aspects of the latter. It was brought to China by Indian missionaries about 720 and taken thence to Japan in 806 by Kūkai (744–835; posthumous title Kōbō Daishi), who established it at Mt. Kōya. Kūkai is one of the great figures in Japanese cultural history. This School brings with it a revaluation of the world, for "the world becomes a manifestation of the Dharma-body of the Buddha." This insight is only gained by an ascent of the adept in stages, the last of which is wrapt in mystery. At the centre of all things is the Ādi-Buddha, personified as Mahā-Vairocana (Tajih, Dainichi: 'Great Sun') referred to in the *Mahā Vairocana Sūtra*. He is surrounded by four Buddhas (including Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha—and Amitābba) who are assigned to different points of the compass, and these in turn by various bodhisattvas and 'Kings of Wisdom' (Vidyārājas, see V, 2). All are hypostases of the various forms of supreme Wisdom and Compassion, but Vairocana is also embodied in all beings and all things. From him radiate innumerable Buddhas as saviours of countless worlds. Since Vairocana manifested in all beings, he and all his *avatāras* could also be represented by local deities, in Japanese Shintō gods. Thus the sun-goddess Amaterasu was identified with Variocana, and this provided the possibility of reconciling Shintō and Buddhism, which had originally been antagonistic. This development left its traces in art.

The basic unity, or rather 'non-duality' (*advaya*) of the Absolute and the phenomenal—not to be misunderstood as pantheism—made it possible for Buddhist art at least to represent the absolute transcendental and 'void' (*śūnya*) by means of the visible in all its manifestations. Early Buddhist art in India had refrained from depicting the Absolute or the Buddha himself who had divested himself of the phenomenal, using instead symbols such as the Bodhi Tree, the Wheel of the Law, the Footprint or the stūpa as a symbol of the final entry into Nirvāṇa. It is only in the Mahāyāna

that we find, despite occasional limited attempts earlier, any works which really seek to embrace and display the Absolute in manifestation and even to point to the ground of this manifestation in the Void. Without such a metaphysical revolution as took place in the Mahāyāna, such an art would have been unthinkable. Neither the anti-meta-physical, nor the anti-mythological position of early Buddhism was able to maintain itself. And although according to the Mahāyāna there is a highest level of insight at which both, metaphysics and mythology, are seen as temporary expedients, nevertheless the artistic representation of these expedients is legitimate as an indication, however inadequate, of the Absolute, and from this source it draws no little strength of religious conviction and participation.

Further, Mahāyāna Buddhism created for the religious consciousness personified mythical hypostases of the Absolute and its forms of manifestation to which the believer could turn with loving devotion (*bhakti*) and ritual homage (*pūjā*), with which indeed (and here the visible image was of great assistance) he could identify himself in meditation, since he too possessed the Buddha-nature which only needed to be realised. Thus, it was possible for Mahāyāna art to create a veritable 'pantheon' of figures hierarchically arranged according to the degree of holiness or of participation in the Absolute. The forms taken by these, Buddhas, bodhisattvas, etc., are discussed in section V below.

Besides the Schools already mentioned, reference must be made to the two Schools which were destined to be of great importance in later times in China and especially Japan : the Amitābha cult and Ch'an (Zen). We may close this general introduction with some reference to the fortunes of these Schools. The cult of Amitābha Buddha, who created (manifested) a ' Pure Land ' in the West for the reception of those who repeated his name with faith, reached China about 400 A.C., and Bodhidharma is said to have brought the Ch'an teaching to China around 500. It was, however, only several centuries later that these two Schools became prominent : in China mainly during the T'ang dynasty and, as far as the Ch'an School is concerned, again in the Sung dynasty, while in Japan the former reached its apex in the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods (12th-13th cent.) and the latter in the Kamakura and especially in the Ashikaga period (14th to 16th cent.).

The cult of Amitābha was at first and for long associated with the T'ien-t'ai School, but eventually the adherents of this form of devotion broke way in protest at the excessively complicated ritual of T'ien-t'ai (Tendai), in particur under the leadership of Hōnen (1133-1212), who founded the Pure Land School (Jōdo-shu). In this and in the Jōdo Shinshū founded by Hōnen's pupil Shinran, the emphasis was placed on devotion to Amitābha (Amida), an attitude of *bhakti* which could make its appeal to the simplest soul. Finally the mere calling on Amida's name sufficed to assure rebirth in the Western Paradise. Religious and artistic fantasy adorned this land of the blessed with numerous bodhisattvas, especially Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin, Kannon : See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pls. XXIX, XXXI & XXXVIII), Amida's foremost helper. A special type of picture was created, in which Amida and his bodhisattvas appear to the dying believer to welcome him into the Pure Land where he will be reborn in a lotus to await final Enlightenment and entry into Nirvāṇa. These pictures are filled with a fairy-like beauty, and it is no wonder that the Amida cult was popular, and is indeed the most widespread form of Buddhism in Japan to this day.

This simple form of faith appealed to the *samurai* in the Kamakura period (1185-1336), who were opposed to the culture of the decaying court of Kyoto, and under their influence Kamakura became the greatest centre of Buddhist art in Japan after Nara and Kyoto. But more than to this cult of dependence on 'other power' (*tariki* i.e., the power of Amitābha), these knightly warriors were drawn to the cult of ' own power ' (*jiriki*), the Ch'an (Zen) School newly imported from China. Zen, with its strict discipline as a means of transcending the ego and thus overcoming the fear of death, and with its insistence on meditation the central activity, was opposed not only to the Amitābha cults but also to the older scholastic and esoteric Buddhism of Tendai and Shingon. Zen eschewed all the paraphernalia of these other Schools, regarding them as inessential compared with the liberating power of *satori* (*wu*) or Enlightenment, which might be attained suddenly by one's own power, as a result of untiring meditation, intuitive penetration of phenomena, and final realisation of the ' Buddha-nature. ' The art of Zen, which had matured in China in the T'ang and Sung periods, found its finest expression in the ink-painting of the Southern Sung Dynasty and of the Ashikaga or Muromachi period (1336-1573 A.C.). This was the last great upsurge of Buddhist art. After the 16th century the impulse lost its power, but the influence of Zen made itself felt throughout Japanese cultural life—in poetry, the tea-ceremony, architecture, gardening, flower-arrangement, etc. thus finally bridging the gap between religious and secular art and culture.

Although Buddhist art was influenced by the creative genius of many peoples, it yet possesses, amid all diversity, an underlying unity. The problem it seeks to solve, and the forms it develops, have a certain constancy. These problems include: building religious edifices; creating valid images of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, etc.; representing 'sacred history;' setting up a vocabulary of symbols to convey the main religious ideas; and last but not least, devising convincing religious images of the world's metaphysical structure, and especially of the structure of the spheres lying beyond the limits of the empirical terrestrial world. Despite all differences, there are certain ideas common to Buddhists everywhere which remain essentially unchanging, making identical demands on all artists. Certain types of representation, first evolved in Indian art, became prototypes valid throughout the Buddhist world. The fact that such a tradition existed, that each country became acquainted with these models and continually modified them, was made possible by the network of links that spanned the entire Asian continent. Thus the peculiarities of each region and period of history came to be imbued with supra-historical and universal characteristics. The general influenced the particular, and *vice versa* in an exchange that was to the benefit of both.

II. From the Stūpa to the Pagoda

We do not know whether Buddhist art existed in any form during the first two centuries after the Parinirvāṇa (ca. 483 B.C.). No traces of such art have survived, and its existence is unlikely. The rather exclusive and very frugal body of *bhikkhus* of that time did not need temples or monasteries, since they did not worship images, and it was only during the rainy season that they sought temporary shelter. When, later, simple buildings were erected for ritual purposes, perishable materials were used, of which no trace remains. There was no need for images but probably memorial places existed for deceased members of the Saṅgha, and in the first place for the Buddha himself. These monuments were presumably in the form of a stūpa—the type of monument that was to have such a great future throughout Asia. It was customary to walk round the stūpa in reverence, as is still done today (*pradakṣinā*).

Stūpa originally meant 'top knot;' it came to mean 'vertex,' then 'peak' and finally 'mound.' As a sepulchral tumulus it dates back to prehistoric times. In its monumental form for the burial of princes it was a large hemisphere. This developed early into a general commemorative monument and was adopted by Buddhism as one of its main symbols and the centre of religious buildings. It could be an actual sepulchre for the earthly remains (*śarīra*) of the historical Buddha or for others. This is called *sārīrika* ('corporeal'); or it may house objects left by the Buddha, such as his begging bowl (*pāribhogika*). Again, it may be commemorative (*uddesika*). Such stūpas are found at sites which played an important part in the Buddha's life. As a sepulchral or reliquary monument it symbolises Nirvāṇa. Asoka is said to have erected 84,000 stūpas over the Buddha's relics, scattered throughout his empire. Though it was not strictly necessary for a stūpa to house a relic, this was usual, the term 'relic' being extended to include sacred texts (*sūtras*) and spells (*dhāraṇī*) as well as statuary. Since the Buddha was deemed to be present, the stūpa early became an object of veneration (*pūjā*).

Stūpas were presumably the earliest Buddhist sacred buildings. Only later, with the rise of Mahāyāna, were proper buildings erected for ritual purposes, adorned with statuary. They are first known from the Asoka period. The core of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī probably dates from the 3rd. century B.C. When, for prestige reasons, early stūpas were enlarged, the original monument was simply encased in a succession of stone coverings. Those at Sāñcī are, despite their lavish decoration, mainly still in their primeval state. On the circular base (*medhi*) rises the massive dome (*aṇḍa* = '(cosmic) egg' or *garbha* = 'womb'); on top of the dome is a square stone railing (*vedikā*); from this there rises a short mast supporting three flattened umbrellas (*chattra*). Elsewhere the square railing has the form of a box (*harmikā*) topped by three or more slabs. The number of umbrellas increases as time goes on. Round the dome is a narrow processional path (*pradakṣinā-patha*) reached by flights of stairs. The whole is enclosed, access being gained by four monumental gates (*toraṇa*), lavishly carved, facing the cardinal points. The massive drums of the stūpas often contained a system of supporting walls representing, in *maṇḍala* form, rays leading out from the centre. Though invisible from without, this was of crucial importance for the sacred structure. Within, the relics—'seeds' (*bīja*) in the 'womb' (*garbha*) of the stūpa—were often kept in tiny receptacles of gold or precious rock-crystal, enclosed in turn in other containers of decreasing value, e.g. silver, bronze and finally stone or ceramic. These containers were frequently stūpa-shaped.

All other forms of stūpa or pagoda are derived directly or indirectly from this basic type. The first stage appears at Gandhāra, Amarāvatī and in the cave-temples of W. India (Bedsā and Kārlī). First the circular base becomes cylindrical, thus raising the dome, and storeys are marked off by cornices. At Gandhāra, under Helenistic influence, these are articulated by means of pilasters, arcades and niches. The rows of niches contain statues and narrative reliefs. The superstructure became more attenuated, the number of umbrellas increased, and the top gradually became a cone, squat or slender, consisting of a number of discs. The result is a fairly slender towerlike structure, highly articulated; the original main part, the dome, has become of secondary importance.

At Gandhāra a new element was early added: the circular base was replaced by a square socle, later in several layers articulated with niches, etc. Flights of stairs lead up to the stūpa proper, which may be large or small. This type spread beyond the borders of India, e.g. to the Borobudur in Java and the non-Buddhist buildings in Cambodia, but not to Amarāvatī. The stūpas of Ceylon and SE. Asia, especially Thailand, did not share in the later metamorphoses. Here, there is a tendency towards verticality: the outline characteristically flows smoothly from top to base, producing an overall shape like a (European) bell. The pagodas of Nepal, Tibet and China (in so far as Lamaist) retain, too, the characteristics of the Indian stūpa, with emphasis on the dome See Pl. LXVI).

A different type of monument in Ceylon and SE. Asia is the slender step tower formed of cubes of decreasing size. In the wall-niches large Buddha figures are placed. This type is found at Wat Phra Pathom and Wat Kukut (Dvāravatī) and, influenced by the latter, at Polonnaruwa, Ceylon (12th century). But the pagoda of E. Asia generally assumed quite different forms (the word *pagoda* has not been satisfactorily explained). The pagoda form is a logical continuation of one line of development: the vertical tendency was intensified by increasing the number of tiers, the cornices developing into roof projections, while the dome became progressively dwarfed till it was merely the base of the finial. The orientation to the cardinal points remained, but eventually a polygonal form became popular, especially in China.

The metamorphosis of the stūpa into a pagoda was perhaps influenced by another type of building: the tower. There is some evidence for this in India from the 2nd century A.C. onwards. Reliefs at Mathurā and Amarāvatī show towers with articulation of the base by means of cornices and niches, but lacking the dome. This type appears in monumental form in the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā (5th or 6th century), which has however been several times restored. But the E. Asian pagoda seems to have been influenced by two native building types: the watchtower and the multi-storeyed, polygonal pavilion. The watch-tower, known in representations and ceramic models from the Han period, was rectangular with roofs projecting far outwards, supported by bracket-arms, with small galleries in each storey. Between the 5th and 8th centuries the Chinese pagoda became the model for those in Korea and Japan. There is alsc a basic affinity between this and the *meru* of Bali, Nepal and Burma: a slender tower symbolising the structure of the world, with tiers of projecting wooden roofs.

The first identifiable Chinese pagoda type appears in reliefs at Yunkang and Lungmên (ca. 500). Striking features of later pagodas are a ploygonal ground-plan, a solid brick or stone structure, a wealth of sculptured decoration, gaily coloured tiles and—especially in the S.—boldly curved roofs. There is a mast supporting several discs or rings; chains with small bells often hang from the mast or roof-edges. In the centre there is sometimes a massive pillar surrounded by a staircase for circumambulation, or else there is a vertical shaft with a free-standing Buddha figure; in each storey narrow corridors radiate from the shaft to outer windows. The Buddha statue within the body of the Buddha in the form of a relic, and the central pillar are interchangeable since they are identical in religious significance and ritual function. Many pagodas have numerous Buddha figures in relief on their outer walls See Pl. LXVII).

In Korea there are two types of pagoda; of stone and wood. While the stone pagoda developed on somewhat independent lines, the wooden type copied the Chinese model (See Pl. LXIX). The Japanese pagoda followed first Korean, later Chinese models, but added features of its own. The Japanese selected two main types from the wide range available, but only one was commonly used: the square wooden pagoda with storeys (usually 5, but also 3, 7 or 9) and galleries See Pl. LXVIII). It has roofs projecting far outwards, topped by a tall bronze finial with usually nine rings. The ground-plan was occasionally polygonal. Fear of earthquakes was a factor in the choice of type, but Japanese notions of elegance played a part. The Japanese did not use polychrome titles but painted the woodwork discreetly, mainly in red,

the walls being coated with white plaster and the roofs covered with silvery-grey tiles or brownish shingles. An extant specimen is the 7th century pagoda at Hōryūji near Nara, whose complex form was never surpassed. The most important structural feature of the Japanese pagoda is the central or ' heart ' pillar, found only in rudimentary form in China. It serves to support the very tall and heavy bronze finial, taking its weight off the free-standing, finely articulated wooden structure. The upper storeys are not accessible : their interior consists of a tangle of structural members. On the ground floor is a tiny chapel with four Buddha figures, or groups of figures. The walls and pillars often show a *maṇḍala* or other painted figures. As elsewhere, there is ' identity ' between building, relic and Buddha figure : in a depression in the foundation-stone are the relics, like seeds, housed in several precious receptacles, one inside the other.

In Japan there is also—as once in China—a special type of pagoda called *tahōtō* ('Pagoda of Many Treasures '). This refers to the Buddha Prabhutaratna mentioned in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra.* Especially from the 8th–9th century onwards, this type plays an important part in the esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*) of the Tendai and Shingon sects, symbolising the Absolute Wisdom represented by the cosmic Buddha Vairocana (Dainichi). His image, surrounded by Buddhas of the cardinal points, forms the centre of such a pagoda, which is more like the ancient stūpa than is the storeyed type. On the square substructure with a roof rises a truncated hemisphere (a false dome). It has a round neck with a small false gallery over which is a square upper jutting roof crowned by the usual mast. But the ' heart pillar ' rises only from a point above the chapel, inside which stands the statue of Vairocana on a socle representing Mount Sumeru. Old drawings and miniature *tahōtō* omit the lower roof, so that the Indian model is even clearer.

The stūpa or pagoda is heavily laden with symbolism. In the form of a reliquary enclosing the very essence of the Enlightened One, it is the symbol of Nirvāṇa. In Mahāyāna this concept is manifested in the Buddha figure, which may form the centre of a pagoda—as in the *tahōtō*—his body constituting the central pillar and denoting the centre of the cosmos. This cosmic axis rises by numerous gradations to the heights of heaven. Leading off its centre are the four points of the compass, corresponding to various Buddhas. This arrangement reappears in the *maṇḍala.* In Japanese pagodas we find wall-paintings which combine with the cult images to form a *maṇḍala.* The octagonal radiation from the centre corresponds to the eight-petalled lotus or to the *dharmacakra.* The pattern is continued in the vertical arrangement : the various tiers represent the planes of cosmic existence and also the *bhūmi* (stages in the bodhisattva path) ; or they mark temporal stages on the path leading beyond time and space. Thus the whole represents Mount Sumeru, which is related to the image of the cosmic pillar—this again is ' identical ' with the Bodhi tree.

The Borobudur in Java (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LIV) is undoubtedly the finest example of such a building and its iconological symbolism. Its five square terraces are sharply gradated : on them rise three circular platforms enclosing a last and highest one : there are thus nine tiers. The surrounding ambulatories have high walls, several kilometres long, covered with reliefs and bearing numerous Buddha images. On the open terraces rise 72 (32+24+16) bell-shaped stūpas ; in the centre is a larger stūpa with a slender finial (now damaged). The combination of two main parts—the square stepped pyramid facing the points of the compass, and the circular super-structures—recalls Indian prototypes. Thus, the Borobudur is both cosmic mountain and stūpa, and also forms a *maṇḍala.* Each of the first four square terraces has on each side an identical Buddha figure : in the E. Akṣobhya with the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), in the S. Ratnasambhava with the wish-granting gesture (*varada*), in the W. Amitābha with the meditation-gesture (*dhyāna*), in the N. Amoghasiddhi with the gesture of fearlessness (*abhaya*). They are thus arranged, as in Vajrayāna *maṇḍalas,* the main Buddha being Vairocana ; he appears on all sides of the fifth terrace making one of the teaching-gestures(*vitarka*)—being free of spatial limitations, he is not related to any point of the compass. On the three circular terraces he is also found inside all the stūpa making the ' wheel of the law ' (*dharmacakra*) gesture : thus he occurs 72 times in all.

The central stūpa has a solid wall, those of the 72 similar ones being perforated so that the Buddhas in them are semi-visible. This may symbolise the transition from the phenomenal world to the imperceptible Void. The pilgrim starts at the bottom in the terrestrial world and ascends to ever higher spiritual planes. The lowest terraces (later covered up) had 160 reliefs showing the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*) and the sorrowful cycle of Saṃsāra. The next, in 120 reliefs, shows the life of Śākyamuni and his way to Buddhahood, the *Jātakas* and

Avadānas. The reliefs on the next terrace illustrate *sūtra* stories including that of Sudhana from the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The choice of this theme and its continuation in the legendary biography of Asaṅga shows that the Borobudur is a monument of the Vijñānavāda. Finally, the upper terraces and the central stūpa represent the Void (*śūnyatā*) or Suchness (*tathatā*) which can no longer be described or represented but only intuited. The transition to a completely different sphere could scarcely be more dramatic : first, the reliefs treating legendary themes afford a feast for the eye ; then the Buddha figures become more spiritual ; finally they are only partly visible or not at all, hidden in the pure symbolism of the stūpas. The spiritual message is still more effectively conveyed in geometric form by the transition from square to circle. A square occupies definite limits in space, symbolising the phenomenal world with its conditioned nature. The circle is all-embracing, lacking in direction and infinite ; thus it symbolises the Absolute. Hence the Borobudur has been called a psycho-physical pilgrim's path : the terraces lead through different cosmic spheres, levels of apprehension and stages of redemption. It is an initiation course, executed in stone.

III. Monasteries and Temples

The prototype of the Indian monastery is a cave or hut, in which a single monk lived, especially during the rainy season. Only gradually did groups of monks come to require accommodation in common. This was built round a centre where rites were performed, usually a stūpa : the basic element was the single cell, not a communal dormitory. Hence resulted the typical vihāra as at Taxila : a rectangular open court, the central stūpa surrounded by simple cells. These could be replaced by niches with smaller stūpas, or later, images. Sometimes a circular plan was adopted, and in W. India the whole group was sometimes hewn out of the rock to form a subterranean or cave-monastery. The stūpa-court and the cells may be separated and there may also be fairly large assembly-halls and refectories. The walls may be adorned with murals as, most elaborately, at Ajanta. The great monasteries thus evolved are important centres of ritual as well as places of pilgrimage and learning. A number of vihāras are grouped loosely round the centre, which finally came to include a hall for the cult image. In the rock-hewn monasteries especially there developed a monumental form called the *caitya*-hall (See CETIYA). This has a stūpa in the centre with an aisle for circumambulation. The type seems to be due to accretion : a circular stūpa-chapel with an assembly hall in front. The false vault was hollowed out of the rock and had transverse ribs of wood or stone. The front was embellished with huge doors and ogee windows ; later, statues were added. Important *caitya*-halls are Bhājā (ca. 50 B.C. : See *EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pls. LXXI--LXXII), Bedsā (1st cent, A.C : See *EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pls. LXII—LXV), Kārlī (ca. 120 A.C.), Ajantā (Cave X, 1st cent. B.C., Caves XIX, XXVI, 6th cent. A.C. See *EncyBsm*. Vol. I, Pls. V—XXVII), Elūrā (8th cent. A.C.). In some we can clearly trace the evolution of the stūpa down to the appearance of the Buddha image on this originally aniconic symbol.

The two archetypes of the Indian sanctuary, the cave and the mountain, are represented by the cave-temple and the stūpa. Both developed independently, but are often combined : the cave-temple contains a stūpa (' mountain ') and the stūpa the hollow (' cave ') for the relic. The tower-like temple which appeared later, first as a Buddhist and then, in India, as a predominantly Hindu building, combines these two types. Outside of India there were important consequences. Just as the tower at Bodh Gayā was directly copied in Burma, Thailand, Nepal and even China, it also exerted a great influence on Burma (Pagan) Cambodia and—not least—Java, where many *tjandis* (q.v.) appeared on this pattern.

The vihāra type found in N. and NW. India did not reach E. Asia. A far more important role was played by cave-temples. A long chain of these runs through Bāmiyān, Kucha, Turfan and Tun-huang to China, with offshoots even in Korea and Japan. Most Central Asian sanctuaries are of greater significance for their wall-paintings than for their architecture,but they show Indian features like the central stūpa, often represented by a pillar bearing cult images. At Bāmiyān, Kyzyl, etc., a striking feature is the so-called lantern-roof, a panel replacing the cupola, filled with squares laid diagonally across the corners and diminishing in size, denoting the ' Dome of Heaven. ' Thus the whole sanctuary represents the cosmos.

In China we can trace the route taken by Buddhism by the line of cave-temples. They date from the Six Dynasties to the late T'ang (about 350—900 A.C.). From Tun-huang Buddhism spread first to N.E. China, then to the centre and some say N. to the E. and finally to the S. W. One line branched off early to the S. Cave-temples are found chiefly in

the NE. and in the central area around the Huang Ho. They date mainly from the golden age of Buddhist sculpture (ca. 450-750), whose iconography and stylistic development can be traced uninterruptedly. Numerous inscriptions give an idea of the changes in belief and the varying popularity of different Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The caves often contain figures and ornaments carved from the living rock. There is often no iconographical system, but the eye is caught by spectacular groups or (Yünkang, Lungmên) by colossal figures of the Buddha seated, with standing attendants. This idea, a survival of the ancient notion of the all-embracing Buddha as cosmocrator, also inspired the production of colossi in India, Ceylon, Thailand, Burma and elsewhere. In Korea cave-temples of this sort are represented by Sokkul-am where a large figure of Śākyamuni forms the centre of a circular chapel. In Japan only unimportant cave sanctuaries were built, usually rather flat niches containing groups of figures (as at Usuki, Kyūshū).

E. Asian monasteries and temples differ greatly from those of India. In both cases the nucleus is a square court, often with pagoda and image-hall. But the concentric arrangement is replaced by an axial one, this (usually N.—S.) axis gives the entire complex a strict symmetry. Passing through a monumental gate-way, one walks up the *via sacra* to the centre which is a pagoda, an image-hall, or both. The changes, which occured between 600 and 800, can be most easily followed in Japan. At first the pagoda predominates—an 'Indian' feature—and the Buddha hall is secondary. It stands behind the pagoda, later beside it as an equal partner and finally, with increasingly complex ritual and imagery becomes the main building. Sometimes there are twin pagodas whose role becomes more and more decorative. In E. Asian temples the main buildings on the central axis are usually surrounded by an ambulatory, outside which the other monastic buildings are grouped. In layout and structure the Chinese temple is based on the indigenous homestead compound, especially the palace of the Han period. This model was followed in Korea and Japan, at first closely, later in modified form. Few such buildings survive from the golden age in China and Korea, except pagodas. But Japan still has many classical temple buildings—especially at Nara, Kyoto and Kamakura—in almost their original form, from all periods.

Temple architecture adopted the standard wooden frame structure—in China also of brick—with curved roofs projecting in varying degree. These are supported by intricate bracketing, structurally essential but also decorative. While Chinese temples tend to be very ornate, Japanese ones are simpler and less ostentatious, but do not thereby lose in dignity. The hall is almost completely filled by the platform with its statues, frequently numerous and large. It is thus a shirne and a separate hall serves for sermons and disputations. The main cult statue is usually a Buddha in a triad or larger group. The 'Golden Hall' is the centre of the entire temple and is lavishly embellished: pillars and beams are gilded, the ceiling represents heaven. Rich murals complete the iconographic programme, which is dominated by the statues. Unfortunately only a few remnants of such paintings survive. Together they usually served to form a terrestrial representation of a Buddha's blissful realm such as the *Sukhāvatī* of Amitābha into which the believer was meant to feel transported. Or else the whole combined to form a *maṇḍala* with the Buddha in his lotus-throne as the centre of the cosmos.

An interesting special type of temple hall was produced in Thailand. Here the monks' dwelling-area is separate from the sacred buildings. They contain within surrounding ambulatories a stūpa representing the holy of holies, a hall for the Buddha image, serving as a place for the monks to perform their rites, and a hall for the lay brethren, with a preaching-hall, library and stūpas. Frequently two rows of pillars divide the interior into a nave and two aisles. In both points this resembles the old Indian *caitya*-hall. Another feature is the steep gable roof with the ends of the ridge curving upwards; the gables often overlap or telescope.

In Tibet we find Indian or Nepalese architectural models closely followed at first, while later Chinese influence makes itself increasingly felt. Tibetan monasteries vary greatly in size, the largest being enormous and housing large numbers of monks. An outer courtyard leads to an inner area with the main hall in the centre containing the images in elaborate iconographical arrangement. In the Ruin-ma-pa monasteries Padmasambhava occupies a prominent place in the configuration, while in those of the dGe-lugs-pa he is replaced by Tson-k'a-pa. Round the image-hall is an ambulatory. The monastery entrance faces S. or E. The Potala in Lhasa, residence of the Dalai Lama, is a vast 17th century complex of palace and monastery of several storeys. The walls are painted in symbolic colours, and the curving tiled roofs, here as elsewhere, betray Chinese influence.

Thus wherever we look we find the same basic elements; stūpa (or pagoda), monks' cells and halls for images and performance of ritual. Ground-plans vary depending on the stage of religious development or the School of Buddhism, ranging from the simple and ascetic Theravāda vihāra in which the only cult object is the abstract symbol of the stūpa right up to the Vajrayāna temple designed for the service of a vast 'pantheon,' with a correspondingly complicated liturgy and iconography, and requiring a number of lavishly decorated buildings.

IV. The Buddha Image

The history of the Buddha image develops between the two poles of the non-personal symbol and a highly developed representational art. The problem for the artist was in principle insoluble: how to represent in visual form something entirely transcending human vision. To suggest the transcendent nature of the Buddha, a form had to be evolved visually impressive yet spiritualised to an extreme to transcend the finite world. "No measure measures him who has reached the goal: by what measure is the immeasurable measured? No words describe the indescribable" (*Sn.* 1076, trans G. F. Allen). Therefore, the earliest Indian Buddhist art represented the Buddha by symbols alone. These include: the Bodhi Tree, the *dharmacakra,* the throne, the flame-encircled pillar, the foot-prints and the stūpa (symbolising Nirvāṇa). These symbols may combine to form an imaginary 'body': e.g. a stool with footprints, an empty throne, a pillar as 'backbone' and a wheel as head with halo. Many of these symbols denote not only the Buddha but some particular events in his life: especially the Enlightenment, decision to teach and *parinirvāṇa* (See Pl. LXX and also *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LXXVIII).

When such a symbol is venerated, what at first was intended only as an act of homage to the living Master turns gradually into a ritual act in honour of a superior being. From this it is but a step to replacing the symbol by an image of that being. There is thus a gradual shift in the centre of gravity from symbol to image, from the austerity of an abstraction to the sensitive portrayal of a person, from the honour and respect accorded to a model human being to the veneration due to a superhuman power of mercy. For the development of the Mahāyāna led to a completely new concept of the Buddha. Henceforth stress was laid on the idea that historical Buddha Śakyamuni was preceded in earlier ages by other Buddhas, and would be followed by Maitreya Buddha. We find these earlier Buddhas in the reliefs at Sāñcī, and Bhārhut where they are represented aniconically by the symbols of their respective Bodhi Trees (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. III, Pls. XXIX—XXXIV). Later, at Gandhāra, they appear in human form. Next, there evolves the concept of an infinite number of Buddhas, all of them but manifestations of the One Absolute Buddha whose real essence is the *Dharmakāya* ('body of the law'); this is revealed to those with vision as the *Sambhogakāya* ('body of bliss') and to the finite world as the *Nirmāṇakāya* ('body of transformation': see TRIKĀYA). The *Lalitavistara* (q.v.) interprets the Buddha's earthly life as a mere 'game,' as the phantasmagoria of a superhuman being adapted to man's limited understanding. In advanced Mahāyāna doctrine there is no difference between the Absolute (Nirvāṇa) and the relative world of Saṃsāra. But they are not simply identical: their relation is ('non-duality': *advaya*). True reality (*tathatā*: 'suchness') is 'void' (*śūnya*), i.e. it transcends all categories and limitations of thought. All ideas and concepts, including pictorial concepts, of the Buddha are merely an expedient (*upāya*), which however can help the individual to attain Enlightenment, to become a Buddha, by meditation (*dhyāna*), fervent devotion (*bhakti*) and ritual veneration (*pūjā*); for the Absolute Buddha is latent in each living being and should find pure and perfect realisation. Since ultimately everything is 'void,' so the realm of Saṃsāra, and even Nirvāṇa and the Buddha, are all equally illusory; but for that very reason they may be represented pictorially even though such a representation cannot attain true reality.

The new conception of the Buddha led to the growth of a mythology. Popular piety was one of the strongest driving forces towards the production of cult images. To the masses the Buddha became a merciful redeemer to be turned to in need, who would help believers to attain Nirvāṇa, or at least a blessed rebirth in his Pure Land. To make offerings to him was highly meritorious. In many texts the Buddha himself is made to declare that the production and veneration of his image is a meritorious act which will bring its due reward. And through a special act of consecration, the 'eye-opening rite,' and the depositing of sacred objects in it, this image from being a mere artefact acquires numinous vitality and miraculous power.

The need was felt to justify the portrayal of the Buddha by linking his image directly with his historical person, thus deriving later images from one authentic archetype. In more recent texts he is said to have expressly permitted his person to be represented and venerated, and many legends arose about the First Image. A statue with one

such legend about its origin apparently existed in India, and was regarded throughout Asia as the authentic Buddha image. Hsüan-tsang brought a replica to China, where further copies were made. Chōnen took another copy to Japan in 987 A.C. It stands today in Seiryōji near Kyoto, and served as a model for further replicas. Chōnen admitted that his image was a copy of a Chinese copy, but gave it sanctity and potency by depositing in it relics, pictures, sūtras, documents, votive offerings and even imitations of inner organs made of silk. This statue, which is well documented and preserved, though the copy of a copy, seems to come close to the legendary archetype. Despite some modifications the specific characteristics of eastern Asian art, especially in the quality of the plasticity, are less noticeable in this figure than the archaic austerity evident in the lines of the drapery, which points back to Central Asia and the later style of Gandhāra.

As we know, the Buddha image appeared about the same time at Mathurā and Gandhāra. The iconography is at first largely Hīnayānist, but in Gandhāra the ground is already being prepared for the new, Mahāyānist conception. The image of the Buddha in standing posture owes something to a native type of figure, the yakṣa. The two share a block-like compactness, abounding vigour, tautness in the treatment of plastic forms and similarities in the athletic type. These features recur in the seated Buddha, stressed by the stable posture and the smooth, close-fitting robes leaving much of the body bare. This type seems to have been inspired by figures of the Jainist. Jina The Buddha is shown like a lion ready to pounce, in a heroic pose with the right hand raised to afford protection and the left resting firmly on the thigh, in the posture of a yogin not absorbed in meditation but abounding with the energy of the Awakened One, ready to preach to a world in need. Incidentally, seated figures in yogic posture occur much earlier. They represent an Indian archetype occurring on seals of the Indus Valley culture (3rd or 2nd millenium B.C.).

In the Gandhāra type the Buddha figure is interpreted quite differently—more like the yogin described in the *Bhagavadgītā* ; in a stage of perfect equilibrium, free from all desire, yes concentrated on a single point, completely still like a lamp burning without flickering. Here as always there is a tendency to show the Buddha as the Teacher, but with that detached attitude of immunity to change which makes him a personification of Supreme Being though the eclectic art of Gandhāra does not always achieve this effect, lapsing only too often into lifelessness and yielding mere routine works. Yet the spiritual content of this type is purely Indian : the Apollinic air is due to superficial external influences which serve to give the Indian content a special *cachet*. The idealised beauty in such figures of the Buddha raises him to a sphere beyond empirical experience and the ugliness and suffering of Saṃsāra. The same effect is produced by the regular, even rhythm of the draperies and the way the artist's gentle hand instils a sense of tranquillity into the volumes composing the figure. This makes the face somewhat mask-like and reduces the tangible corporeality of the figure. A sacred formula denoting majesty thus raises the Buddha above the physical environment, making him the centre of the cosmos. In the course of time the figure becomes increasingly spiritualised—i.e. abstract and schematic. The body losses its animated soft quality and acquires a cool, hard smoothness and schematic regularity. Hair and drapery are no longer modelled but incised almost graphically, appearing finally as geometric patterns of lines. In strange contrast is the starkly realistic Buddha image also produced at Gandhāra, showing Śākyamuni as an ascetic, wasted away to a skeleton. Yet inconsistently—or rather in anticipation of ultimate triumph—the figure incorporates features of the Enlightened One : *uṣnīṣa* and *ūrṇā*. This type spread to Central Asian wall-paintings (Kuchā) and even, much toned down, China.

At Mathurā and Gandhāra iconographic features developed symbolising the Buddha's supra-human nature, which remained standard throughout Asia. Detailed description in the texts mention the 32 major and 80 minor marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the Buddha, but these cannot all be shown in his images. His general appearance characterises him partly as a noble human being and ideal ruler Cakravartin, partly as supra-human. His body is perfectly proportioned ; the shoulders are broad, the hips narrow ; the torso is like a lion's, the legs like those of a gazelle ; his arms reach down to the knees ; the ear-lobes are distended ; his body emits a wondrous scent. On palms and soles he bears the *dharmacakra*. Between the eyes is the *ūrṇā*, a white lock curled towards the right, from which emanates the light of wisdom illumining the universe. Usually shown as a golden dot or a crystal bead, this is not to be taken for the Third Eye which occurs only on some Vajrayāna figures and is of Hindu origin. Head and body are enclosed in a halo and aureole. The head has an approximately hemispherical elevation, the *uṣnīṣa*, symbolising Enlightenment. This may represent the Indian hair-knot worn under the turban as a

sign of princely status, but its explanation is controversial. There are several variants. On Thai figures a lotus bud is usually added to the *uṣṇīsa*, or else a pointed flame shoots forth from it. The throne or seat (*āsana*) is also symbolic. Of the three main types, the first is the lion-throne signifying the victorious power of the Dharma. The second is the lotus, the main symbol of man's Buddha-nature which remains immaculate, undefiled by the filth of Saṃsāra, and also an ancient cosmic symbol. The lotus throne first appears at Gandhāra (3rd or 4th cent.) usually in figures of the preaching Buddha. The third type, especially popular in E. Asia, consists of a platform projecting at top and bottom, with receding steps in the middle in imitation of the cosmic mountain Sumeru with its hour-glass shape.

Many symbols are connected with events in the Buddha's biography : e.g. the nine-headed snake-king Mucalinda on whose coiled body he is seated, its head reared to protect him from a storm, particularly popular in SE. Asia. Other examples are the two gazelles or stags kneeling before the throne or flanking the *dharmacakra* : this refers to the First Sermon in the Deer Park. But the very posture of the seated Buddha, motionless in meditation, is an impressive symbol. It demonstrates the unshakable nature of Absolute Truth and wisdom whence emanates the Enlightenment that leads the world to salvation. (When the Buddha appears seated in 'European' posture, or standing, this suggests the abandoning of this detached attitude in favour of action and manifestation). Closely linked to this attitude of complete detachment is another, so to speak negative symbol : the absence of all attributes or ornaments. This principle is normally adhered to. Attributes and ornaments denote beings of lesser status, bodhisattvas or lower deities. The differences between the various Buddhas in Mahāyāna, or the various states or actions (meditation, preaching, etc.), are mainly indicated by symbolic gestures (*mudrā*) or by the posture.

At first the two different archetypal figures, of Mathurā and Gandhāra, are found independently but soon they influenced each other. From the late 2nd cent. A.C. the bulky, athletic Mathurā figure acquires a note of slender elegance and delicacy as at Gandhāra. The close-fitting robe gives way to a loosely draped monk's habit (*saṅghāṭī*), falling into a smooth cascade of ripples covering the body with an almost symmetrical pattern of lines. The body shows through distinctly beneath the thin robe. Thus the Mathurā Buddha is imbued with a spirit of aristocratic humanity and a harmony of form previously lacking. The counter-influence of Mathurā on the Gandhāra type is less readily discernible. But by the synthesis of these two types, Mathurā produced the classic Buddha figure of the Gupta period. Another important type arose in the Amarāvatī area in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. As the aniconic principle still obtained to a certain degree, the change to the later conception is especially obvious. The Amarāvatī Buddha, standing or seated, is akin to the modified Mathurā type. This is evident in the rather stout body and the smooth, regularly placed curves of the long robe. Where the Buddha is raising one or both hands, the robe hangs from the wrists in closely-spaced vertical folds, while lower down, by the hem, it swirls out in a curve : a characteristic feature which often leads to asymmetry, especially where the hanging folds on the left contrast with the raised right hand and bare right shoulder. This type was very influential in countries where Theravāda prevailed—especially in Ceylon (Anurādhapura), where it attains an austere monumentality. But its main effect was on early Buddhist art.

The mature Gupta period produced one of the truly great Buddha figures : all earlier attempts seem epitomised and brought to maturity. All forms are ennobled, refined and purified to the utmost. The body is soft and taut, its curves more rounded ; the face lacks the angularity or harshness of the earlier Mathurā type. A sense of perfect tranquillity emanates from it giving an impression of weightlessness ; it is compact, but the melodious linear curves of the robe give it absolute harmony. Another Gupta type is the seated preaching Buddha of Sārnāth. Clad in a completely smooth garment, it attains maximum refinement and harmony owing to the observance of exact rules of proportion and the strictly triangular composition. A smooth rounded form without folds in the drapery is also typical of the standing Sārnāth Buddha. Here the wide hanging robe forms deep depressions ; the body is modelled in great planes, clearly defined yet smoothly merging. The Amarāvatī, and still more the Gupta type, are the starting-points for the Buddha-image of SE. Asia, while Gandhāra provided the main stimulus for Central and E. Asia. Indonesia was early exposed to the influence of Amarāvatī. Later, the Buddha image of the classical Central Javanese period were closely linked to the Gupta and post-Gupta type, but adapted in the direction of yet

greater restraint and harmony. It is admirable how the sculptors of the innumerable Borobudur figures succeeded in avoiding superficiality and mechanical routine (See Pls. LXXI—LXXII).

In SE. Asia the trend towards monumental simplicity became more marked. The iconography, too, is simplified with relatively few types of Buddha figure. Broadly, three main types are found: those of Dvāravatī, Khmer and Siam. The typical Dvāravatī figure is a standing one which developed under late Gupta influence and prevailed from the late 6th. to the 12th century. Designed for frontal viewing, it is usually symmetrical: both hands usually show the teaching gesture. The upper garment forms a spacious niche for the figure, from which the smooth and rounded torso and legs protrude; the hems hang down in an unbroken sweeping curve, but at the bottom are frequently angular shapes projecting slightly outwards. Otherwise the figures are smooth and lack ornamentation; the robe clings to the body, and there is marked angularity in the basic structure concealed beneath the rounded surface. The almost spherical head is dominated by the horizontal lines of mouth, eyes and especially eyebrows. It is a far cry from the delicate spirituality and elegance of the classic Gupta type.

The characteristic Khmer type emerges in about the 8th. century. Based on early Cambodian art, it received a stimulus from late Gupta as well as Dvāravatī. It predominated between the 10th and 13th centuries. Two types of Buddha image were popular: the standing Dvāravatī type and the seated Buddha on the coiled body of the snake-king Mucalinda whose seven heads form a protective canopy (See *EncyBsm.* Vol, II, Pl.LIX, Bayon: The Buddha). The Khmer type is marked by rigid construction and accentuation of horizontal lines, especially in the face. The hair-line is often stressed by a decorative band like a diadem. Early works have a stern and rigid expression and staring eyes. There is marked angularity in the modelling and a fondness for engraved double contour lines to denote lips and eyes, the clear-cut details of hair and ornaments and the step-like layers of the *uṣṇīṣa.* But gradually, towards 1200, the treatment becomes softer, the features more delicate and the expression milder. Now we find that detached smile which is a faint reflexion of inner freedom, and the eyes are only half open. But this type too become a *cliche*, and bodhisattva figures can be distinguished from Buddhas only by their iconographic features (e.g. the small Amitābha figure on the head of Avalokiteśvara). With the coming of Theravāda the Dvāravatī type appears, slightly modified, in Cambodia.

The Thai figure proper is quite different from the other two types. It became stereotyped in the 14–15th centuries, the treatment being largely conditioned by the material, normally bronze. There are several main versions. The commonest is the seated Buddha with the earth-touching (*bhūmisparśa*) gesture, in two different postures and with two types of *uṣṇīṣa*, lotus-bud or flame. The standing Buddha is in an attitude familiar from Dvāravatī. The recumbent Buddha (entering Parinirvāna) is a type very familiar in S. Asia, but met with only in versions of little artistic significance. Thailand seems also to have invested the free-standing figure of the 'walking Buddha' (See Pl. LI, Fig. 2), probably by detaching the main figure from a scenic context (the Buddha's descent from heaven) to form an independent cult image. Some high quality bronzes of this type are dated to 1426 A.C.

The classical Thai Buddha figure (See Pl. XLIII, Fig. 3) is distinguished by the slender build, small hips and flowing curved outline. The head is oval with a fine, thin-lipped mouth, a long nose and eyebrows forming a clear sweeping curve over the distended, almond-shaped eyes. The effect of length is increased by the high crowning of the *uṣṇīṣa.* The features are not Thai but may derive, *via* Burma, from Pāla art. The finest works are sustained by a powerful tension from within. In the 16th century a new type appears in Thailand and Cambodia: the 'Buddha in princely attire' (See Pl. LXXV). It spread from India also to Burma, Nepal and Tibet. In E. Asia this figure is very popular and usually represents Vairocana as the Ādi-Buddha, with crown and jewellery like that of bodhisattvas. (See Pl. LXXIV). The type occurs in Theravāda and in Vajrayāna areas—i.e. in completely different religious contexts—though it apparently contradicts the principle of showing the Buddha without adornment. The explanation may be that, according to the *Trikāya* doctrine, he appears bejewelled and resplendent in his manifestation as *Sambhogakāya*; his role as Cakravartin (later merged with that of Ādi-Buddha) also entitles him to wear princely jewellery. It is as Ādi-Buddha that he appears thus in Vajrayāna, notably as Vairocana, the central figure of the Two *maṇḍalas* (See section V). His absolute nature as source of all other Buddhas is also shown by the presence of the five so-called '*Dhyāni* Buddhas.' From a historical viewpoint the types of Buddha figure in

the Theravāda lands of S.E. Asia are largely based on Mahāyāna conceptions, including the fact that he is represented at all.

Tibetan art is based on Pāla art. A really comprehensive account of Buddhist sculpture in Tibet can probably now never be written. The iconography is that of the Vajrayāna, and artists, whether painters or sculptors, had to work in accordance with the most minute instructions, governing every detail as well as the precise proportions of the whole. It was from Nālandā that Vajrayāna elements found their way both, N. to Nepal and Tibet, and also to Java, since Indonesian students flocked to Nālandā. This explains the remarkable affinity found between Javanese and Nepalese-Tibetan figures and implements. The Tibetans learnt the art of casting figures in bronze from the Nepalese, who used the *cire-perdue* technique. The bronzes were afterwards gilded, the eyes and other parts being then painted (See Pl. LXXVIII).

To turn to the second main current of Buddhist art, that of Central and E. Asia, it was based on that of Gandhāra, and only secondarily of India. But in time something completely different arose, mainly in China. The highly abstract schematisation of late Gandhāra style appears in the two colossal Buddha figures at Bāmiyān (ca. 3rd–5th cent.; See. *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pls. XLVII and XLIX). From Chinese accounts we know also of a colossal Maitreya figure of gilded wood which stood at Darel on the upper Indus and may have been as old as the 3rd century. Hsüan-tsang saw two huge statues at Kuchā. In China such colossi reach as far as Yünkang and Lungmên. The Gandhāra type spread E. *via* Khotan, Kuchā and Khocho. This applies alike to Buddha, bodhisattva and other figures; these models were still followed in Central Asia after new types had arisen in China. In the 5th century China was influenced from Central Asia but also, though in a lesser degree, from SE. Asia. In N. China the development is most easily traced owing to the many splendid monuments (Yünkang, Lungmên, etc.); here the Chinese genius soon shook off all dependence on foreign models. The alien forms of Gandhāra were transformed. The so-called N. Wei style (1st half of 6th cent.) can be called archaic but not naive or primitive. The body is virtually devoid of plastic quality, just a block-shaped base on which is draped the garment, which conveys the formal expression. The head is stereometric and the features carved with vigorous lines; despite the hardness of the body the expression is spiritual and withdrawn. The outline is angular with a rhythmic to-and-fro movement: the folds of the garment, pressed flat, form an elegant pattern of lines. There is vigour and tension despite the rigidity, and a remote sublimity.

Later developments were towards a soft plasticity, especially in the Sui and early T'ang periods (ca. 600 onwards). There was greater feeling for the organic structure of the body; the garments came to play an independent role. The result was an inner unity of natural structure and artistic representation, a perfect beauty and sense of harmony and balance that made this art truly classical, like that of mature Gupta sculpture. The finest Buddha figures of this phase combine majesty, spiritual power and humanity. In the bodhisattvas the trend towards flowing movement can produce a dance-like rhythm, while the warrior-deities are energetic and active. This style reaches its climax in the cave-sculptures of T'ien-lung-shan, where the Gupta influence no longer seems alien. Developments in Korea and Japan were parallel, if with regional variations. Korean Buddha figures are calm and restrained, not fully reflecting the changes of style in China (See Pl. XLIV, Fig. 4). Japanese works of the Asuka and Nara periods (ca. 600–800) follow roughly the stages reached in China. Masterpieces of large bronze sculpture are found only in the ancient temples around Nara (Hōryūji, Yakushiji, Tōshōdaiji, Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji, etc.). These must substitute for their lost Chinese models, while stone figures and small bronzes are better represented in China. We must also look to Japan for clay and especially for dry-lacquer works, few of which survive in China. Here the figure is built up from layers of coarse cloth soaked in lacquer upon which the finer details are then modelled. In Chinese and Japanese paintings which survive from these periods, similar changes appear. Mention must be made of, first, the wall-paintings (destroyed by fire in 1949) in the *Kondo* of Hōryūji near Nara (early 8th cent.), which represented the mature T'ang style with its majesty, lyrical delicacy and perfect elegance; and secondly, the huge number of paintings in Tun-huang which show the development from the Wei right to the T'ang style, and even further to the 13th century.

In China the classical T'ang Buddha image continued in a more or less imitative form with relatively few modifications through the Sung and even into the Ming and C'hing periods, while the spiritual content steadily declined; but the bodhisattva figure, being less bound by convention,

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shows some development, and representations of arhats (*Lohan*: See *EncyBs* ii. Vol. II, Frontispiece, Pl. VI) reached a high level which lasted into the Ming era. Till the end of the Nara period (ca. 800) developments in Japan reflected those in China, but later contact was interrupted and Japanese artists went their own way. In the Jogan period (9th cent.) a block-like style of carving arose, wood being now favoured more than bronze, lacquer or clay. Plumpish figures appear draped in garments whose heavily curved folds show a lively play of lines made most expressive by an abstract, dynamic rhythm. Later this hard, expressive style gave way to one softer, less expansive but delicate, noble and restrained, typical of the Fujiwara period. The great master, Jōchō (ca. 990–1057 A.C.) brought this Buddha figure, especially that of Amitābha, to perfection. In painting, too, many masterpieces survive which show the utmost perfection of technique. About 1200 the *samurai* culture of the Kamakura period began to replace the formalised Fujiwara style, and in the hands of artists like Unkei, the Buddha again appeared as a majestic figure with a forceful expression. The vigorous feeling for organic forms as well as spiritual life produced some magnificent portraits of patriarchs and monks, but in the long run the conventional representations of the late Fujiwara style prevailed and both painting and sculpture declined.

New impulses arose from Ch'an (Zen) in China in the late Sung period (12th–13th cent.) and in Japan in the Ashikaga period (14th–16th cent.). Though Ch'an temples contain cult images usually of a very conventional kind – rites performed there are not the real focus of religious life. The Buddha is conceived primarily not as a transcendental figure symbolising the Absolute, but as the historical monk Śākyamuni who strove for Enlightenment, gained it by meditation and transmitted to his disciples the way to its attainment –less by sermons than by 'direct transmission from mind to mind.' To some extent this represents a return to Buddhism in its original form, while the ontological basis of Ch'an philosophy is that of mature Mahāyāna.

In the well-known picture by Liang K'ai (ca. 1140–1210), Śākyamuni is shown as an ascetic. But this picture almost certainly represents not the time when Śākyamuni left the wilderness in despair after the initial failure of his austerities but rather his return to the world *after* attaining Enlightenment. But in any case the spirit of Zen here speaks to the beholder with unequivocal and arresting power through one of the most moving works portraying a great religious figure anywhere in world art. Thus the development whereby the historical Buddha was 'degraded' to a relatively minor position as *Nirmānakāya* of the Absolute Buddha (*Dharmakāya*) was reversed in Zen. The other Buddhas, Vairocana, Amitābha etc., scarcely occur in Zen works, and bodhisattvas, too, are rare and not very prominent figures. Instead, Zen painting favours the arhat at the expense of the bodhisattva, in accordance with the preference given to the attainment of Enlightenment through one's own power instead of another's grace.

V. The Hierarchy of Figures

1. *Configurations.* A Buddha figure is seldom found in isolation. At least it is incorporated in a building as its sacral centre. Only when we grasp this unity of image and sanctuary is its meaning revealed. But the Buddha image also often forms part of a group of figures which all stand in relation to the building which houses them. Their presence creates a shrine or 'Buddha Land' which should present itself to the believing eye like a vision. Originally, of course, there was only the one Buddha, founder of the doctrine and of the community of monks and laymen. These, occasionally augmented by adoring deities, are found in early statuary at Mathurā and in some reliefs from Gandhāra. But even the Theravāda knows of Buddhas in the plural, and with the spread of Mahāyāna they multiply in perplexing fashion. First we find Śākyamuni's historical predecessors and his destined successor, Maitreya. These appear in Gandhāra reliefs and even –in aniconic symbols – at Sāñcī, and often later. Next come the –innumerable– Buddhas of All Worlds and All Ages often depicted on walls and ceilings in rows of tiny figures. A pair of Buddhas (Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna) occurs in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* (2nd cent. A. C. or earlier), while the *Trikāya* doctrine led to a 'trinity' of various forms assumed by one Buddha. A somewhat similar idea is that of the Five Buddhas, composed of the central Ādi-Buddha Vairocana and the four (wrongly) so-called '*Dhyāni* Buddhas' emanating from him and oriented to the cardinal points. This plan occurs in colossal architectonic form in the Borobudur (see above), and forms the centre of one of the two vast Vajrayāna *maṇḍalas*.

We also find hierarchically graded groups, the oldest and simplest being a triad of the Buddha with two attendants: these may be yakṣas, monks or

bodhisattvas. The monks and arhats represent the Hīnayāna, and the bodhisattvas, the Mahāyāna ideal. The triad of a Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas may be augmented by the addition of two monks, usually Ānanda and Kāśyapa, representing the Saṅgha. But the number of attendant figures may be increased with, at the periphery, the Four Celestial Kings or Protectors of the World (Lokapālā) as well as the two 'gate guardians' (Dvārapālā) of fearsome aspect, whose function it is to ward off evil. Above are *apsaras* or more bodhisattvas. Chinese Buddhist sculptures sometimes add dragons protecting the group from above. On the votive stelae before temples and graves we find relief panels with many types of representation; the centre is usually occupied by a holy configuration. These stelae (mainly 6th-9th cent.) often bear inscriptions with exact dates and are thus extremely valuable to the art-historian.

Most configurations are based on sacred texts and illustrate them, often almost literally. Many of them describe the 'Pure Land' of a Buddha, and the typical configurations represent this theme. They are often found on temple-walls in the cardinal points corresponding to the 'Pure Lands' of the most popular Buddhas (Śākyamuni, Maitreya, the healing Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru and Amtābha: See Pls. XLIX & L). Thus in the Golden Hall (*kondō*) of Hōryūji the Pure Land of Amitābha was emphasized in the W., as also at Tun-huang and all over E. Asia. In the centre of the wall-painting or hanging scroll is a large configuration serving as cult-image. The faithful are shown blissfully reborn as children in lotus-blossoms. To the right and left are shown the karmic causes leading to such rebirth. In contrast to the usual type, the picture here seems to be built up according to the system of central perspective; actually it is the usual E. Asian construction of space with lines of depth (orthogonals) running parallel, but here converging symmetrically on a medial axis . This means that the strictly hieratic composition was meant to convey a non-empirical, other-worldly ideal realm. The small panels sometimes found at the lower margin show variations on the theme of Amitābha with a host of bodhisattvas soaring down from his realm to the death-bed of a believer, to lead him to his glorious rebirth. This theme was treated independently in Japan and was popular under the name of *Amida-Raigo*. Gradually, Amitābha and his followers cease to be bound by the symmetry, their movements become more dynamic till eventually (13th cent.) they are seen soaring across the picture at an oblique angle—an interesting illustration of the transition from static cult-image to the portrayal of an event in time and space: the finite and infinite worlds are no longer opposed but linked; the Buddha and the believer meet in mutual affection.

A very different type of configuration is the *maṇḍala*. This is not a representation in the same sense: it is an abstract, schematic diagram of the world. It is primarily a geometric system of lines, circles and panels. The figures of holy persons, or their symbols, which fill it, play a secondary role. It can even be expressed in architecture as in the Borobudur. The *maṇḍala* probably entered Buddhism from Hinduism. The original meaning is 'circle' and, hence, 'sacred area.' In Mahāyāna, and especially in Vajrayāna, it means a tablet divided into circles and rectangles representing the metaphysical structure of the world (outwards from the centre), designed as an aid to meditation. G. Tucci has called it 'a psycho-cosmogram,' since no essential difference exists between the mind of the onlooker and the real essence of the world. Its most fully-developed form is double: 'the *maṇḍala* of the Two worlds'-an all-embracing cosmic diagram with hundreds of figures. The centre of each half is – in accordance with the doctrine of non-duality – the Ādi-Buddha Vairocana, representing both the Absolute and all individual phenomena. In the 'Diamond World' (*vajradhātu*) is represented the potential undisclosed aspect of the world to be realised by insight, while in the 'Womb-World' (*garbhadhātu*) the actual aspect of the world in innumerable manifestations appears—as the 'womb' which bears the 'fruit': the ability to perceive the Absolute and realise its ultimate identity with the phenomenal.

All configurations share certain formal characteristics as hieratic cult-images divorced from time and space. These are: symmetry, axiality, centrality and frontality. Of these, centrality implies the preponderance of the central figure, attained by its dominating size and the hieratic scaling of the other figures. Frontality implies an arrangement in the two-dimensional plane; the work is situated *vis-á-vis* the beholder, and at the same time beyond the empirical three-dimensional world, for most sacred figures are divorced from Saṃsāra. This type of configuration, then, is the antithesis of the representation of narrative (see section VI), which is bounded by time and space and located in Saṃsāra itself.

2. *Individual Types*—Below the Buddha is a numerous retinue, strictly graded in rank. This is specially so in the Mahāyāna. Closest to the

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Buddha is the bodhisattva, who for the time being voluntarily renounces Buddhahood and Nirvāṇa to help redeem all beings. To this end he uses all possible expedients (*upāya*). His compassion (*karuṇā*) evokes the pious devotion (*bhakti*) of the believer, while with the non-believer it brings about his conversion. Thus the bodhisattva is contrasted with the arhat who has attained salvation by his own efforts. The monastic severity of early Buddhism is thus complemented by an element of loving devotion which gives Buddhist art a lyrical charm originally lacking.

In the Mahāyāna conception the bodhisattva mediates between Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, embodying highest Enlightenment as well as the spirit of compassion and self-sacrifice. The difficult task of conveying through one image this dual nature was early solved in brilliant fashion, and a large number of masterpieces resulted. The bodhisattva appears as a sublime, superhuman being, raised above the finite world yet not, like the Buddha, wholly divorced from it. Thus he is depicted less abstractly: his figure has vitality and suppleness as well as kindliness and beauty. His bodily turns and gestures allow him to penetrate into the third dimension more freely than the Buddha. A characteristic pose is the 'thrice-bent' (*tribhaṅga*), superficially reminiscent of the Greek *contrapposto*. The bodhisattva wears a rich folded garment covering the lower body only, a long 'shawl' and the costly jewellery of a prince, including a towering headdress. They mostly have some attribute: a lotus, nectar-bottle, sword, scroll, etc. Many show the *ūrṇā* and an aureole. In appearance a bodhisattva is part mundane, part spiritual: this distinguishes him from a Buddha. But the two figures are related: the bodhisattva is shown turning towards the Buddha in veneration. Yet he also has the attitude of a mediator, turning outwards towards the world. Since its origins in Gandhāra the bodhisattva figure is shown as a young Indian prince, but attempts are increasingly made to soften the typically masculine features and impart an aspect both more engaging and more majestic. Hence the Westerner tends to regard the Indian type as somewhat feminine. But actually the artists managed increasingly to portray an essential aspect of the bodhisattva, his asexuality (or 'suprasexuality'), showing that he has transcended the dualities of Saṃsāra (See *EncyBsm*. Vol. III, Pls. XXIII—XXVIII).

The basic bodhisattva type occurs mainly but not exclusively in Mahāyāna areas. In Gandhāra it appears first as a figure attendant on the Buddha, but later as an independent cult-figure. The Mathurā bodhisattvas closely resemble the ancient yakṣa figures. The graceful princely type is continued in modified form in Gupta art and in the Mahāyāna art of Central Java. The Gupta type and its later variant, the Pāla type, seem to have influenced the T'ang sculpture of China as well as that of Tibet. Early texts know only one bodhisattva: Śākyamuni before his Enlightenment, including his previous existences in many forms recorded in the *Jātakas*. With the Mahāyāna came a host of bodhisattvas. Śākyamuni as a bodhisattva is shown in princely attire. Sometimes he is represented in meditation while still in the royal park of his father. Here, the right foot rests on the left knee, the right knee supports the right arm and the right hand touches the cheek. The pose is one of charming nonchalant pensiveness —not yet the unshakable attitude of the later, final meditation under the Bodhi Tree. This princely posture is also used for Maitreya, the next Buddha who still tarries in the Tuṣita heaven awaiting the final birth. Maitreya was probably the first 'new' bodhisattva to develop. Appearing first in Gandhāra art, he became the most popular bodhisattva, especially during the early period in E. Asia, from which several images survive. He is also shown in the 'European' seated posture, with crossed angles, but this type soon disappeared. From 500 A. C. Maitreya is generally regarded as a Buddha with his own 'Pure Land' (See Pl. LXXVI).

Of the numerous Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, only the most important can be mentioned. The most famous of all is Avalokiteśvara (q.v.: either 'the Lord who looks down (mercifully)' or 'Lord of Resplendent Brilliance'), whose role in Tibetan Buddhism under the name of Chen-re-zigs is very great, the Dalai Lama being held to be his *Nirmāṇakāya*. In China he is called Kuan-shih-yin, in Korean K(w)an-se-um, in Japanese K(w)an-ze-on (K(w)annon). He is the compassionate succourer in distress. He may originate from Iranian religion like the Buddha Amitābha as whose attendant he first appears. He has immense wisdom and miraculous powers, symbolised (as in the case of Śiva) by having several arms and heads. He could, too, assume a fearsome aspect, or embrace *Śakti* in a mystical union, but these manifestations are confined to the Vajrayāna, chiefly in Tibet. His main distinguishing-mark from an early date is a small figure of Amitābha Buddha on the front of his headdress. Further attributes, not exclusive to him, are a lotus and a nectar-bottle. But he takes on innumerable disguises, having the power

of unlimited transformation to help others. In late Tantric forms these ideas are strikingly brought out. There is, e.g. Cintāmani-cakra-Avalokiteśvara with a 'wishing jewel' and *dharmacakra*, whose six arms fulfil all wishes ; a similar meaning is attached to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. The Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara carries on his head nine further bodhisattva heads and that of Amitābha Buddha. There are several explanations of this. We also find six manifestations of Avalokiteśvara as helpers of the beings who suffer in the six realms (*gati*, q.v.). All too often, even in specialist literature, it is stated that in E. Asia Avalokiteśvara appears as a female figure : that Kuanyin is a 'goddess of mercy,' or even 'the Madonna of the East,' since he is often shown with a child in his arms. Put thus, the view is quite wrong. No bodhisattva can be called a 'god,' still less a 'goddess', and the idea of a feminine Kuanyin contradicts the notion that any bodhisattva has transcended the difference between the sexes, like other dualities. It also contradicts the visual evidence. Many Avalokiteśvara figures have a small moustache ; though they may display traits that could be taken for feminine ones, the real aim is to suggest the absence of characteristics of either sex. In so far as some late images of Kuanyin imply a genuine trend towards feminity, this may be regarded as due to folkloristic popularisation, which took place mainly in China and Japan.

An altogether different question is posed by the figure of Prajñāpāramitā, Supreme Wisdom. This figure, originating in Tantrism, developed from an abstract religio-philosophical concept into a sacred being : from *nomen* to *numen*. Partly owing to the Sanskrit grammatical gender, but also for deeper psychological reasons, this figure appears in female guise, as the counterpart of the supreme Buddha (she is *not* a bodhisattva). She appeared in India ca. 400 A.C. and was popular in S. Asia, where the queen was held to be her incarnation, as the king represented Lokeśvara or Śiva. She also found a place in the Vajrayāna *maṇḍala* of E. Asia, her six arms representing the six *pāramitās*. She is referred to as the 'Mother of All Buddhas'—but this must be taken metaphorically. Another such hypostasis is the bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha ('Womb of Space,' i.e. *śūnyatā*, q.v.). The Ādi-Buddha Vairocana also appears in Vajrayāna art as the bodhisattva Vajrasattva, sometimes depicted with five heads, corresponding to the five Buddhas in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Three other bodhisattvas are important in art, especially in E. Asia. Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī are also representatives of supreme wisdom and ethical perfection. They appear in triads with Śākyamuni, the one seated on a white elephant with six tusks, the other on a golden lion. In Tantrism Samantabhadra is a manifestation of Vairocana. Mañjuśrī has two attributes : the Book of Transcendental Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) and the sword that cuts through delusion (*avidyā*). A special case is Kṣitigarbha ('Womb of Earth') the only bodhisattva to appear as a monk, but distinguished by the *ūrṇā*, by his nimbus and by the wish-jewel (*cintāmaṇi*). He is one of the most amiable figures of all and was widely venerated and represented, especially (as Jizō) in Japan.

Vajrayāna also includes the category of the 'Kings of Wisdom' (Vidyārājas) ; Chin. Ming-wang ; Jap. Myo-o), who, like Prajñāpāramitā, denote various aspects of the absolute Wisdom of Vairocana ; they are related to him and to the four Buddhas sprung from him : thus they are oriented to the four quarters. Whereas the bodhisattvas represent the gentle and calm (*śānta*) aspect of supreme Being, they represent the wrathful (***krodha***) side. In Vajrayāna even the bodhisattva may manifest in either mild or wrathful guise : the latter is illustrated by the horse-headed Avalokiteśvara. Here, we may have an alien element drawn from Sivaism, from which source most of the terrifying Buddhist figures originate, including the 'Third-Eye'—an eye of natural shape placed vertically in the middle of the fore-head. In Buddhist art it occurs only in these figures and must not be confused with the *ūrṇā*. The wrath of the Vidyārājas, their weapons and the blazing flames of their aureoles are directed against the darkness of *avidyā* which prevents men from gaining emancipation. They are therefore really beneficent. The chief Vidyārāja is Acala (the 'Unshakable'), an emissary of Vairocana, whose figure is widely found in China and Japan (Pu-tung; Jap. Fudō).

Tantrism developed widely in India, Nepal and Tibet, as well as in China (where few ancient works survive) and Japan (where they are frequent in the Shingon School). In all these countries from the middle of the first millennium A. C. on, a host of sacred figures appeared belonging to the categories of bodhisattvas and Vidyārājas. Some derive from Hindu deities ; others are due to a Tantric tendency towards differentiation and classification, resulting in an ordered diagram in large *maṇḍalas* described in detail in such comprehensive works as the *Sādhanamālā*. Many of these figures

have numerous heads, arms and legs as well as their attributes and colours, which symbolise omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence.

Deities (*devā*) rank below the categories named so far, and are no longer of the transcendental sphere: they belong to the six realms (*gati*, q.v.) of Saṃsāra. They dwell in celestial spheres (*devaloka*) situated one above the other, and vary in character and rank: some belong to the 'world of desire' (*kāmadhātu*), others to the 'world of form' (*rūpa*) or the 'formless world' (*arūpa*). Though far superior to men in life-span, state of bliss and freedom from 'earthly remains' they are not immortal and certainly have not entered Nirvāṇa. Though the cult of the gods was regarded by early Buddhists as a low form of popular religiosity, it was not combated. Many ancient Indian gods thus entered Buddhism, especially Indra and Brahmā, found in Gandhāra reliefs, and in later Mahāyāna the gods regained a greater degree of respectability. Several categories of gods are found in art, especially in Japan: (i) The Twelve Gods: Brahmā, Indra and others, representing nature and the elements. This type includes Śrī or Lakṣmī (Jap. Kichijo-ten), goddess of good fortune and beauty, often represented as an elegant Chinese lady. The garments and jewellery worn by these figures are distinguished from those of bodhisattvas by their greater 'worldliness' and features of a definite period or region. (ii) The Four Guardians of the world (Lokapālā) or Celestial Kings (Devarājā) who protect the cardinal points corresponding to Buddha-realms: they probably derive ultimately from the yakṣas. Related are the 'Twelve Divine Generals,' retainers of Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (Jap. Yakushi), armoured knights. Distinct from these are (iii) the Two Gate Guardians (Dvārapālā), half-naked, muscular athletes ready to ward off enemies from the sacred area. With these we have reached the realm of (iv) the inferior deities: numerous divine, semi-divine or demonic beings who are also protectors and worshippers of the Buddha's realm. They include dragon-kings, heaven-dwellers and monsters who, under the benign and ennobling influence of Buddhism, turn into charitable succourers of suffering mankind. Finally, in Japanese art we find (v) also the Shintō gods (*kami*), though these are seldom portrayed, being too mysterious according to Shintō teaching; but there is a kind of *maṇḍala* which correlates the *kami* of a temple with the Buddhist figures whose *avatāras* they are (See Pl. LXXX, Fig. 1).

Next below the gods come unenlightened human beings, for those who have attained Enlightenment stand far above the gods. Thus, in configurations such beings occupy a superior place next to the Buddha. But, according to Mahāyāna doctrine, the arhats come after the bodhisattvas, since they seek redemption only for themselves and not for others. The type of the monk is important as going back to the Buddha himself, who is normally shown as a monk, attended by his personal disciples. These figures are distinguished from the Buddha by being less idealised; in the Gandhāra reliefs their heads recall Roman portraits. In the Mahāyāna art of E. Asia we find a group of the Ten Disciples, headed (or represented) by Kāśyapa, the old man and Ānanda, the youth. In Kōfukuji, Nara, there is a magnificent 8th century group of the Ten Disciples which can serve as a substitute for lost Chinese works. The figure of the arhat (Chin. Lohan; Jap. Rakan; See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Fasc. 1, Frontispiece) obtained a powerful impulse in China from the 7th century on, and in Japan it flourished from the 12th to the 15th century. As we have seen, it was especially favoured by Zen. Some of these arhats were credited (perhaps under Taoist influence) with magic powers and adopted a grotesque appearance in consequence. There are groups of 16, 18 or 500 arhats. In E. Asia they were represented in all sorts of psychological types, remarkable for the artistic imagination shown in their expressive features. From the Sung period on painters depicted them in the setting of a landscape, adding benign attendants in the shape of various animals.

Other figures on the human level represent the great historical personages of various Buddhist Schools. They include the patriarchs Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and many others, heads of Schools, prominent teachers and abbots and, particularly in Japan, authentic portraits of eminent contemporaries. The patriarchs are often shown in groups. In most cases they are ideal portraits, as when the great sculptor Unkei attempted to visualise Asaṅga (Muchaku), in the early 13th century when pious Buddhists tried to represent holy persons as effectively and as close to life as possible. The result is a typically Japanese face with rather crudely-cut features which express in a most ingenious way the profoundly spiritual character of that philosopher (the figure is in Kōfukuji, Nara: See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. IX). In Japan, too, from about 1200 we have many authentic painted and sculptured portraits (including self-portraits) which are extraordinarily impressive. Such portraits, of patriarchs or clerics, served as the focal point of rites in commemorating the foundation of the particular sect or temple. There are also other, less

formal portraits such as the delightful one of Myoe Shonin (13th cent.) in Kōzanji, Kyoto, showing the monk seated in meditation in a tree (See also Pl. LXXX, Fig. 2).

Such portraiture was particularly cultivated by adherents of the Ch'an (Zen) School which attached much importance to deeply religious personages, to contact between master and pupil and to the transmission 'from mind to mind.' In this case the chain of tradition plays an enhanced role and is based entirely on personal relationships. Since the Ch'an School to some extent returned to the early Buddhist ideal of demanding that each individual should seek Enlightenment independently, its adherents took as their model the Buddha's early disciples and the way of the arhat. The main figure of Ch'an, Bodhidharma (Ta-mo, Daruma), occupies a prominent place in Ch'an art. In ink-paintings he was depicted with the greatest virtuosity, as an almost demonic figure with enormous compelling eyes, by the use of forceful, concentrated and expressive brushwork (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. III, Pl. XVIII). Scenes from Bodhidharma's legendary career are depicted: his crossing of the Yang-tse-kiang on a reed, his nine years meditation before a rock-face which resulted in the rotting away of his legs, or the tale of the pupil (Hui-k'o), who cut off his arm to demonstrate his seriousness of purpose. Such scenes indicate the deadly earnest nature of Zen, an earnestness which is matched by the power with which great painters like Sesshū (1420–1506 A.C.) depicted such scenes from out of the depth of their own Zen experience. The element of the grotesque and comic in Zen painting should thus not be misunderstood: it serves to symbolise the immediacy of religious phenomena that are remote from everything 'normal,' conventional and hallowed by tradition. This led to fresh and outrageously novel interpretations of traditional iconography, and even the introduction of new figures like the pot-bellied mendicant Pu-tai (ca. 900), and the two vagabond-like characters Han-shan and Shih-te (7th cen.), who do indeed possess a strange kind of superior wisdom and hence are sometimes regarded as incarnations of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Later Japanese painters like Hakuin (1685–1768) finally cast off all restraint in their brushwork so as to free themselves from the conventions which had meanwhile sprung up even within Zen art.

VI. Narative Works

Most works we have so far considered were cult-images, i.e., metaphysical symbols of beings 'outside time and space,' beyond the realm of Saṃsāra. We now come to works with 'historical' subject-matter, narrating a story or illustrating a literary text, first of all to representations of the historico-legendary biography of Śākyamuni, or events from his earlier lives described in the *Jātakas*. Such works exist *to tell a tale*, and usually we have a text that is illustrated more or less literally. The same applies to representations of tales from the sūtras, like the experiences of Sudhana in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, or the senes from the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*. Even in the early period before the Buddha was depicted in person, such legendary themes were used: they appear in the reliefs at Bhārhut, Sāñcī and even Amarāvatī. Here the main figure, represented by a symbol, is surrounded by many persons in lively activity (See Pl. LXXIII). In the *Jātaka* representations, many ancient animal legends are drawn on and so attain a higher, sacred meaning. The Ajantā cave-paintings show a rich variety of these (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. I, Pls. VI, VIII, XXI—XXV), unrestrained by rational principles of composition, thus very different from the regularly composed Gandhāra reliefs which are based on models taken from Antiquity, especially sarcophagi. Only occasionally here do we find the clear disposition of forms overshadowed by a typically Indian wealth of figures. From these numerous biographical scenes a complete life-story of the Buddha can be reconstructed.

Reliefs in Indian art were carved on panels of different shapes: long and narrow with friezes, rectangular or square, or round madellions. Depending on the shape of the panel, the representation either moved on from one phase to another, or was concentrated into a single event. Often the programme imposed a restriction to the main events of the Buddha's life: his birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon and Parinirvāṇa. These are then interpreted in a non-temporal sense. This is particularly clear in renderings of his birth, which frequently depict, not the child but the Buddha in a state of perfection with all his attributes. Or he is shown in the meditation posture in which he remained from conception to birth. As Mahāyāna teaching always attaches more importance to propagating the Dharma than to narrating history, the narrative pictures were increasingly treated in the manner, already indicated, of cult-images, or were used as such (as. e.g., in Japan the picture of the Parinirvāṇa, which serves as a cult image at the annual ceremony commemorating the Buddha's passing). But narrative scenes are also found attached to a cult image, e.g. to the base of a stūpa or a Buddha statue.

Within the Indian cultural sphere classical Buddhist art reached its peak in the Borobudur in Java ; this also marks the climax of achievement in the pictorial epic narrative and its translation into a solemn configuration (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LV). Indo-Chinese art can boast of no corresponding achievements. The late Thai paintings (17th–19th cent.)—wall-paintings, banners, panels, etc.—though gay and charming, have no outstanding quality. Earlier examples of higher standing are nearly all lost, but we possess recently discovered wall-paintings in the closed crypt of the tower-like Wat Rajapurana at Ayuthia (from 1424 A.C.). The magnificent narrative friezes at Angkor are mainly on Hindu themes. In Central Asia (See Pl. LXXVII) historical narrative scenes are favoured at Kucha, less so at Turfan where *pranidhī* scenes showing Śākyamuni offering his vows to Buddhas of former ages are popular. There is here a transition to the formal character of the cult-image. The *Jātaka* scenes at Kyzyl (ca. 500 A.C.) are curiously divided up into rhomboid compartments containing the various scenes, by flat hills suggestive of scales. The wall-paintings of Cave 428 at Tun-huang (ca. 520-30A.C.) are different. Here too the mountains are stylised, but they give a setting for the story, at once separating and linking the phases of the narrative. These pictures are really like hand-scrolls transferred to wall-painting.

The caves at Tun-huang in particular show that the Chinese produced magnificent Buddhist paintings at an early date. In 366 Lo Tsun had a vision of the 'Thousand Buddhas' appearing on the summits of the mountains at Tun-huang, and subsequently one cave after another was hewn into the soft sedimentary rock there : the total number of caves found so far is 486. The earliest preserved paintings date from soon after 450, and work went on with interruptions till about 1300. Thus Tun-huang provides us with an almost complete collection of Buddhist painting (and sculpture) for a period of eight centuries. In addition, its discoverers, Sir Aurel Stein and P. Pelliot, found in a chamber walled up about 1035, a vast number of paintings on silk or paper, in fairly good preservation, which throw a flood of light on the early development of Chinese pictorial art. From an architectural point of view the Tun-huang caves are much less complex than others in Central Asia. Almost the only embellishment was in the form of paintings: the walls were divided into registers and panels, some larger than others, on which were painted, using a tempera technique on plaster, compositions of many figures. Very popular were countless 'realms of Buddha' and lengthy cycles of Buddhist legends (especially *Jātakas*). These colourful paintings must have made a dazzling impression on the pious visitor : they will have stimulated his religious imagination and made him feel as if transported into a visionary realm, inhabited by sacred beings. The ceilings, too, often show representations of figures, celestial beings or the Thousand Buddhas, and above all ornamented panels resembling carpets. At Tun-huang we can gain a clear idea of the course of stylistic development. In pictorial representations from the early phase (N. or W. Wei Dynasty, 368–556 A.C.), the style was still archaic, abstract, linear and two-dimensional ; we can then trace all right up to the Sung period. Of special interest are the differences between the late T'ang style of Tun-huang and the corresponding paintings at Turfan, which modify the style in several respects and do not quite reach its standards in quality. There may be no outstanding masterpieces at Tun-huang but the technical and artistic level is often very high. There are some vast, yet exquisitely worked compositions which portray vividly the religious ideas expressed and also contain a wealth of delightful detail, combining lively draughtsmanship with brilliant but harmoniously arranged colours. Thus Tun-huang art can in no circumstances be classed as provincial or mediocre despite the great distance that separated it from the main centres of Chinese art.

The type of scroll-painting mentioned above flourished in E. Asia from the 5th. to the 13th. cent. But the only important specimen in this class preserved from its early period, is the *Sūtra of Cause and Effect* (*Kako-Genzai-Inga-Kyō*) which has illustrations of the Buddha's life, in somewhat primitive form, above the written text ; fragments of several Japanese scrolls survive from ca. 730-70 A.C., reflecting an earlier Chinese style of Buddhist book illumination. We have a number of highly important scroll-paintings from Japan, especially from the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods (ca. 1100–1350). The Japanese hand-scrolls (*emakimono*) are frequently several metres long but only 25–50 cm. wide, and a complete work may consist of three, ten or nearly fifty scrolls. The pictorial parts are usually interspersed with texts in fine calligraphy, and the scene can be gradually unfolded by unrolling the scroll. Besides Buddhist themes we find illustrations from history and of classics such as the *Genji Monogatari*. Buddhist themes are chiefly biographies of priests or temple chronicles. Important biographical scrolls deal, e.g., with Hōnen Shōnin (1133–1212 A.C.) and Ippen Shōnin (1239–89 A.C.). All such themes are treated with a wealth of local colour and a keen

feeling for the life of the people, in an extensive setting of landscape depicted with loving care, which is unequalled in Buddhist art.

Finally, Ch'an (Zen) art produced its own narrative pictures which are marked by the special Zen kind of unconventionality. We may instance the story of Hui-k'o (see above) as depicted by Sesshu. Especially characteristic of Zen are the pictorial parables, such as the monkey trying to catch the moon's reflexion in the water and missing the real moon above (which is of course not even shown!). The famous 'ox-herding' pictures may also be instanced. There are two series of these, both by Sung painters, Ching-chu (Sei-kyo) and K'uo-an (Kaku-an). In the one series the ox, at first black, becomes progressively lighter and finally disappears (there is a Tibetan parallel to this with an elephant), while the other and better-known version leads through ten stages, of which the ninth, is an empty circle: in the final picture, however, the 'return to the world' is shown. But the Ch'an attitude was most clearly expressed in representations of nature. The most striking example is a work by Mu-ch'i, a small ink-painting of six *kaki* fruits. It appears to be just a still-life but it is an ontological statement at the profoundest level. But the aim of the Zen artist is ultimately to transcend all imagery. As long as it remains in the visual sphere, it finds purest expression in an abstract symbol or a written character, e.g. the word *wu*, Jap. *mu* = 'not' or 'nothing,' hinting at the inexpressible truth embraced by meditation. But taken to ultimate conclusions Zen art culminates in an empty picture, a 'formless form,' the 'thundering silence.'

VII. Symbolism and Ornamentation

In Buddhist, especially Mahāyāna art, every figure embodies a religious idea and is thus a symbol capable of precise definition. Certain features serve as distinguishing marks: the *uṣṇīṣa* and *ūrṇā*, various *mudrās*, etc. The attributes of bodhisattvas and Vidyārājas may include specifically Buddhist symbols, current signs of good luck, or even weapons, which in Buddhist teaching are aimed at the arch-enemy *avidyā*. Many animal and other symbols occur: the gazelles for the First Sermon, and above all the lotus symbolising the Buddha-nature unpolluted by Saṃsāra: it also serves as the Buddhas throne and centre of the *maṇḍala*. Each figure has symbolic colours, and numbers too play an important role. Vajrayāna especially produced a highly complex system of symbols, some peculiar to it alone: the central position is here held by the *vajra* (Tib. *dorje*), which perhaps originally denoted the trident or bundle of arrows of the celestial deity (i.e. lightning), but later was interpreted as a diamond, symbolising the indestructability and purity of the Absolute. Its counterpart is the bell, suggesting the 'World of the Maternal Womb' (*garbhakoṣadhātu*), i.e. Saṃsāra. Vajrayāna also has mystical characters (*siddham*) which derive from an Indian script and represent *mantras*. They may replace the figures of beings in the *maṇḍala*.

The *maṇḍala* itself is a central symbol representing the metaphysical structure of the world. We have seen that buildings may constitute such an image of the world: they may either form an abstract diagram resembling a *maṇḍala* or depict it visually – when, e.g., a temple and all its furnishings represent the Pure Land of Amitābha. Other forms of such symbols are the axial plan of a sacred area, or the connexion between mountain and cave previously alluded to (see section III). Artistic media that seem purely decorative, such as gold, also possess an ontological meaning: gold is frequently used to denote the 'absolute' colour of the Buddha, etc. But whereas Vajrayāna developed its symbolism into a rich scholastic and mystical system, Hīnayāna was mainly content with the few symbols originally connected with the person and life of the Buddha. Ch'an (Zen) Buddhists also renounce any fully-formed or binding system of symbols; for them every insignificant object, flower or animal, can tell us something about true reality, and can express it with far more immediacy than is possible through a mass of symbols, necessarily fettered by tradition and formalisation.

The processes of transmission in Buddhist art can be traced especially clearly in the case of ornamentation. The vine-scroll, e.g., or the plametto had no original connexion with Buddhism, being derived from Classical Antiquity or the Near East. But just as they penetrated Islam and the early medieval West, so they entered Buddhism and travelled E. across Asia. This explains the surprising affinity between, e.g., the friezes comprising leaves and scrolls in Romanesque churches of Central Europe and those in the cave-temples of China (Yünkang). An important part is likewise played in Central and E. Asian art by Sassanid *motifs* (and some that derive ultimately from Mesopotamia); these likewise found their way into European art.

VIII. Conclusion

In spite of the oecumenical unity of Buddhist art, we should not overlook the unique characteristics of works produced in different regions and periods. Each Buddhist land has its own individual style. This is based on the survival, along with Buddhist concepts, of non-Buddhist ideas which could not be suppressed and which came to exert a certain modifying influence on religious thought, and hence on art. We have seen this most clearly in regard to Hinduism, but the same is true elsewhere. The specifically Chinese element in Chinese Buddhist art has roots going back to the second millennium B.C. And the specifically Japanese element in Japanese Buddhist art goes back to pre-Buddhist Shintō origins. Yet despite all such differences the essential basic ideas, expressed in certain types of figure, formal principles and symbols form a common basis valid for all Buddhist areas.

A work of Buddhist art has various purposes or functions. It may narrate the sacred story or illustrate sacred texts. It may be a cult image containing the sacred 'substance' of the holy person portrayed, thus serving as an 'instrument' (*yantra*) of salvation. Or it may be designed to inspire a sense of piety in the believer, who turns to it with fond devotion (*bhakti*); it may be the basis for meditation or visionary experience, or a medium used in initiation. Frequently it takes on the form of an orderly scheme representing the structure of the spiritual and material world. Thus a Buddhist work of art –or the power contained in it – can radiate benediction far and wide. In order to evoke this effect, Buddhist works of art are offered as votive gifts. The need for votive offerings(*pūjā*) and for a large number of sacral objects (*alamkāra*, *vyūha*; Jap. *shōgon*) was in fact everywhere one of the most fruitful stimuli for the production of Buddhist works of art. But in the last analysis, each of them aims at transcending imagery as such, and its most important funciton is, by leading the believer beyond Saṃsāra to make itself unnecessary.

D.S.

BUDDHIST ERA. See ERA.

BUDDHIVISPHURAṆA, name of a particular samādhi attained by Avalokiteśvara. It occurs in the list of samādhis, enumerated by the Buddha at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin (text reads – ṇīvaraṇa–), all of which are said to have been attained by Avalokiteśvara (*Kvyū.* p. 52).

BUDDHIYA, a name for Buddhija (q.v.), personal attendant of Kakusanda Buddha.

BUDDHOLOGY

I. Introductory:

The Buddha Gotama was the historical person who founded in North India in the latter part of the sixth century B. C., a system of philosophy and ethics which later on came to be known as Buddhism. He was able to exercise considerable influence on the life and thought of the peoples of India of his time and left behind him a large number of adherents who continued the task of propagating his message after his death which took place about 480 B.C. These adherents considered him to be a great teacher and, naturally, superhuman qualities came to be attributed to him, not only after his death, but even while he was alive. These qualities–both intellectual and moral and even physical—sufficed to make him a deva in the eyes of his followers. Soon, the followers themselves were puzzled as to the real nature of their teacher's personality. And, even before the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, i.e., during the reign of Asoka the Maurya in the third century B.C., questions were being raised regarding the real nature of the Buddha's personality. Questions such as: Who was the Buddha? Was he a human being? Or was he a deva? (*Kvu. KvuA.* 18. 1–4) were being asked. The Buddha himself had declared that he was neither a *manussa*, nor a *gandhabba*, nor a *yakkha*, nor even a deva or a Brahmā, but that he was only a Buddha (*A.* II. pp. 38–39; cf. *Samādhirājasūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 145). Since this statement did not explain who the Buddha was, it lent itself to a variety of interpretations. The Buddha-concept thus became one of the most important topics of discussion in the history of Buddhist thought. While one School of Buddhism adhered to the view that the Buddha was a human being, another School advocated a docetic theory. This docetism found its final development in later Schools which held that the Buddha was the ultimate reality of the world.

Buddhology constitutes the study of the personality of the Buddha in its transition from that of a human being to the poistion of the ultimate reality of the world.

Buddha as a human being

The Buddha Gotama, according to the Pali Nikāyas which may be considered the earliest extant scriptures of the Buddhists, was born in a Śākyan

aristocratic family in the Kosala country in North India (*Sn.* p. 73). His father was Suddhodana and mother Māyā (ibid. pp.132–33; *D.* II, p. 51). The sage Asita visited the newly-born babe and wished him all success (*Sn.* p. 133). The babe was named Siddhattha (*J.* I. p. 56) and, as an infant, was taken to his father's paddy fields to witness ploughing and was kept under the cool shade of a rose-apple tree (*M.* I, p. 246). As a young prince Siddhattha enjoyed life in three palaces specially designed to suit the three seasons of the year (*A.* I, p. 145). He was married to a princess named Bhaddakaccā and had a son named Rāhula (*Buv.* xxv, *v.* 15).

Thus it is seen that the Pali Nikāyas depict the early life of Gotama as one which fits into the life-pattern of a normal layman of his time.

Continuing to discuss his mature life the same sources describe Gotama as being confronted with the realities of life and its attendant miseries and deciding to find a solution, a way out of this universal suffering. At the age of twenty-nine (*D.* II, p. 151) he leaves the worldly life to become an ascetic in search of this solution (*Sn.* p. 72; *M.* I, pp. 163, 240).

In persuit of this goal the ascetic Gotama wandered about the valley of the Ganges, meeting famous religious teachers like Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, studying and following their systems and techniques and submitting himself to rigorous ascetic practices (*Sn.* pp. 74 f.; *M.* I., pp. 77ff., 163 ff., 242 ff.).

Disillusioned with these teachers and their teachings he abandoned all traditional religion and its methods and decided to depend on his own resources. It was thereafter that one evening, seated under the bodhi-tree (*assattha, ficus religiosa* on the bank of the river Nerañjarā (near Gayā in modern Bihar), Gotama at the age of thirty-five, attained Enlightenment (*Sn.* pp. 76ff.; M. I. pp. 166 ff.; 246 ff.) after which he came to be known as the Buddha, the Enlightened One.

The term Buddha, which is the past participle noun derived from *bujjhati*, is an appellative one (*Ps.* I, p. 174) which lierally means 'realised' or 'understood.' Used with reference to a person the term means one who has realised or understood. The texts explain the Buddha as one who has realised the (Four Noble) Truths (*bhujjhitā saccānīti buddho*: *Ps.* I, p. 174; *Nd.* I. I, p. 457; *Pug.* p. 14; *Vism.* p. 172).

After his Enlightenment, Gotama, the Buddha, delivered his first sermon to a group of five ascetics, his old colleagues (*M.* I, p. 247), in the Deer Park at Isipatana (*Vin.* I, pp. 8ff.; modern Saranath, near Benares). From then on he toured the country for fourty-five years, explaining to people the truth he discovered. He won numerous followers—kings, ministers, brahmanas, and ordinary men among them and formed a community of disciples called the Saṅgha or *sakyaputtiyā samaṇā*, recluses, the sons of the Śākyan sage.

In the last days of his life he suffered pains of body (*M.* I, p. 354), and had signs of old age and infirmity (*D.* II, p.100; *M.* I, p. 82, ; *S.* V, pp. 20f. etc.). He felt thirst (*D.* II, p. 129) and was subject to fainting (*D.* II, pp. 134, 137); he fell sick (*D.* II, p. 128), became physically very weak (ibid. p. 129) and finally, passed away at Kusinārā in the Malla country (modern Uttara Pradesh : *D.* II, p. 156).

This *Nikāya* picture retains the human nature of the life of Gotama Buddha even after his Enlightenment; he was subject to the normal laws of life, decay and death (*jarā-maraṇa*).

Qualities of the Buddha

I. *Tivijjā* — The attainment of Enlightenment or Buddhahood is explained in the Pali texts as the realisation of the truth of the law of causality (*paṭicca-samuppāda* : *M.* I, p. 167; *Vin.* I, pp. 4-5), and also as the the attianment of Nibbāna (*M.* I, p. 167). This is elaborated as the acquisition of the three-fold knowledge (*tivijjā*) which consists of (1) remembering one's own former births (*pubbe-nivāsānussati-ñāṇa*), the knowledge of the disappearance and reappearance of other beings (*cutūpapāta-ñāṇa*), which knowledge is the same as the divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) and (3) the knowledge regarding the total eradication of passions (*āsavakkhayañāṇa* : *M.* I, 247).

II. *Chaḷabhiññā*—There are other qualities possessed by the Buddha. One group of such qualities is called the six-fold superknowledge (*chaḷabhiññā*) which consists, in addition to the three-fold knowledge, (4) psychic power (*iddhividha*), (5) the divine ear (*dibba-sota*) and (6) ability to penetrate the minds of others (*cetopariya-ñāṇa* or *paracitta-vijānana-ñāṇa* : *M.* I, p. 69).

III. *Dasabala*—Then we find mention of the ten intellectual powers (*dasa-bala*) of the Buddha. They comprise the knowledge of (1) what is causal occasion and what is not (*ṭhānāṭhāna-ñāṇa*),

(2) of actions and their results (*kamma-vipāka-ñāṇa*), (3) of the course that leads to all bourns (*sabbattha-gāminī-paṭipadā*), (4) of the world with its various and diverse element (*anekadhātu-nānādhātu-loka*), (5) of the divers characters of beings (*sattānaṃ nānādhimuttikatā*), (6) of the higher or lower state of the spiritual faculties of beings (*parasattānaṃ indriyaparopariyatta*), (7) of the defilement and purification of and emergence from attainments in meditations, deliverances and concentration (*jhāna-vimokkha-samādhi-samāpattīnaṃ saṅkilesam vodānaṃ vuṭṭhā-naṃ*) and the three-fold knowledge (*tivijjā*) as the last three (*M*. I, pp. 69-70; *Dhs*. p. 76; *Vbh*. pp. 335-44, etc).

IV. *Catu-vesārajja*. Another quality possessed by the Buddha is called the four-fold self-assurance or self-confidence (*catu-vesārajja*), i.e., confidence (1) in the perfection of his Enlightenment: nobody could challenge the Buddha that certain things are not comprehended by him; (2) in his total eradication of passions: nobody could challenge him that certain passions remain undestroyed in him; (3) in his definition of evil: nobody could challenge him that the things stated by him to be evil are, in fact, not evil and (4) in the path he preached: nobody could challenge him that the followers of his path would not attain the desired goal (*M*. I, pp. 71-72).

These are the qualities possesed by the Buddha as we find them in the earliest Buddhist scriptures, the Pali Nikāyas.

As Teacher

Of the above qualities, with the sole exception of the four-fold self-confidence, all other qualities are possessed also by the arahants, his own disciples, who have attained perfection. The three-fold knowledge and the six-fold super-knowledge are well known attributes of the arahants as is evident from such terms as *tevijjo*, (possessor of the three-fold knowledge), and *chaḷabhiñño*, (possessor of the six-fold super knowledge), which are frequently used with reference to arahants. The term *catu-vesārajja-visārado*, (self-confident in four ways), is never used in reference to arahants; it is a monopoly of the Buddha. Although the term *dasabalo*, (possessor of ten intellectual powers), too, is never used with reference to arahants, yet we find Anuruddha, one of the Buddha's leading arahant disciples, who is declared to be foremost among those arahants possessing the divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*: *A*. I, p. 23), advancing claims to these ten intellectual powers as well (*S*. V, pp. 304-305).[1]

Thus, the most essential qualities of the Buddha are found to be possessed by arahants as well. The question now arises: Is there no difference between the Buddha and the arahants? This question was raised during the lifetime of the Buddha himself and the reply given was that there is a difference. The Buddha differs from the arahants by being the discoverer and preacher of the Path that leads to the attainment of these qualities, whereas the arahants are the followers of the Path (*M*. II, p. 8; *S*. III, pp. 65-66). The Buddha is the teacher (*satthā*) whereas the arahants are disciples (*sāvakā*). This fact is clearly brought out in the words of the formula to be used when meditating on the Buddha: He is the lord (*bhagavā*), the Perfected One (*arahaṃ*), the perfectly Enlightened One (*sammāsambuddha*), endowed with knowledge and conduct (*vijjā-caraṇa-sampanna*), who has happily accomplished all (*sugata*), the Knower of the entire world (*lokavidū*), the Supreme Charioteer of men to be tamed (*anuttaro purisa-hamma-sārathī*), the Teacher of gods and men (*satthā devamanussānam*) and the Enlightened One (*buddhō*: *D*. I, p. 49, etc.).

Except for the second term, *arahaṃ*, all other terms are used with reference to the Buddha alone, and in using them, we find the Buddha simply described in a way which is sometimes supposed to be a modern rationalised portrait.

The difference between the Buddha and the paccekabuddhas is that the former is both the discoverer and the preacher of the Path whereas the latter are only discoverers of the Path (*Pug*. pp. 14 ff.). The latter cannot preach their discovery to others, most probably because they lack the skill

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1 On the basis of the ten intellectual powers being claimed by Anuruddha, the Andhakas thought that there was no difference between the Buddha and the arahants (*Kvu*., *KvuA*. I. p. iii). This was considered by the Theravādins to be a heresy, and the ruling given by them in the third council was that, out of ten powers, *āsavakkhaya-ñāṇa* is common to both, the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* is a monopoly of the Buddha and the remaing eight powers, althongh possessed by both, are weak in arahants but perfect in the Buddha (loc. cit).

This does not seem to have solved the problem, since the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* is claimed by Anuruddha. The solution given in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* is that the *indriyaparopariyatta-ñāṇa* is possessed by arahants but, like the other eight *ñāṇas*, is not as complex as that of the Buddha (*SA*. III, p. 263).

in expedients (*upāyakauśalya*). In order to distinguish between the two, the former is called the Sammāsambuddha while the latter are called paccekabuddha (q.v.).

More Attributes

Besides the three-fold knowledge, the six-fold superknowledge, the ten intellectual powers and the four-fold self-confidence, as described above, we find other qualities being attributed to him in the scholastic works of the Pali Sutta Piṭaka. [2]

I. *The five ' Eyes.'* The *Niddesa,* while commenting on the term *vivaṭa-cakkhu,* an epithet of the Buddha, meaning ' the open-eyed one, ' enumerates five types of ' Eyes ' possessed by the Buddha. They include (i) the eye of flesh (*maṃsa-cakkhu*) which is keen enough to see the distance of a league, (ii) the divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) already mentioned as one constituent of the three-fold knowledge, (iii) the eye of wisdom (*paññā-cakkhu*) which he possesses as the discoverer of the Path, (iv) the Buddha-eye by which he knows the hearts and intentions of individuals, the sixth intellectual power and (v) the universal eye (*samanta-cakkhu*) which is identified with omniscience (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*: *Nd.* I,pp. 355-60; *Ps.* I, p. 133).

II. *Omniscience.* The Omniscience attributed to the Buddha here and elsewhere (e.g. *Kvu.* p. 228) is a quality never claimed by him. In fact, the question was asked of the Buddha himself whether he was omniscient and whether omniscience was present in him while he was awake or asleep (*M.* I, p. 48). The reply given by him was in the negative. He is represented as denying that he claims such omniscience. What is claimed by him in this context is the three-fold knowledge (*M.* I, pp. 48, 482).

The type of omniscience described in this question was one that was claimed by the Jaina leader, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (*M.*I, pp. 92–93; II, pp. 32ff.). This type of omniscience is ridiculed by the early Buddhists and the 'omniscieent ' Jaina leader is described as being so ignorant that he goes for alms to a house to find that it is empty, or as having to ask his way to a particular village (*M.* I, p. 519).

But omniscience came to be attributed to the Buddha, though not in the form adopted by the Jainas. His omniscience was interpreted as a power within him by which he could so direct his attention on anything, anywhere and bring it within the net of his knowledge (*ñāṇa-jāla*), the range of his vision (*DhpA.* I, p. 26; II, p. 37; *VvuA.* p. 63).

III. *Fourteen Buddha-ñāṇa.* Omniscience understood in this sense is described in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (I,p. 133) as one of the fourteen kinds of knowledge of the Buddha which constitute the ' Universal Eye ' (*samanta-cakkhu*), the fifth ' Eye ' of the Buddha. The fourteen kinds of knowledge consist of the knowledge of the Four Noble Truths, the four-fold analytical knowledge (*paṭisambhidā*), (9) the knowledge of the higher and lower state of the spiritual faculties of beings (*indriya-paropariyatta-ñāṇa*), the sixth intellectual power which constitutes a part of the *Buddha-cakkhu,* the fourth ' Eye, ' (10) the knowledge of views and inclinations of beings (*āsayānusaya-ñāṇa*), which constitutes the other part of the Buddhacakkhu (*Nd.* II, p. 383), (11) the knowledge of the Twin Miracle (*yamaka-pāṭihīra-ñāṇa*: q.v.), (12) the knowledge of the attainment of Great Compassion (*mahākaruṇā-samāpatti-ñāṇa*), (13) Omniscience (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*), and (14) the knowledge which is unobstructed (*anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa*: *Ps.* I, pp. 133f.).

Of these fourteen kinds of knowledge, according to the text, the first eight are shared also by the arahants; but the latter six are possessed only by the Buddha (loc. cit.).

Omniscience, as defined in this context, embraces no less than forty six items. The 'unobstructed knowledge ' is not a knowledge different from omniscience; it is only a characteristic of omniscience. It means that the Buddha's omniscience cannot be obstructed by anybody or anything (*Ps.* I, p. 134; *PsA.* II, pp. 249 ff.; *Nd.* II, p. 80; *UdA.* p. 144).

How omniscience differs from the knowledge involved in the ten powers is discussed by Buddhaghosa in commenting on the ten intellectual powers. The other Schools hold, he says, that the knowledge of the ten powers is not something different from, but only a variety of, omniscience. He points out that such is not the case; they are of two different types. The ten kinds of knowledge, involved in the ten intellectual powers, pertain severally and only to their ten kinds of relevant objects, while omniscience embraces these ten objects and everything beyond them. The ten kinds of knowledge perform the ten kinds of actions involved in them; but

2 The Pali Sutta Piṭaka consists of texts belonging to different strata. Texts like the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* and the *Pārāyana-vagga* belong to an earlier period while the *Niddesa* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* belong to a later period.

omniscience does not. Omniscience is not the knowledge that produces release; by means of it one might know the trances or the psychic powers, and yet not be able to perform them; one might know the Path, yet not be able thereby to get rid of the passions (*MA*. II, p. 31; *Nett.* p. 235).

These are the qualities of the Buddha as found in the Pali canon. And, as we have already seen, some of these qualities were shared by arahants as well. All types of knowledge, including omniscience, is ordinary human wisdom, infinitely extended. The marvellous powers the Buddha possessed, such as his ability to perform various miracles and his ability to live the full life-span if he wanted to, are derived from the special qualities, such as *iddhividha*, *yamakapāṭīhīra-ñāṇa* and *iddhipāda* (*D*. II, p. 103) which he possessed as a Buddha.

This is not a humanised portrait of a divine being, but of a historical being, the belief in which view remained unchanged with the Theravādins, in spite of the wonderful qualities that became attributed to him in the course of time.

There are two more aspects to the Buddha-concept that are found in the Pali canon. One is the belief in the physical attributes of the Buddha and the other the belief in the plurality of Buddhas.

Superman

The Buddha is credited with the thirty-two major and eighty minor physical characteristics which make him a superman (*mahāpurisa*, q.v.). These are natal marks which he acquired not as a result of his attaining Enlightenment at the bodhi-tree, but, at birth, as a result of the meritorious deeds he performed in his previous lives. These marks, however, are not a monopoly of the Buddha; even Cakkavattis or World-rulers are endowed with them (*D*. I, pp. 88f; III, pp. 142 ff.).

Plurality

The doctrine that Buddhahood should be the goal for everyone, i.e., the bodhisattva-ideal which is predominant in Mahāyana texts, never appears in the Pali canon, although the term bodhisatta occurs there. But, there was a belief prevalent among the early Buddhists, in the existence of six Buddhas who preceded Gotama (*D*. III, p. 2; III, pp. 195-96). Probably due to the influence of the Jaina theory of the Tīrthaṅkaras, who preceded Mahāvīra, the number of the Buddhas who preceded Gotama and predicted his advent was soon increased to twenty four in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This number was later on increased to twenty seven in the *Jātakanidāna*. As a part of the doctrine of succession of Buddhas arose the belief in a future Buddha, named Metteyya (*D*. III, p. 76).

This is the extent to which the Buddha-concept is developed in the Pali canon. The later developments found in the Pali commentaries of the Theravādins, i.e., a tendency towards docetism, were based on some Pali sutta passages which most likely belong to a different stratum. These will be dealt with in their appropriate place.

But there are several other essential factors in the Buddha-concept as it is developed by the Sanskrit writers.

The attributes of the Buddha go on increasing, and this development is modified by the rise of the bodhisattva ideal when we find the reorientation of the whole concept for the inspiration and edification of the bodhisattvas. A bodhisattva should know and comprehend the qualities and characteristics of the Buddha before he can appreciate the importance of striving for Buddhahood. The whole doctrine is one of the development of an individual from the time he makes the vow and cultivates, for ages, all the qualities that finally result in Buddhahood. It is in this spirit that the five 'Eyes' of the Buddha are interpreted in the *Mahāvastu*. It is said that the Buddha became gifted with five 'Eyes' on his approach to the bodhi-tree, before he attained supreme Enlightenment (*Mhvu*. I. p. 158).

The bodhisattva doctrine of the Mahāyāna did not play a significant role in the Theravāda development of the Buddha-concept. The insignificance of the bodhisattva doctrine for the Theravādins may be gathered from the fact that it is practically absent from their Abhidhamma. Even in the *Puggalapaññatti*, which gives a classification of different types of individuals, it is not included.

The five 'Eyes' reinterpreted

We have already noticed five kinds of 'Eyes' being attributed to the Buddha in the *Mahāniddesa*. We also find a similar list of five 'Eyes' being attributed to him in the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 158), a Sanskrit text belonging to the Lokottaravāda sect of the Mahāsaṅghika School. The fact to be emphasised here is that the Buddha becomes gifted with the five 'Eyes' even before he attains supreme Enlightenment (loc. cit) This is in keeping with the bodhisattva doctrine,

the beginning of which is evident in the *Mahāvastu*. The bodhisattva doctrine teaches the gradual devebopment of the individual in ten stages (*daśa-bhūmi*) culminating in Buddhahood.

The five 'Eyes' enumerated in the *Mahāvastu* consist of (1) the eye of flesh (*māṃśā-cakṣu*), (2) the divine eye (*divya-cakṣu*), (3) the eye of wisdom (*prajñā-cakṣu*), (4) the *dharma-cakṣu* and (5) the *Buddha-cakṣu* (*Mhvu.* I, p. 158).

The first two Eyes are more or less the same as their Pali counterparts. The Eye of wisdom is here interpreted as the Eye that each of the eight kinds of Āryans (*ārya-pudgala*) possess. The *dharma-cakṣu* replaces the *samantacakkhu* of the Pali list. There is a *dhammacakkhu* in Pali literature, too; and it is identified with the knowledge of the causal law. The *dhammacakkhu* of the Pali texts may de identified with the Eye of wisdom (*prajñā-cakṣu*) of the *Mahāvastu* list, where the *dharma-cakṣu* is identified with the ten intellectual powers (*daśabala : Mhvu.* pp. 159-60). The *Buddha-cakṣu* is here explained as constituted of the eighteen special attributes of the Buddha (*āveṇika-Buddha-dharma : Mhvu.* I, p. 160; See also *Sūtrāl.* pp. 187-88).

The eighteen special attributes consists of the Buddha's infallible knowledge of and insight into (1) the past, (2) the future and (3) the present: all his acts (4) of body, (5) of speech and (6) of thought are based on knowledge; there is no falling off (7) in resolution, (8) in energy, (9) in mindfulness, (10) in concentration, (11) in insight and (12) in emancipation; there is (13) no faltering, (14) no impetuosity, (15) no forgetfulness, (16) no disturbed mind, (17) no thoughtless indifference and (18) no pre-occupation with the multiplicity of phenomena (*Mhvu.* I, p. 168; *Sūtrāl.* pp. 187-88).

Increase of Attributes

The *Śatasāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā* gives a list of one hundred attributes of the Buddha in eighteen categories. They are (1) the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), (2) the four-fold correct exertion (*samyakprahāna*), (3) the four bases of psychic power (*ṛddhipāda*), (4) the five spiritual faculties (*indriya*), (5) the five spiritual powers (*bala*), (6) the seven constituents of Enlightenment (*bodhyāṅga*), (7) the Eight-fold Noble Path (*ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*), (8) the Four Noble Truths (*satya*), (9) the eight kinds of deliverance (*vimokṣa*), (10) the nine kinds of gradual attainment and dwelling (*anupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti*), (11) the three kinds of mental concentration (*samādhi*), (12) the entrance to all *dhāraṇīs* (*sarvadhāraṇī-mukha*), (13) the ten intellectual powers (*tathāgata-bala*), (14) the four-fold self-confidence (*vaiśāradya*), (15) the four-fold analytical knowledge (*pratisaṃvid*), (16) the great benevolence (*mahāmaitrī*), (17) the great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) and (18) the eighteen unique attributes (*āveṇika-dharma* : *ŚsP.* 1262–63).

The *Māhāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga has a list of sixty attributes in addition to the thirty-two major and eighty minor physical attributes of a superman. The sixty attributes include, in addtion to the thirty-seven attributes covered by Nos. (13), (14), (15), (17) and (18) of the previous list, twenty-three more qualities, namely (1) four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), (2) complete freedom from all obstacles of passions and ignorance (*vimokṣa*), (3) mastery over the whole universe (*abhibhvā-yatana*), (4) the total knowledge of what is to be known (*kṛtsnāyatana*), (5) compassion that prompts him to work for the eradication of passion in all beings (*araṇa-viśeṣa*), (6) resolution (*praṇidhāna*), (7) six-fold super-knowledge (*abhiññā*), (8) four-fold purity (*pāriśuddhi*), (9) the three-fold protection due to the arising of three-fold mindfulness (*ārakṣāsmṛtyupasthāna*) and (10) omniscience (*sarvākārajñatā : Sutrāl.* pp. 184 ff.).

Most of these qualities may be traced also in the Pali literature. Some of them are common to the Buddha and the arahants. Some are the monopoly of the Buddha.

Special mention may, however, be made of one attribute, the great compassion. It is found in the Pali literature as *Mahākaruṇā-samāpattiñāṇa*. The Mahāyānists laid great stress on this quality of the Buddha because of the doubts expressed by some that the Buddha could not feel compassion as he was free from all passion (*Kvu.* pp. 561f.). Although the Theravādins had rejected this view, the Mahāyānists still found it necessary to vigorously combat it because, without *karuṇā*, the bodhisattva-ideal which is one of the fundamental tenets of Mahāyāna, could not stand.

There is one more quality of the Buddha, essentially Mahāyāna in character, which remains to be mentioned. That is the Buddha's possession of four kinds of knowledge, namely, (1) *ādarśa-jñāṇa*, (2) *samatā-jñāna*, (3) *pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāṇa* and (4) *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna jñāṇa* (*Sutrāl.* pp. 46f.). These are the particular types of knowledge that enable the Buddha to make his appearance in two different

forms among different categories of beings. Since they involve the *Trikāya* doctrine it will be dealt with in the appropriate place.

This collection of qualities gives us the accepted *Mahāyāna* definition of the Buddha. Yet a few further steps remained to be taken before the Buddha-concept reached its final evolution. Before a comprehensive understanding of these final stages is arrived at, it may be useful to review in brief some of the epithets of the Buddha which are frquently used in the texts.

Epithets

The names and titles of the Buddha are numerous. Many of these epithets are based on the qualities he possessed, and some are merely poetical. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (ed. by W. Subhūti Thera, Ceylon Government Press, Colombo, 1883) gives a list of thirty-eight, while the *Mahāvyutpatti* (section 1) has a list of eighty one. A few of these epithets refer to the historical Buddha Gotama, and others to the Buddha in general. The best known name of the historical Buddha is Sākyamuni or Śākyamuni, ' the sage of the Sākyans.' His personal name is Siddhattha or Siddhārtha, ' he whose aim is accomplished.' The word Gotama or Gautama is not a personal name, but the name of his clan (*gotta* or *gotra*), and practically corresponds to a surname.

As for the epithets in general, the title used by his disciples is Bhagavat, 'the Lord,' a term used by Jainas for their teachers, and by various Hindu sects for their special deity. Jina, 'the conqueror,' is also used, but the Jainas have adopted it as a special title for their own leaders. The essential name is Buddha, 'the Enlightened One.' The term Tathāgata occurs as an epithet by which the Buddha refers to himself. The derivation of the term is not quite certain, for it might mean either 'Thus-gone' (*tathā-gata*) or 'Thus-come' (*tathā-āgata*). Buddhaghosa analyses the term in both ways and explains it as 'having come and gone' like the former Buddhas, i.e., having acquired the same qualities and having performed the same duties. Buddhaghosa continues and gives another meaning of *tathā*. If a thing is thus or so, it is opposed to what is not so, what is wrong, or perverse (*vitatha*). Hence, the adjective *tathā* has been evolved to mean the Four Noble Truths. Starting from this, Buddhaghosa finds six other meanings. (*DA*. I. pp. 59ff.). There is no doubt that, for the devout Buddhist, all the meanings are there. We can, therefore, admit that the interpretation 'he who has won truth' fairly represents one meaning which the later Buddhists of the Mahāyāna Schools found in it.

Many other laudatory epithets have been attributed to the Buddha by pious Buddhists. He is self existent, a physician, self-luminous, Lord of the universe, king of kings, peerless, all-beholder, sinless, light-giver, superior to all beings, god of gods, etc., (*Divy*. pp. 126, 391; *Lal.* p. 312; *Sutrāl*. p. 184, etc.).

Origins of Deification

Being the Teacher who was possessed of numerous qualities not common to arahants, the Buddha could not have been an ordinary human being. In consideration of the qualities he possessed, the service he rendered and the position he held, he was respected, adored and idealised. This tendency, on the part of his pious adherents, to consider him to be above normal human standards, culminated in the belief that the Buddha was not a human being, but a super-human being, a deva. The powers he exercised by way of miracles as also the miracles supposed to have taken place in connection with certain events of his life, in addition to the marvellous qualities he possessed, amply sufficed to make him a deva. The first Buddhist School which held such a view were the Vaitulyakas (*Kvu.* p. 559; xiii, §1).

The origin of tendencies of this nature may be traced to the Pali suttas themselves. The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* may be cited as examples. According to these suttas, the bodhisatta (the Buddha-to-be) arose in the Tusita heaven and remained there, quite mindful and clearly concious. He descended from that heaven and entered his mother's (Māyā's) womb equally mindful and conscious (*M*. III, p. 119; *D*. II, p. 12). He performed these acts purposefully and deliberately. When issuing from his mother's womb he was quite stainless, undefiled by watery matter, by mucous or blood or any impurity; he was clean and unstained (*M*. III. p. 122-23; *D*.II, p. 14). A number or miracles are recorded to have taken place on these occasions (loc. cit).

He made his appearance in assemblies of different categories of beings, *khattiyas*, householders, recluses, devas, *māras* and brahmas. When he was among men he appeared and spoke like a man; when he was among gods, he appeared and spoke like a god (*D*. II, p. 109).

As he had fully developed the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda*), he claimed that he could live his full length of life (*kappam*) [3] if he so wished (*D.* II. pp. 103, 117 ; *S.* V. p. 259). He could not be killed by anybody or by any device (*Vin.* II. p. 194 ; *DA.* II, p. 434).

In the Pali commentaries of the Theravādins, the superhuman nature of the Buddha's personality is still more evident. According to the *Jātaka-nidāna*, the bodhisatta, while in Tusita heaven, decided to descend to earth at the request of other deities ; and made his choice of the place and time of his birth and his parents. He entered his mother's womb when she was observing celibacy ; and, after ten months, came out of his mother's womb not only unstained, but stretching his hands and legs, just like a man descending a ladder (*J.* I, p. 53). His hair and beard remained the same length since he cut them off on the day of his renunciation ; they never grew afterwards (ibid. I. p. 64). During the seven weeks that followed his attainment of Buddhahood, he did not have to attend to his bodily requirements such as answering the call of nature (*BuvA.* p. 290).

In commenting on the *Jarā Sutta* (*S.* V. pp. 216–17), a dialogue between the Buddha and his personal attendant, Ānanda, which leaves no doubt whatever as to Buddha's being subject to decay during old age, Buddhaghosa says that the bodies of the Buddhas are not subject to decay. What led Ānanda to make the remark that the Buddha's skin was wrinkled, was a solitary wrinkle between his shoulders. It was the size of a hair and was seen only by Ānanda (*SA.* III, pp. 244–45).

The *Kathāvatthu* records some docetic views held by other (not Theravāda) Schools and rejects them as heresies. Fortunately, these Schools are identified in the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu.*

The Vaitulyakas, carelessly interpreting the sutta : "Born in the world, grew up in the world, dwelt having overcome the world, but undefiled by the world" (*A.* II, pp. 38–39), held that the Buddha, when born in the Tusita heaven, dwelt there while visiting this world only in a shape specially created (*Kvu.*, *KvuA.* xvii, §1). The created shape taught the doctrine to Ānanda while the Buddha lived in the Tusita heaven (ibid. xviii, §2). [4]

The Mahāsaṅghikas thought that a Buddha exists in the four quarters of the firmament, above, below and around, changing his habitat from one sphere of beings to another. (*Kvu.*, *KvuA.* xxi, §6).

The Andhakas were of the opinion that the Buddha enters a womb, does penance under alien teachers, and so on, of his own accord and free will (*Kvu. KvuA.* xxiii, §3).

Some of the Andhakas and the Uttarāpathakas held that even the excreta of the Buddha excelled all fragrant things (*Kvu. KvuA.* xviii, §4).

These are some of the docetic views held by the intermediary Schools that existed even before the time of Asoka in the third century B.C., and we saw that there were Pali passages in the suttas which lent support to such views. We can see from the *Kathāvatthu* how these views were vigorously combatted by the Theravādins of the third century B.C. The official stand taken throughout by the Theravādins is that the Buddha is a human being, although there were tendencies among them towards deification of the Buddha.

Deifed

We find these docetic tendencies fully developed into a theory, best known in the *Mahāvastu,* which expressly claims to be drawn from the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas (*Mhvu.* I, p. 2 ; III, p. 461). The ideas are also found in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Divyāvadāna.*

The chief principle is that the Buddha is supramundane (*lokottara*), above the laws and conditions of normal human existence. Hence his behaviour as a human being is merely a convention and an illusion. It should not even be said that he abode in the world of men, and taught the doctrine. It was only a mind-formed body of him which appeared in this world.

Nothing in the fully enlightened Buddha, says the *Mahāvastu,* is comparable to anything in the world ; everything connected with him is supramundane (*Mhvu.* I, p. 159). When he is born from the side of his mother she is not injured, for his is a mind formed body. He is, however, not really born from mother and father at all, but arises as an

3 *Kappa* has been interpreted as 'full life span' (*āyukappa*) which was one hundred years at the time (*DA.* II, pp. 554-55 ; *SA.* III, pp. 251-52). A dissident view held by a thera named Mahāsiva was also recorded. He thought that *kappa* meant 'this great aeon' (*mahābhaddakappa :* loc. cit.) in which one more Buddha, Metteyya, has yet to appear.

4. A similar view is found expressed with regard to the preaching of the Abhidhamma. It is said that the Buddha left a phantom body in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven and returned to the earth from time to time. That phantom body preached the Abhidhamma to the devas in the Buddha's absence (*DhsA.* pp 15f.).

apparitional being by the force of his own qualities (ibid. pp. 145, 170). He is free from the five mental hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) while he was at Tuṣita heaven, even before he is conceived in Māyā's womb (ibid. I, pp. 147–48). He does not, therefore, indulge in sexual acts. Rāhula was not the result of his intercourse with Yaśodharā (i.e., Bhaddakaccānā); he, like his supposed father, Siddhārtha, descends, of his own accord, into Yaśodharā's womb (ibid. p. 153). The Buddha becomes fully conversant with all human arts and crafts at his very birth; there is no need for him to learn them from others (ibid.). He became gifted with the five 'Eyes' on his approach to the bodhi-tree, but before attaining supreme Enlightenment (ibid. p. 158). But, he acts like a human being just in order to conform to the customs of the world (*lokānuvartana*). It is for this reason that he allowed himself to be conceived in the womb of Māyā, and be born after ten months (ibid. pp. 167–70). He allowed himself, as an infant, to be taken to the temple, though he pointed out that he had already been addressed as the god of all gods (*devātideva*: *Lal.* pp. 83, 93f.). When he first saw the signs of old age, sickness and death, he asked his charioteer what they meant, although he knew them (loc. cit.).

The Buddha is above all human needs and weaknesses. His body knows no limits or fatigue (*Mhvu.* I, p. 158). He eats, drinks and takes medicine in illness only in order to conform to the ways of the world, as he is really not subject to hunger, thirst, disease, or any human needs and infirmities (ibid. I, pp. 167ff.).

He does not sleep or dream. He replies to all questions immediately and spontaneously without the need for thinking over the matter even for a moment. Every word uttered by him has a deep spiritual significance, and is intended for the edification of the people. His speech is always rational and perfect, and is understood by his hearers. He is always in a state of profound concentration (*Divy.* pp. 48ff.; 128, 203ff.).

The Buddha had already been deified before the period at which Mahāyāna can be called a separate system.

Though the Buddha is described as a superhuman being in the Pali suttas, it is nevertheless his Buddhahood which first makes him a superman who finally passes away, or enters into Nirvāṇa leaving behind him only his teachings—Dhamma and Vinaya—and his relics as objects of worship (*D.* II, pp. 166f.).

When a great spiritual teacher passes away, it is quite natural for his followers, paying little attention to the human aspect of his personality, to deify him. This they do as a result of their deep veneration to their leader. The process being a natural one, it is also possible that the Theravādin-attempt to give a divine colouring to the personality of the Buddha, as is evident from the Pali commentaries, came about without the direct influence of the Lokottaravāda School which was prevalent in India.

The Lokottaravādins who were still adherents of the 'Hīnayāna' went further and regarded the Buddha not as a man but as a supernatural being who, out of compassion for all beings, descends to earth for a certain period in order to partake of all human experience.

On the other hand, the Sarvāstivādins, like the Theravādins, emphasised the human character of the Buddha. The *Lalitavistara*, although it contains passages pregnant with docetic views, says, in a passage which probably preserves the Sarvāstivāda view, that unbelievers will arise who will refuse to believe in the Buddha's birth from a mother, but that it was not as a god that he turned the Wheel of Law (*dharma-cakra*), for, then human beings would be discouraged, thinking: "We are mere men and unable to reach the state of a god" (*Lal.* p. 64).

In the Mahāyāna, on the contrary, the Buddha is not only a divine being whose sojourn on earth and entry into Nirvāṇa are purely and simply sportive, but, he is also the ultimate reality of the world.

For this final stage to be arrived at, two more steps still remained to be taken: one was the immortality and eternality of the Buddha and the other, the spiritualisation of the Buddha's personality.

Immortality

Being a deva, the Buddha's appearance on earth or in any other world is a delusion. The real Buddha is one who is supramundane and immortal. This remarkable idea of immortality was developed very gradually by the Buddhists.

In the old Pali tradition the Buddha after his death was regarded as non-existent, rather than alive, although that was a question never categorically answered (*avyākata*). He could not be seen by men or gods or any other being (*D.* I, p. 46), and the honour paid to him after his death had only spiritual significance (*D.* II, p. 142; *Miln.* pp. 95f.).

The twenty seven Buddhas of the past, mentioned in the Pali canon, were not supposed to be living after their Parinibbāna.

The length of life of various former Buddhas was different: Vipassi Buddha lived 80,000 years (*D.* II, p. 3) while Gotama Buddha lived only for 80 years (*D.* II, p. 151), although he could have spent his full life (*D.* II, p. 117), which was 100 years at the time (*D.* II. p. 4). This difference in the length of life of different Buddhas was not due to a special quality possessed by a particular Buddha; it was the length of life at the particular age.

In the Buddhist Sanskrit texts the life-span of the Buddha is gradually lengthened until a stage was reached where the Buddha is credited with immortality. In fact, a supramundane and divine being with innumerable qualities and powers can never cease to exist; he must be eternal.

The *Mahāvastu* says that a Buddha can live for many an aeon (*kalpa : Mhvu.* III, p. 22), whereas the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* in its chapter named '*Tathāgatāyuṣpramāṇa-parivarta*' (no. xv; pp. 268–78), like the *Mahāpādāna sutta* (*D.* II, pp. 3–4) and the *Jātaka Nidāna*, gives the specific length of life of each Buddha; they enter Nirvāṇa, or pass away, at the end of that period. The text goes on to glorify the Buddha and finally says that he lives for ever (*sadā sthitaḥ : Sdmp.* p. 271).

Here we find the first clear hint of immortality of the Buddha. Further, the same writer contradicts himself by bringing on the scene a Buddha, named Prabhūtaratna, who had really entered into Nirvāṇa long ago, but who suddenly appears as a living Buddha in order to sing the praises of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* as a religious treatise (*Sdmp.* p. 241). Thus, it is indicated that even Parinirvāṇa does not imply extinction.

The final doctrine on the immortality of the Buddha is elaborated by the author of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra*, who declares that a Buddha's duration of life is unlimited and immeasurable (*Tathāgathāyupramāṇaparivarta, Svn.* pp. 6–19).

Thus, Gotama Buddha did not really die after eighty years' sojourn on earth. He can never die. He is immortal. His Parinirvāṇa is an illusion (*Sdmp.* p. 272).

Spiritualisation

If the Buddha is supramundane and immortal, his physical body cannot represent his real nature. He must, therefore, be essentially a spiritual being who either assumes a human form as an incarnation (*avatāra*) or shows an unreal physical body to the people for their edification. His physical body (*rūpakāya*) was illusory and unreal like the shapes created by a magician. "The *rūpakāya* is not the Buddha" (*Samādhirāja Sūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 143). The Tathāgata is not to be recognised by means of the marks on his body, for then, also the universal monarch would be a Tathāgata (*VajP.* p. 56). It is a grave error to identify a Buddha with his *rūpakāya*, as a Buddha has no form or other material attributes (*ŚsP.* p. 1211). The Buddha creates many phantom bodies which visit worlds and preach the doctrine. The people see these bodies and believe that they are born and, after living a life full of activities, finally die. All this illusion is due to the Buddha's wisdom and skill in the choice of methods for converting the hearers (*upāyakauśalya : Sdmp.* p. 270; *Sūtrāl.* p. 46).

It is not easy to know the real nature of the Tathāgata by external marks such as colours or by marks of a deva or a brahmā: his real nature is inconceivable (*Samādhirāja Sūtra*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, pp. 144 f.).

If a fragile and limited *rūpakāya* is not the real Buddha, what is it, or who is he? Is it Brahman or is it God?

In contradistinction to the physical body (*rūpakāya*), the Mahāyānists speak of a Buddha's spiritual and cosmic body and name it *Dharmakāya* (*VajP.* p. 43; *AsP.* p. 94; *Samādhirāja Sūtra*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, pp. 143, 154).

The Buddha is the embodiment of Dharma which is his real body (*Divy.* pp. 158, 396; *Śiks.* p. 159). This spiritual aspect of the Buddha is called *Saddharmakāya* or *Bodhikāya* (*ŚsP.* pp. 380, 1470; *Sūtrāl.* 36, 45, 189). It is full of good qualities and possesses the power to purify other beings (*Śiks.* p. 159).

The identification of the Buddha with Dharma is not a new phenomenon; the seeds of it, too, are to be found in the early Pali suttas. Thus, in the *Aggañña Sutta*, the Tathāgata is identified with *Dhammakāya* and *Brahmakāya* and explained as 'born of *dhamma*' and 'born of *brahma*' (*D.* III, p. 84). The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* describes the Buddha as born of intuition, born of wisdom, born of Dhamma and born of Brahmā (*S.* IV, p. 94). In admonishing Vakkali, who was so attached to the person of the Buddha that he was unable to gain any spiritual

benefit, the Buddha said: "Whoever does see the Dhamma sees me and whoever does see me, sees the Dhamma (*S.* III, pp. 119f.).

Cosmic Principle

The Buddha's real body is not only a spiritual one; it is a cosmic body as well, for *Dharmakāya* is identified with all the constituents of the universe (*Tathāgatatathatā—sarvadharmatathatā*: *AsP.* ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 153). The Tathāgata is essentially of the nature of the universe (*Tathāgato yat svabhāvaḥ, tat svabhāvam idaṃ jagat*: *Mdhvṛ.* 448). All beings live and move and have their being in the *Dharmakāya* (*Śikṣ.* 230, *Sūtrāl.* 40). It is, therefore, called the *Tathāgatagarbha* (*Sūtrāl.* 77). It is immutable and undifferentiated (*Asp.* 307), and is identical with the Absolute Reality (*tathatā*: *AṣP.* 307, 512). This cosmic aspect of the *Dharmakāya* is also called the natural body (*Svābhāvikakāya*: *ŚsP.* 380, 1470; *Sūtrāl.* 36, 45, 189).

The origins of this identification with absolute reality may also be traced in the early Pali suttas themselves. As the Buddha was identified with the Dhamma, so is he also identified with Absolute Reality. In the former identification, the Dhamma may have meant the spiritual teaching, the doctrine, but in this identification Dhamma means the causal law (*paṭicca samuppāda*: *M.* I, pp. 190–91) which is the Absolute Reality that holds good irrespective of the appearance or otherwise of the Tathāgata (*S.* I, p. 136).

All the three factors, i.e. Buddha, Dharma and *pratītayasamutpāda*, are mutually identified in the *Śālistamba Sūtra* which says that whoever sees *pratītyasamutpāda* sees Dharma and whoever sees Dharma also sees the Buddha (*Śāl.* ed. N. Aiyaswami Śāstri, p. 2).

This spiritual cosmic body called *Dharmakāya* is devoid of all marks (*nimitta*); it is profound (*gambhīra*), immeasurable (*apramāṇa*), firm (*acala*), not based on anything (*apratiṣṭhita*) like space (*antarīkṣasama*), invisible (*adṛśya*), inconceivable (*acintya*), above all duality (*sarvaprapañcasamatikrānta*), permanent (*nitya*), pure and luminous (*śuddha, prabhāsvara*) and is devoid of variety (*nānātva*: *Samādhirājasūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 144–146).

It neither is (*na bhāva*) nor is not (*na abhāva*): it neither is, because it is devoid of individual (*pudgala*) or elements (*dharma*); nor is it not, because it exists in its nature as *tathatā* (*Sūtrāl.* 38).

A wide variety of synonyms are used probably to explain its diverse and many aspects or qualities: *Bodhikāya, Buddhakāya, Svābhāvikakāya* (*ŚsP.* 380, 1470; *Śikṣ*, p. 230), *Prajñākāya, Dharmakāya, Tathāgatakāya* (*Samādhirājasūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 143; *Śikṣ.* p. 230), *tathatā, tathāgatatathatā, bhūtakoṭi, śūnyatā* (*AṣP.* ed. P. L. Vaidya, pp. 153, 253) and *dharmatā* (*Sūtrāl.* pp. 36, 37, 45, 189) are some of them.

Innumerability

There is one more fact to be mentioned before we get a clear view of the Buddha-concept as developed by Mahāyāna; and that is the innumerability of the Buddhas.

We have already found twenty seven former Buddhas and one future Buddha mentioned in the Pali texts. The Buddhist Sanskrit writers, who continued the process of multiplying Buddhas, finally arrived at the point where the number of Buddhas becomes infinite.

The *Lalitavistara* (p. 294) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (p. 325) speak of *koṭis* (ten million) of Buddhas while the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra* (p. 10) fixes their number at eighty-one million–million *nayutas* (See also *Mhvu.* I, p. 57; *ŚsP.* p. 73 and *Sūtrāl.* 48). The *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 61) refers to three hundred million Buddhas by the name of *Śākyamuni*, sixty-thousand Buddhas by the name of Pradyota and, in like manner, to a number of former Buddhas. Finally, they abandoned the piling up of numbers in this fashion and declared that the Buddhas were really infinite in number: the Buddhas are countless like the sands on the banks of the Ganges (*Lal.* p. 273; *Sdmp.* p. 148; *Laṅk.* p. 234, etc.).

Unlike the 'Hīnayāna' Schools which believed in the plurality of the Buddhas but admitted the appearauce of only one Buddha at a given period, the Mahāyāna Schools not only believed in the infinity of Buddhas but advocated the simultaneous existence of numerous Buddhas.

Plurality explained

If the Buddha is a spiritual cosmic principle which is non-dual, how is one to account for the appearance of innumerable Buddhas? This paradox of the oneness and plurality of the Buddha is explained by Mahāyānists in their *Trikāya* doctrine which teaches that the Buddha is possessed with three kinds of bodies (*kāya*), namely, *Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya* and *Nirmāaṇkāya.*

Asaṅga, in outlining the nature of the Buddha, gives six features as essential to him: (1) pure *tathatā* as the Absolute Reality is the essential nature (*svabhāva*) of the Buddha; (2) he is the cause (*hetu*) that is instrumental in edifying all the bodhisattvas; (3) the foremost position held by him among all categories of beings is the fruit (*phala*); (4) his duty (*karma*) is to emancipate all beings; (5) he is endowed (*yoga*) with unique qualities which are endless. (6) The last characteristic of the Buddha is his diverse manifestation (*prabhedavṛtti*), i.e., he is seen in diverse worlds in the form of *Nirmāṇakāya*; he manifests himself among hosts of bodhisattvas in the form of *Sambhogakāya*; and his invisible existence as *Dharmakāya* is his real nature (*Sūtrāl.* pp. 188–89).

The appearance of the Buddha in the form of *Nirmāṇakāya* and *Sambhogakāya* is made possible by his possession of the four-fold knowledge (*jñāna*) which has already been mentioned. Of the four kinds of knowledge, the *ādarśana-jñāna* is identical with *Dharmakāya*; it is firm and immovable. The other three *jñānas* are dependent on it, or rather proceed from it. It is the *samatā-jñāna*, the second knowledge, that enables the Buddha, who is *Dharmakāya*, (which is full of *maitrī* and *karuṇā*), to project himself for the benefit of all beings. It is *pratyavekṣana-jñāna*, the third knowledge, that enables him to appear in full splendour among bodhisattvas and others in the *Buddhakṣetras*; this is *Sambhogakāya*. And, it is *kṛtyanuṣṭhāna-jñāna*, the fourth knowledge, that enables him to make his appearance among human beings, as Śākyamuni, Vipaśyi and others. This is *Nirmāṇakāya* (*Sūtrāl.* p. 46).

Although there are many and innumerable Buddhas in the form of *Sambhogakāya* and *Nirmāṇakāyā*, all of them are spiritually and cosmically united in *Dharmakāya* or the Absolute Reality, *tathatā*. "All Buddhas are one," declares the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, "there cannot be many Buddhas in Reality" (*Sūtrāl.* pp. 48–49 & 83). Buddhahood, which belongs to the realm of freedom and perfection unites all the Buddhas, as they have one wisdom and one aim (*ŚsP.* 1263). Gotama Buddha could, therefore, rightly say: I was that Buddha of the past, named Vipaśyin (*Sūtrāl.* p. 83).

Trikāya

We saw *Dharmakāya* or *tathatā* being identified with the Buddha or Tathāgata. A difference is sometimes made between *tathatā*, the Absolute, and Tathāgata, the personalised aspect of the Absolute. *Prajñākāya*, which is identical with *tathatā*, is taken as the matrix from which the Tathāgatas spring (*AsP. BI.* p. 254). There is no limit as regards the number and form of Tathāgatas. According to needs and circumstances, Buddhas arise and manifest themselves. A personal god, in some sense, occupies a lower position in the hierarchy of the Real. The relation of the deity (Tathāgata) to the Absolute (*tathatā*) is one-sided; the former depends on the latter, and not *vice versa*. The Absolute is free and independent. Metaphysically, the Tathāgata is a principle of a lower order than *tathatā*. The position of Īśvara in the Vedānta system is analoguous to this. Compare Brahman and Īśvara with *tathatā* and Tathāgata.

Buddhism has always laid stress on self-effort; it has even repudiated Īśvara. It has been a religion of works rather than of grace. Simultaneous with the revolution in Buddhism which changed it from radical pluralism (the theory of *dharmas*) of the 'Hīnayāna' to the Absolutism (*tathatā*) of the Mahāyāna, there was felt the need for a mediating principle between the phenomenal being and the Absolute. The Buddha or Tathāgata is that principle. In *prajñā*, he is identical with the Absolute, but, as a human being, subjecting himself to all the limitations, he is at once phenomenal. The Buddha soon came to be deified. His Enlightenment was not an accident; it was deliberately and freely chosen. Gotama the Buddha is just one of innumerable manifest actions. Nor is he different from other beings. In essence they are identical with him; every being is a Buddha-in-the-making.

The logical necessity to find a mediating principle between phenomena and the Absolute has given rise to the acceptance of a concept which is analogous to that of God in theistic religions, and to the religion of the Mahāyāna Schools, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra. Vedānta has recourse to Īśvara, apart from Brahman, to account for the revelation of Truth. In the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra Schools that function is performed by the Tathāgata. But, he was never considered to be a creator or an omnipotent god, nor was his omniscience comparable to the omniscience of theistic religions.

Tathatā does not need to be declared as *tathatā*; the Real or the Truth is not constituted by our knowing, or not knowing it as such. The Truth is impersonal, true for all, and for all times. It does not suffer by not being taught or declared as Truth;

nor does it suffer by being taught either (*Asp. BI.*, p. 196). It is not a necessary part of Truth that it would be known and declared as Truth.

A being confined to the phenomenal sphere cannot know the Absolute, all his experience being in and through the categories of thought which are conventional. The Absolute cannot know the Truth; it is itself the Truth. It cannot declare the Truth; this requires, besides knowledge, adequate and appropriate instruments of communication. Only a being which enjoys a sort of dual existence, having one foot in phenomena and the other in the Absolute, can possibly know the Absolute and reveal it to others. A difference is, therefore, made between *tathatā*, the Real or the Absolute, and the *Tathāgata* who knows it.

The nature of the Absolute does not include the revelatory function that is invariably associated with the Tathāgata. The Absolute is the impersonal reality underlying all phenomena. A Tathāgata is an exalted personality, a being free from limitations and endowed with excellence. Though the Absolute does not necessarily imply the Tathāgata, it does not, however, lose its nature by freely manifesting itself as person, as deity. It is the nature of the Good to overflow. The Tathāgata is an emanation of the Absolute.

Although identical in essence with the Absolute, the Tathāgata is primarily a person. He is the object of worship and devotion. His real nature can be realised only in the appropriate religious consciousness.

This dual nature of the Tathāgata, as one with the Absolute and, at once, actively pursuing the welfare of beings, supplies the philosophical basis for the theological concept of the *Trikāya* of the Buddha.

As *Dharmakāya*, the Buddha fully realises his identity with the Absolute, and unity with all beings. It is the oneness with the Absolute that enables the Buddha to intuit the Truth, while it is his sacred function to reveal it to others. The *Sambhogakāya* is the concrete manifestation to himself (*sva-sambhoga*) and to the elect (*para-sambhoga*) the power and splendour of divinity. In furtherence of the great resolve to succour all beings, the Buddha incarnates himself (*Nirmāṇakāya*) from time to time in forms best calculated to achieve this end.

It would be, however, not exactly correct to take the *Dharmakāya* to be an abstract metaphysical principle that is *tathatā* or *śūnyatā* because the *Dharmakāya*, despite the fact that it is identified with *tathatā* or *śūnyatā*, is still a person and innumerable merits are ascribed to this person (*Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, pp. 523 ff.). The *Dharmakāya*, though manifesting itself in the triple world, is free from impurities. It unfolds here, there and everywhere, responding to the call of *karuṇā*. It is not an individual reality; it is not a false existence, but it is universal and true. It comes from nowhere, it does not assert itself, nor it is subject to annihilation. It is for ever serene and eternal. It is the one devoid of all determinations. It has no boundary, no quarters, but is embodied in all beings. Its freedom and spontaneity is incomprehensible (loc. cit.).

The *Sambhogakāya* is the reflection of the cosmic body (*Dharmakāya*) in the empirical world in a corporeal form. The Buddha appears here as a supreme god in the Buddhakṣetras, surrounded by hosts of bodhisattvas. He is endowed with physical beauty and excellence (ibid. p. 526).

The *Nirmāṇakāya*, usually translated as apparitional body, is really a body assumed by the Buddha in fulfilment of his resolve to save all beings from misery. Manifestation in the empirical world as Gotama or Śākyamuni or other previous or succeeding Buddhas is the *Nirmāṇakāya* (ibid. p. 532).

The advent of a Buddha on earth is not an accident, the lucky chance of a human being happening to attain Enlightenment. It is a deliberate descent of the *Dharmakāya* incarnating itself as a human being, his various acts from birth to death are make-believe acts, designed to create a sense of kinship with human beings. Gautama is one of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas are the other forms chosen by the divinity to help man and other beings. As Haribhadra says: "When some living being requires the explanation of the doctrine or some other kind of help, then the Lord, by force of his previous vows, fulfils the purpose of that living being, manifesting himself in this or that form" (*Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka*, p. 525).

Conclusion

The Buddha-concept has thus reached its culmination in the Absolute Reality of the world. In the preceding sections, an attempt was made to trace this development from its very beginning. The process had its various stages, and, it should be mentioned that deification was the most significant.

The Buddha Gotama was first regarded as an arahant like any other arahant (*Vin.* I, p. 14), and he disclaimed omniscience (*M.* I, p. 482). But he was different from other arahants in that he was the person who discovered the way to arahantship and showed it to others (*M.* III, p. 15).

There were other differences as well. He was a superman (*mahāpurisa*) and was endowed with excellent physical beauty. He was superhuman (*uttarimanussa*) and declared that he was neither a man nor a deva, but a Buddha (*A.* II, pp. 38–39). He could work miracles (*Vin.* pp. 16, 24, etc.), and a number of events in his life, such as his birth, were accompanied with miracles (*D.* II, p. 222, etc.). He could have lived much longer if he had wished to do so (*D.* II, p. 103). He promised rebirth in heaven (*sagga*) to those who should have faith in him (*M.* I, p. 142).

Such details show that the process of deification began very early. The process was continued and intensified by the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Vaitulyakas and the Andhakas (*Kvu.* pp. 221 ff.). They forgot the historical nature of the Buddha's personality to the extent they deified him.

The Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, in spite of the numerous superhuman qualities that came to be attributed to the Buddha, adhered throughout to the historical person of Gotama Buddha.

The competition of the rival Indian religious sects and movements must have led the Buddhists to advance new claims on behalf of their Master. The Jainas taught that Mahāvīra survived death and existed as a spirit in beatitude. The Sāṅkhya philosophers promised an eternal future of unalloyed felicity as *Puruṣa*. The Vedāntists looked forward to identification with the eternal *Brahman*. The Hindus deified Kṛṣṇa and prayed to their devas, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It would have been impossible for the Buddhists to succeed in their ethical propaganda if they had adhered to the old doctrine that the state of the Tathāgata after death was an unanswered (*avyākata*) question, or they had taught that an arahant perished completely on entering Parinibbāna. They perhaps also thought and felt that so wise and virtuous a man as Gotama could not end in blank nothingness. They transformed him into a living, immortal, powerful and gracious deva and bestowed on him all the mystic attributes of the impersonal Brahman of the Upaniṣad. His humanity, his physical body, his death and everything connected with him were accordingly denied or thrown into the background. This is what we find in Mahāyāna.

A thoroughgoing docetist such as Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system, did not deny the historicity of the Buddha's life, and thus was compelled to distinguish between the empirical and the transcendental standpoints in his Buddhology (The commentary on *ŚsP. Nanjio.* No. **1169**). He reproduces there faithfully the anti-docetic arguments as found in the *Kathāvatthu*, but his arguments run finally to the conclusion that all these earthly incidents belonged to the phenomena of the Buddha's physical body (*rūpakāya*) in contrarast with his real substance, *Dharmakāya* (loc. cit.).

The Yogācāra School had nothing new to add to the Buddha-concept but to systematise the *Trikāya*-doctrine that is already found in the Mahāyāna sūtras—to suit its idealistic stand-point.

Finally, it should be mentioned that all these views held by different Schools found support from the suttas of the early Nikāyas or Āgamas which do not belong to any particular School. See further ĀDIBUDDHA, BODHI, BODHISATTVA, BUDDHAKṢETRA and TRIKĀYA.

U. K.

BUDDHUPAṬṬHĀKA, an arahant. During Vipassī Buddha's time he was a trumpeter who regularly attended on the Buddha. On account of this good action, he never experienced life in an evil state. Ninety-four kappas ago, he became a world-ruler sixteen times, under the name Mahānigghosa, and he was regularly attended by sixty thousand musical tunes (*Ap.* I, pp. 138–9). He is probably identical with Vimala thera of the *Theragāthā* (*v.* **50**; *ThagA.* I, p. 130).

W. G. W.

BUDDHŪPAṬṬHĀYAKA, an arahant. Veṭambarī was his name thirty-one kappas ago, and he was dedicated by his father to the service of the Buddha. Twenty-three kappas ago, he became a world-ruler four times, under the name of Samanūpaṭṭhāka (*Ap.* I, p. 242).

BUDHADEVA, a nun whose name is associated with a fellow-nun, Puśahatini, and several lay folk in the donation of a bodhisattva image found in Mathurā and dated in the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (*ASIAR.* 1916-7, p. 13).

BUDHA-RAKṢITA, a resident of Satupadana, whose gift of a railing pillar to the stūpa of Bhārhut is recorded in an inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 133).

BUDH LENĀ, a group of Buddhist remains located at Junnār, in western India. These remains, found in the Manmodi Hill, consist of a single unfinished *chaitya* and a small set of vihāras (*ArtA*. Vol. XXXI, 2/3, p. 151). The *chaitya* is presently in a dilapidated state and some of its features suggest that it belongs to the period 50–70 A.C.

The 'blind' arch on the facade of the *chaitya* is described as a regional variation of uncertain significance; hence an unique feature. The facade is embellished with a half-lotus which embodies among other designs, the Gajalakṣmī motif (See ibid. Pl. 3 Figs. 5 & 6). Engraved on the central flat surface of the half-lotus is an inscription dated around 50–70 A.C., which ascribes the donation of the facade to a *Yavana*.

Adjoining the *chaitya* is the vihāra, whose sculptural decorations are fairly well preserved. "A rail-pattern band connects the arches over the doorways, and above this is a row of *stūpas* and miniature arches" (op cit. p. 152). Unlike the *chaitya*, its construction suggests a finish. (See ibid. Pl. 2, Fig. 7). See further JUNNĀR.

C. S. R.

BUD-MED HGYUR-BA LUN BSTAN-PA SHES-BYA--BA THEG-PA CHEN-POHI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See STRĪVIVARTA-VYĀKARAṆA—NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA.

BUD-MED KYIS GRUB-PA THOB-PA (ḤI-GTAM—RGYUD), a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NĀRĪSIDDHI-LĀBHĀKYĀNA.

BUDUGUṆĀLAṄKĀRAYA, a Sinhalese poem of the mediaeval period composed by a Buddhist monk named Maitreya thera of Vīdāgama[1] in Ceylon, in the third year of the reign of king Buvanekabāhu,[2] 2015 years after the demise of the Buddha. As the title indicates, the work is a compendium of the virtues of the Buddha (*Buduguṇālaṅkāraya* means 'Ornament of the virtues of the Buddha') and is meant to be recited day and night (*v.* 5). The complete work contains 612 verses composed in simple but elegant language.

Unlike other mediaeval Sinhalese poems, where the authors have taken Jātaka stories for their plots, here the author has taken a mere incident of the time of the Buddha as his theme, namely, the circumstances that led to the preaching of the *Ratana Sutta* at Vesāli (Sinh. *Visālā*), the capital of the Licchavis. Vesāli was once visited by a pestilence. The citizens, who could not endure its ravages, complained to the chief ruler who thereupon sought the advice of his ministers. They spoke of several ways of relieving the country of the calamity. Finally, one minister spoke of the virtues of the Buddha and convinced the ruler of the Buddha's capability to relieve the calamity. Arrangements were made for the Buddha's visit. As the Buddha entered the kingdom of Vesāli with a following of monks, a heavy shower fell and washed away all impurities. Subsequently the Buddha along with the other monks preached the *Ratana Sutta* for a week and the city's health was restored.

It is around this incident that the author has composed an extensive poem with numerous vivid descriptions, e.g., (i) the city of Vesāli; (ii) its chief ruler; (iii) the three-fold fear; (iv) heretics, brāhmans and gods; (v) description of the Buddha; (vi) invitation to the Buddha and preparations made for it and (vii) the Buddha's visit and the preaching of the *Ratana Sutta*.

The *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya* is outstanding in many respects. Firstly, the author has shown great poetic talent which has made it a classical poem. Its simple language and the subject matter chosen add beauty and elegance to the poem, and the long description of the Buddha (*vv.* 184–431) heightens the serene joy of the pious. Secondly, the poet has made a bold break-away from the traditional pattern, in that he does not glorify the Sinhalese king of his time or the various gods as has been done by other poets. Instead, he condemns the gods, exposing their weaknesses. Even the glorification of the Licchavi ruler is probably an indirect criticism of some bad ruler. In keeping with his condemnation of the gods, the poet does not worship the gods at the beginning of his poem as other poets of the day had done. These features of the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya* have led modern

1 Two theras by the name are known in mediaeval Ceylon history and this particular thera is the latter of them.

2 Buvanekabāhu VI as most critics agree and the year of composition of the work is accepted as 1472 A. C.

scholars to regard its author as a friend of the common folk who did not obtain any gratification from the king and who sympathized with the sufferings of the common people.

One Sinhalese prose work of an earlier period, the *Butsaraṇa* (q.v.) has directly influenced Maitrīya thera in composing the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya.* Several prose passages of the *Butsaraṇa* are seen bodily taken over and versified in the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya.*

Several editions of the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya* are available, some with paraphrases and notes.[3]

H.R.P.

BUDUMUTTĀVA, an ancient site in Ceylon where once stood a Buddhist shrine (*EZ.* III, p. 311). A Tamil inscription at the site shows that it was once patronised by a Tamil community in the area. It is possible that the original Buddhist shrine had been appropriated at a subsequent period by a local Tamil community, probably in or after the temporary conquest by Tamils of these northern parts (See *JCBRAS*. Vol. XIII, New Series, 1969, p. 56). In the nineteenth century, poet Midellava in his *Tisarasandesaya* sent a message to the great thera who resided in the Budumuttāva temple. See CEYLON (Literature).

A.D.T.E.P.

BUDURUVEGALA, situated four miles south-east of Wällawāya in the Ūva Province, Ceylon, some two miles off the trunk road to Ambalantoṭa. It is an ancient site, best known for the largest concentration of Mahāyānist sculptures found by local archaeologists. The original name of the site has not been traced. In the Sinhala language the present name signifies the 'Rock of Buddha Sculptures.'

The figures are carved in high relief on the east face of a rock which is 305 ft. long and 70 ft. high, at its highest point (See Pl. LXXXII). The number of figures on this eastern face is seven; except one, all are representations of males, and each one is of dimensions which can be considered colossal. The centre figure is that of the Buddha; it is 42 ft. 8 in. high and is the tallest known sculpture in the country (See Pl. LXXXIII, Fig. 1). This figure is flanked on either side by a group of three each. On the proper right is, first Tārā (21 ft. 8 in. high), next, Avalokiteśvara (24 ft. high) and, lastly, one who has been suggested as Sudhankumāra (20 ft. 3 in. high). Avalokiteśvara is identifiable by the Dhyānibuddha in the head of ornamentation; Tārā is his *śakti,* and stands on his left holding a pendent lotus bud or fruit in her left hand which follows the line of her body. She and Sudhankumāra are in the pose known as *tribhaṅga* (*tivaṅka*), with three flexions.

The first in the trio to the Buddha's proper left holds a double *vajra* symbol vertically in its right hand and reaches a height of 20 ft. 7 in. The next, which is the central subject of that group, is 23 ft. 6 in. It might represent Maitreya. The last is the shortest of all figures, but even so measures 19 ft. 7 in (See Pl. LXXXIII Fig. 2).

Iconographically speaking, the right hand of the Buddha is in *abhaya mudrā,* whilst the hands of several of the other figures are held palm outward and two of the middle fingers are bent inward. Such a group as this where the particular characteristic prevails is unknown elsewhere in Ceylon. Similarly, the double *vajra* shown here is also unique for Mahāyānism in the country.

All the Buduruvegala figures had been plastered over and painted; this is evident from surviving traces. The work is considered of high quality and its date, probably, not later than the ninth century A.C.

D.T.D.

BÜHLER, JOHANN GEORG (1837-98), one of the foremost of European Indologists of the last century. His chief interests were the Sanskrit language, Indian history and ancient systems of law, and the Jain religion. These were the points of contact with Buddhist subjects of this outstanding scholar in the field of ancient Indian culture.

Bühler was born in Borstel near Nienberg (on the river Wieser), in the country of Hoya of the old kingdom of Hanover in Germany. After his early education at home, under his clerical father, and in the Hanover grammar school, he entered the University of Göttingen to pursue a course of study in which (European) Classical as well as Oriental philosophy and antiquities were the principal branches. Three years later, in 1858, he obtained his doctorate. In a search for Vedic Mss. in libraries, he travelled three years later to Paris, London and Oxford. One result of these visits was that he made the acquaintance of such well-known Indologists as F. Max Müller, with those mutual advantages which were to become apparent in the coming years of Indological research. For a short period

[3] e.g., editions by D. B. Jayatillaka, Munidāsa Kumāraṇatunga, Valāne Dhammānanda.

he was the Assistant Librarian in Her Britannic Majesty's Library in Windsor Castle. He returned to Germany in 1862 as Assistant Librarian in Gottingen and was qualifying to be a University Lecturer, when he decided to go out to India. It was this country which was ultimately to bring him the greatest fame in the special field of his studies.

He was offered the post of Professor in the Sanskrit College of Benares, the traditional house of Indian pandits, in 1862, but accepted the Chair of Oriental Languages at Elphinstone College, Bombay, in the following year. His post in the educational service led to other grades and also took him to different parts of the country. As the years progressed, he became Inspector of schools, Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, University Examiner, and so on. These various posts enabled him, often on Government Commissions, to travel extensively in search of Mss. of which he brought a large collection from time to time. Many of these were revealed for the first time to the large world of scholarship and considerably enlarged the extent of Indological investigations in which more and more people were engaging themselves.

In 1881, reasons of health led him to retire from India on a pension and to return to Europe where he became Professor of Sanskrit in Vienna. He was a leading personality at the different Congresses of Orientalists. His presence was more or less the focal point of Indological studies in Europe, and he was practically the liaison between the scholars of that continent and those of the Indian sub-continent.

He met with a tragic death which, although the precise details were never known, was probably by drowning whilst boating on Lake Constance in Switzerland.

Bühler received a worthy share of honours as personal recognition of his work. He was a Knight Commander of the Prussian Order of the Crown (Class III); Comthur of the Order of Franz-Josef and nominated K. H. Hofrath; a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire; and an Hon. Doctor of Laws of Edinburgh University. He also held varying grades of Membership in the learned Academies and other Institutes of India, Germany, Australia, Russia, France, England and America.

His writings, only a few of which were connected with Buddhism, appeared in diverse places and journals. The contributions to the *Indian Antiquary* alone (1872-98) numbered 85. One of his works was *Indische Palaeographie*—consulted even today for reference—in the opening pages of which he discussed the importance of the evidence from the *Piṭakas* in the study of the ancient languages. He was a founder of the Bombay Sanskrit Series and edited texts for it. Max Müller had sent him an ancient MS. of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-Sūtra* (from the Hōryūji temple, Japan). His substantial comments were valued by Max Müller who incorporated them in the form of an Appendix to the edition of the famous Mahāyāna text in 'Anecdota Oxoniensa.'

Bühler's papers of Buddhist interest appeared mainly in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vols. I–IV), the *Indian Antiquary* (selected years from 1872–98), the *Vienna Journal* and the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland. Among these, papers on the following subjects are of particular value: 'a new inscription of Toraniāṇa Shāha recording the grant of a vihāra to the Mahīsāsaka Saṅgha'; 'the Taxila Plate of Patika referring to the enshrinement of a Buddha relic and the erection of a Saṅghārāma at Chhēma'; 'three northern Buddhist inscriptions from the Swat valley'; 'Asoka Edicts (Shāhbhāzgaṛhi version of the XIIth, Siddāpura, Paḍariā, Nilgīva, Dauli, Jangaḍa, Mīrath, Allahabad, Delhi, Rūpnāth, Bairāṭ)'; 'inscribed Graeco-Buddhist pedestals'; 'the Jagayyapetta stūpa inscriptions'; 'the dates of the Parinirvāṇa and of the Gandhāra art', besides others of lesser interest.

Comparatively considered, Bühler was no great contributor to Buddhistic studies as such. Nevertheless, his predilection for Indian linguistics places him in his own niche where Buddhist language studies are contributory to elucidating problems that arise in matters pertaining to the religion. (For comprehensive details of biography and bibliography as well as an estimate of the man and the scholar, see the numerous Obituary Notices provided by the leading Oriental scholars of Europe for the *Indian Antiquary* for Dec. 1898. They include both original articles and reproductions of those published under the names of authors, in other jorunals; also M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, University of Calcutta, 1927–33).

D.T.D.

BUHOT, JEAN (1885–1952), a French orientalist and a painter well-known as an authority on the art of Japan and China. Born on the 13th of August, 1885 in Paris, he died on the 5th of September, 1952, aged 67.

Jean Buhot came down from a family of artists. His father, Felix Buhot, was a clever painter and an etcher. His mother, too, descended from an English family, who loved art. He took to painting from childhood under the guidance of his father. After his father's death he spent a good part of his life among artists. Having finished his secondary studies, he opened up a painting studio with the assistance of a friend, Maurice Esmein. Later, he travelled widely and at the completion of his studies, obtained the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in English. In 1914, a year after his mother's death, he married Thérèse Fournier, a daughter of a councillor of State.

A few years later he was enlisted for military service and, despite the fact that he hated war, he earned the *croix de guerre* and afterwards served in the capacity of interpreter to the Canadian regiment. In 1920, mainly due to friends of his wife, Suzanne and Andrée Karpelés, who fascinated him with their marvellous accounts about India, his curiosity for the East was aroused. They introduced him to the Guimet Museum in Paris and also enabled him to get enlisted in l'Association Francaise des Amis de l'Orient (The French Association of Friends of the East). Thenceforth he dedicated himself to the cause of building a sound understanding between the East and the West, and came into contact with scholars like Senart, Foucher, Pelliot, Maspero, Hackin, Grousset, Bacot and de M. S. Elisséeff. He learnt by himself Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese while continuing with his painting and also engraving and lithography.

For nearly ten years Buhot was leading two parallel lifes—the life of an artist and that of an oriental student. In 1924, he became the General Secretary of the association, 'des Amis de l'Orient.' Prof. Elisséeff sought his help to improve his English and in return he coached him in Japanese. With the help of Tajima Ryūjun, he studied original Japanese works on religion, literature and art.

In 1936 Buhot became the sub-editor of *La Revue des Arts Asiatiques.* He delivered a series of lectures at l'Ecole du Louvre, on the general history of Chinese and Japanese art and also on lesser known subjects such as Chinese engravings. He contributed greatly to remove the barriers which artificially separated the aesthetics of the East from those of the West. His teachings brought out the originality of his conceptions and infused new ideas about different techniques of art.

In 1940, he succeeded M. Haguenauer to the chair of Japanese at l'Enlov. Apart from delivering lectures based on his research projects in Japanese and Chinese art, mainly of a Buddhistic nature, he brought to the limelight many valuable facts through his publications, too. His published works include, *L'Asie Orientale des origines au XVe s. Iére pér les Empires* (Histoire générale de Glotz), in collaboration with R. Grousset and J. Auboyer, Paris, 1941 ; *Histoire des Arts du Japan,* Paris, 1949 ; *Les Arts de la Chine,* Paris, 1951 ; *Art Japonais,* Bruxelles, 1952 ; *L'Art Chinois et l'Art Japonais,* Paris He also translated into French a few significant Buddhist works, including *La Pensée du Bouddha* (A. K. Coomaraswamy), Korea, 1949. Such articles as those on *La pluralité des Bouddhas et les principaux personages du Panthéon Bouddhique* (Bulletin de l'Association Francaise des Amis de l'Orient, No. 6, Dec. 1923), corroborate the fact that his interest was not confined to Buddhist art only, but revolved round the religion as well. Later, Buhot came to be acclaimed as an authority on oriental art, particularly Japanese and Chinese art of Buddhist origin, so that he was entrusted with the task of reviewing a good part of celebrated works on art published during the last two and half decades of his life-time. A vast number of his masterly reviews appeared mainly in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques.*

(Translated and adapted from the Obituary note on Jean Buhot by V. Elisséeff in *ArtA.* XV, pp. 356–68).

C.S.R.

BUJŌ-JI (C. 228), a Japanese temple, also called the Daihi-zan Jigen-in or the Daihi-zan-ji located at Otagi-gun, Yamanashi Province (present Kyōto City) and belonging to the Jimon School of the Tendai sect.

According to the *Daihi-zan-ji Engi* or 'History of the Daihi-zan-ji' written by Shinzei, in February of the second year of Kyūju (1155), a priest, Sainen (also named Sanrō or Kankū), built a hall at the centre of a cave there, enshrining in it a sandal-wood image, two feet high, of Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands. In obedience to a command of the ex-emperor Toba, in April of that year he also enshrined there the images of Acala (fifteen inches), of two boys (six inches) and of Vaiśravaṇa. In March of the next year, he constructed another hall, named Gohōden, and dedicated in it the Incarnations (*Gongen*) of the three Kumano Shrines (Hongū, Shingū and Nachi), the Aṣṭottaraśata-bhuja-vajra-dhara (*Kongō-zaō*) of the Kinbusen-ji,

the 'Great Bodhisattva' (*Daibosatsu*) of Hachiman, the god of the Kami Kamo Shrine, the god and goddess of the Shimo Kamo Shrine, the 'Great God' *Daimyōjn*) of Kifune, and the Boy of Kyōchi.

This place was already well-known, under the name of North Ōmine or Ōmine-dera, as a place of training of the Shugendō-practice together with Katushiro and Ōmine. In the middle of the 12th C., there seems to have been enough lodging facilities for trainees: the *Daihozan-ji Engi* states that there were nine lodgings for trainees here and there in the mountains with twelve main peaks, which the trainees climbed for practice.

After Sainen founded the halls mentioned above, this place became more and more famous as one of the centres of pilgrimage of Shugendoism. In September of the first year of Hogen (1156), Suketsune Oguma set up a hall for the Incarnation of the Hakusan Shrine and a bath-house. Yorimori Ōe also constructed two halls, Tori-i-dō and Nyohōkyō-dō and founded the Association of June (*Rokugatsu-e*) on the 6th June, 1157. In May of the first year of Heiji (1159), Kiyomori of the Taira clan, the ruler of the day, donated a piece of the Buddha's relics and a set of images of the sixteen arhants of China; in October of the same year, Shōzei built a great gate and placed two images of guardian deities at both sides of it.

During the Jōwa era (1345-50), the buildings of the temple were repaired. By the order of the ex-emperor Gosai-in, Dōyū, who was the chief priest of the Shōgo-in (temple), the headquarters of the Jimon School of the Tendai sect, appointed a person named Genkai to be the head of Bujō-ji: since then it has belonged to the Shōgo-in. Although the buildings were again repaired during the Jōkyō era (1684–88), the living quarters of the temple were burnt down in 1832; many valuable treasures and old documents and manuscripts were also destroyed. The buildings were reconstructed in 1842. After the Restoration of 1868, the temple declined in prosperity, but in 1933 it was reconstituted as a training-centre of volunteers for Shugendō-practice, after which it flourished once again.

In the grounds of the temple, there are the main-hall named Kannon-kaku, the water-supply house, the main gate named Ni-ō-mon, the Gyōja-dō Hall, the Gongen-dō Hall enshrining the Aṣṭottaraśata-bhuja-vajra-dhara of Ōmine, the bell-tower with a bell founded in 1296, the living quarters and so on. Of these the main hall and the main gate, both of which were built in 1350, and the water-supply house belonging to the Kamakura Period (1192–1333) are designated National Treasures. Among other treasures of the temple, the following are also presrved as such: a sitting image of Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces; an image of Acala; two standing images of a boy; a standing image of Vaiśravaṇa; a similar image of Śākyamuni Tathāgatha (all of which are made of wood); a receptacle for the Buddha's relics made of crystal with a document stating that it was donated on the 6th October, 1191; manuscripts of several sūtras in Sanskrit and Chinese, several writings to pray for good connection with the Buddha (*Kechien-bun*) and others.

The Bujō-ji is situated in the mountains about 2460 feet above sea-level. The place is famous for its scenic attractions, with green and thriving trees, soaring rocks, deep valleys and clear streams (*MOC*. Vol. V, pp. 4434 C-35c; etc.).

S.Mo.

BUKKŌ-JI, (C. 229), a Japanese temple, located at Shinkai-chō, Takakura-dōri, Shimokyōku, Kyōto. Its *sangō* (mountain-title)) is Jūkokuzan. It is the headquarters of the Bukkō-ji-ha, one of the ten Schools of the Jōdo-shin sect, which has more than three hundred subordinate temples throughout the country.

About the origin of this temple, according to the *Shinshū-kojitsu-denraishō-tsuika*, there are two legends, old and new. The old one says that in September of 1212, Shinran (1173–1262), the founder of the Jōdo-shin sect, who had just returned to Kyōto, the capital of those days, from his place of exile, having received the emperor's pardon, built a temple at Yamanashi, Kyōto (or he transferred the building of the Keon-in temple from Gojō to that place). It was the beginning of the Bukkō-ji. Shinbutsu, one of Shinran's disciples, who became the second chief priest of the temple, is recognized as the founder of the School. In 1218 the temple was given the name of Kōryū-shōbō-ji (shortened to Kōshō-ji) by the emperor Juntoku. Ryōgen (1286–1333), who became the seventh chief priest in 1316, moved the temple to Shibuyu, Higashiyama, in the capital, in June, 1320 and enshrined there an image of Amitāyus Tathāgata and that of Prince Shōtoku. Another tradition states that Takauji Ashikaga (1305–58), the ruler of the time, appointed it to be his temple for prayer in 1328 and had it removed to the above place; he donated some land to the temple. As the principal image of Amitāyus suddenly emitted an auspicious light

upon the emperor's palace in May, 1327, the emperor, Godaigo, granted the temple the title of Amidabukkō-ji (Light of Amitāyus Buddha, shortened into: Bukkō-ji) and appointed it as the headquarters of the sect. The temple flourished thenceforth, but the murder of Ryōgen, the seventh chief priest, brought a temporary decline.

According to the new legend, on the other hand, the temple was founded by Ryōgen himself, i.e., he originated a temple at Yamanashi, Kyōto. Kakunyo (1270–1351), the third chief priest of the Hongan-ji of the same sect, named it the Kōshō-ji; and Zonkaku (1290–1373), the eldest son of Kakunyo, held the inauguration ceremony. In 1329 it was removed to Shibuya and its name was changed to Bukkō-ji.

During the period of the thirteenth chief priest, Kōkyō (1430–1503), son of the Dajō-daijin (prime minister of the day), Mochitomo, in March of 1465, the temple was designated by the command of the emperor Gotsuchimikado as a *Monzeki-ji*. This is a temple, the chief abbot of which is chosen from among priests born in the imperial or other noble families. (Another legend says that it was during the period of the fifteenth chief priest, Keikō (1503–69), and not the thirteenth). In any case, it was the first designation of the Monzeki-ji in the Jōdo-shin sect. In 1469, the temple was destroyed by fire during the civil war of the Ōnin era.

When Kyōgō, a son of the twelfth chief priest Shōzen, was about to take the post of the fourteenth chief priest, this was opposed by some. Kyōgō, therefore, yielded the position to his younger brother Kyōyo (1455–1512) in 1482. As leader of the forty-two branches and many subordinate temples of the Bukkō-ji, he became a disciple to Rennyo (1414–99), the eighth chief priest of the Hongan-ji. Kyōgō was renamed Rengyō, and he founded a temple at Yamanashi, calling it the Kōshō-ji, the same as the former name of the Bukkō-ji. Since then, these two temples have coexisted with one another. Owing to this schism of Kyōgō's, the Bukkō-ji declined much at that time, with the affiliation of only six branches and a few subordinate temples. But Kyōyo, the fourteenth chief priest, endeavoured to bring about a revival.

Kyōkō (1503–69), the fifteenth chief priest, who was the adopted son of Nijō, the chief adviser of the emperor (Kanpaku), was raised to the rank of *Sōjō*, which is the highest position among the three *Sōgō*, ranks. This was the first award of the rank of *Sōjō* to a chief priest of the Bukkō-ji. From that time on, the chief priests were usually granted the same rank. During the days of the sixteenth chief priest, Kyōhan (1559–91), Hideyoshi Toyotomi, the ruler of the epoch, wished to construct a temple named the Hōkō-ji, with a hall containing a great Buddha-image as its central figure, at Shibuya where the Bukkō-ji was situated at that time, and he removed the temple to its present location in October 1586, donating some property to it.

The temple suffered much from two fires in January, 1788, the time of the twenty-second chief priest, Junnyo (1738–88), and in July, 1864, the time of the twenty-fifth Shintatsu (1844–66). But many buildings were reconstructed and new additions made. The present structures of the temple are as follows: the founder's hall called the Miei-dō, the main hall called the Amida-dō, the four meeting places (Shūkai-jo, Wagō-sho, Chasho and Fujinkaikan), the three stores, the two administrative quarters, the four guest-halls (Haku-shoin, Koku-shoin, Minami-shoin and Shinden), the bell-tower, the six gates, the main entrance hall, the library, the general living quarters, the living quarters for the chief priest and his family, two independent lavatories and other buildings.

The following twelve temples are present branches of the Bukkō-ji: the Myōken-ji, the Shōryū-ji, the Kōon-in, the Daizen-in, the Chōshō-in, the Kuon-in, the Shōzō-in, the Kyō-on-in, the Kōrin-an, the Saitoku-ji, the Daigyō-ji and the Jōgyō-ji.

At Awataguchi-cho, Higashiyama, Kyōto, there is a mausoleum of the Bukkō-ji which is called the Mausoleum of Higashiyama. It was founded in 1272 by Genkai (1189–1278), the third chief priest.

Of the many treasures of the Bukkō-ji, a standing wooden image of Prince Shōtoku, carved by Tankō, is designated as a National Treasure (*Moc.* Vol. V, pp. 4446c–48b; The *Bukkō-ji*, etc.).

S. Mo.

BUKKOKU-JI (C. 230), a Japanese temple of the Jōdo sect, also called the Ryūkai-zan Sanmyō-in. It is located at Mihonoseki-chō, Yatsuka-gun, Izumo Province (presently in Matsue City, Shimane Prefecture).

According to the legend transmitted in the temple, the Bukkoku-ji was founded by Prince Shōtoku (574–622). Gyōgi (668–749), who was a well-known priest of the Hossō sect, especially for his social activities based on the spirit of a bodhisattva,

enshrined there the images of the seven Bhaiṣajyaguru Tathāgatas, carved by himself, in order to pray for the safety of sailors outside Mihonoseki. Kūkai (774–835), the founder of the Shingon esoteric sect, later enlarged the temple.

It is also mentioned that the emperor Gotoba visited the temple in July, 1224 and the emperor Godaigo, in March 1332, on their way to the Island of Oki in that area.

In the latter half of the 16th century, the Bukkoku-ji was laid waste by a fire casued during fighting, owing to which many precious treasures and old manuscripts and documents of the temple perished.

Though the temple originally belonged to the Shingon esoteric sect, Junkei Shōyo (-1655), who reconstructed its buildings, changed the sect attached to it into the Jōdo sect.

In 1706, the main hall was again reconstructed. The Dainichi-dō (Vairocana-hall) was built in 1822 and the living quarters in 1862. These three buildings remain to-day, together with a five-storeyed pagoda, belonging to the Kamakura period (1192–1333).

Out of many valuable items in the temple, a sitting image of Bhaiṣajyaguru Tathāgata, a standing statue of Bhaiṣajyaguru bodhisattva and a standing figure of Ārya Avalokiteśvara, all in wood, are designated as National Treasures. These three are said to have been made late in the 8th century and they have characteristics similar to the Buddha-images of the Kiyomizu-dera, and the Manpuku-ji, which are in the distinct local style of the Izumo area, where all these temples are situated. In 1923, these wooden statues of the Bukkoku-ji were repaired at the expense of the State (*MOC*. Vol. V, p. 4449a, etc.).

S.Mo.

BUKKOKŌKUSHI-GOROKU (*Fu-kuang-kuo-ssŭ-yü-lu* [C. 231], *Taishō*. No. 2549, Vol. 80, pp. 129a-249c), a classical Chinese work of Japan in ten fascicles. It consists of analects of Sogen or Tsu-yüan (1226-86), compiled by Isshin, one of his best disciples and, others.

The meaning of the title is 'Analects of the National-master Bukkō (Light of the Buddha).' But Sogen's title of National-master, (*Kokushi-gō*), granted after his death by a Japanese Emperor, Kōgen is *Emman-jōshō* (*Kokushi*), while his title of Zen-masters (*Zenji-gō*) is *Bukkō Zenji* (*Taishō*. Vol. 80, p. 1290a). Usually, he is respectfully called *Bukkō Emman-Kokushi*, which is shortened by the editor of the *Taishō-tripiṭaka* into ' Bukkō-kokushi " in this text for convenience (*Taishō*. Vol. 80, p. 129 n). This work has the following contents:

(1) Preface written by Genyū in March of 1726; (2) Analects at the Chên-ju-ch'an-ssu (temple) in T'ai-chou of China, compiled by Isshin and others; (3) Analects at the Kenchō-ji (temple) in Sagami Province of Japan, compiled by Tokuon and others; (4) Analects at the Engaku-ji in Sagami, compiled by Shinne and others; (5) General sermons to all disciples (*Fusetsu*) compiled by Tokuon and Ichigu; (6) Special sermons to individuals (*Hōgo*); (7) Verses in Praise of the Buddha and patriarchs, and other verses; (8) Supplementary collection edited by Kōichi; some special sermons, letters, verses on various persons, matters and occasions, verses on Sogen himself by various persons, a record of his personal history, the epitaph on him written by a Chinese officer, and so on; (9) Chronological personal history of Sogen and a commentary on the epithet above mentioned, written by Hōei; (10) Postscript written by Sekiryū and Jion in May, 1926.

S.Mo.

BUKKOKUZENJI-GOROKU (*Fu-kuo-ch'an-shih-yu-lu* [C. 232], *Taishō*. No. 2551, Vol. 80, pp. 257c-284b), a classical Chinese work of Japan in two fascicles. The literal meaning of the title is ' Analects of the Zen-master Bukkoku,' given for convenience by the editor of the *Taishō-tripiṭaka*. 'Bukkoku-zenji' is the posthumous title of Ken-nichi Kōhō (1241–1312) of the Rinzai Zen-sect is Japan. This work contains the following:

Fascicle I

(1) Two prefaces written by the Chinese Zen-masters, Ju-chih Ling-shih in January, 326 and Chêng-ch'êng Ch'ing-cho in February of the same year; (2) Contents of the work itself; (3) Analects at the first lived Unang-ji (temple) in Shimotsuke Province compiled by Myōkan; (4) Analects compiled by Gennin at the Jōmyō-ji in Sagami Province where he first lived; (5) Analects compiled by Myōkō at the Jōchi-ji in the same province; (6) Analects compiled by Myōjun and Myōkan at the re-stayed Jōchi-ji; (7) Analects compiled by Gentei and Myōkan at the Kenchō-ji in the same province.

Fascicle II

(1) General sermons to all his disciples (*Fusetsu*); (2) Special sermons to individuals (*Hōgo*); (3) Verses in praise of the Buddha and patriarchs;

(4) Verses in praise of Kennichi himself; (5) Other verses; (6) Questions and answers in Zen style between himself, his master Bukkō-zenji and others edited by Ekō (*Kien-mondō*); (7) A postscript written by a Chinese Zen-master Ch'ing-mao, in March, 1326; (8) Kennichi's personal history recorded by Myōki in December of 1428; (9) Supplementary statement written in October of 1709.

S. Mo.

BU-LA SPRIṄ-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUTA LEKHA.

BULI, name of a clan which occupied the country of Allakappa, near Magadha. According to the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, their territory was ten leagues in extent and its king was on intimate terms of friendship with the king of Veṭhadīpa. The two kings spent a great deal of their time together, so that the two countries must have been near each other (*DhpA.* I, p. 161). The Bulis seem to have had a republican form of government, but its importance was not very great. When they heard of the death of the Buddha, they sent messengers to the Mallas asking for a portion of the relics, claiming that they, too, like the Buddha, were *khattiyas*. Having obtained the relics they built a thūpa over them (*D.* II, pp. 166—7: *Buv.* xxviii, *v.* 2).

U.K.

BU-MAṄ-PO RTON-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BAHUPUTRA-PRATISARAṆA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BU-MO BLO-GROS-BZAṄ-MOS SHUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See SUMATI DĀRIKĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA.

BU-MO RNAM-DAG-DAD-PAS SHUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See DĀRIKĀ-VIMALA-ŚRADDHĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA SŪTRA.

BU-MO ZLA-MCHOG LUṄ-BSTAN-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See CANDOTTARĀ - DĀRIKĀ-VYĀKARAṆA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BUM-PA BZAṄ-PO-CAN-GYI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text, *Bhadra-kumbhi-sādhana* occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra-commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The work is ascribed to Ajitamitragupta. The translators are known as Śrījaganmitrānanda and Buddhaśrījñāna. This work has been revised by Gnubs Byams-pa (*TT.* Vol. 79, No. 3631; *TM.* No. 2810).

The author begins the text with a salutation to the all-merciful Buddha, Bhadra-kumbhi. It is said that, if a poor person were to perform this propitiating ceremony with great faith and understanding, he would become prosperous.

First of all, the meditator is asked to prepare a hermitage on a lonely mountain and be seated on a bed marked with the figure of Bhadra-kumbhi. He should be clad in beautiful garments and decked with various ornaments. His hair and beard should be well groomed. To the accompaniment of music the meditator is expected to disport himself with the sticks of Udumbara (wood-apple) tree, bearing flowers.

The incantation addressed to Bhadra-kumbhi ends with *ratna ghaṭa bhadra sampūrṇa susampūrṇa kuru ye śvāhā.*

I. K.

BUM PAḤI SGRUB-THABS SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KALAŚA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BUṄ-BA ḤDOD-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHRAMAREṢṬA-SĀDHANA.

BUṄ-BA MYOS-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ALIMANMATHA-SĀDHANA.

BUNSEN (C. 233), a Japanese priest, also called Kishin, Houitsu, Tōka, Toryō, Toryū, Ouson, Uka-an, Teihakushi, Keikyodōnin, Shiriyaki-enjin and also by other names.

He was born on the 1st of July, 1761, in Edo, the actual capital of the day (present Tokyō), as the second son of Tadamochi Sakai who was the feudal lord of Himeji (presently in the Hyōgo Prefecture).

In 1797, at the age of thirty-six, Bunsen was adopted by Kōki Bunnyo, the eighteenth chief abbot of the (West) Hongan-ji, the headquarters of a School with the same name in the Jōdo-shin

sect. In October of that year, his ordination was held at the branch of the headquarters at Tsukiji, Edo: he was granted the rank of *Gondaisōzu*. The following month he left for Kyōto and returned to Edo after three years. In 1809 he built for himself a hermitage at Uguisuzuka, Shimo-negishi, Edo, and named it the Uka-an.

Bunsen was fond of painting and excelled in it. At first he was led to it by his elder brother, Sōga. Both in Edo and Kyōto, later on, he learnt the main styles of his day such as the Kanō, the Ukiyoe, the Minga, the Tosa, the Ōkyo, the Nanga, and the Kōrin from the best masters of each School. He especially respected Kōrin Ogata, the founder of the Korin-style of painting. In memory of the hundredth anniversary of Kōrin's death, in 1815, he published the *Kōrin Hyakuga* or Hundred Pictures of Kōrin in four volumes in which he copied Kōrin's paintings, and also the *Kōrinryū Inpu* in one volume. Moreover, he repaired the tomb of Kōrin at the Myōken-ji (temple) at Ogawa, Kyōto.

The Fūjin Raijin no Zu and the *Ugo Sōgetsu no Zu*, both of which are painted on folding screens, are well-known today as his masterpieces.

Bunsen was an artist with various talents: he was good at calligraphy, some traditional poetry such as *Haiku* and *Kyōka*, China-ware, criticism of artistic works and so on.

On the 29th of November, 1828, he died at the age of sixty-seven. Among his writings, there remain the *Ousongafu*, the *Toryū no Waza*, the *Seiren Haru no Akebono*, the *Edo Uguisu* and others (*MOC*. Vol. V, p. 4496 a–c: the *Nihonshi Jiten*, '*A Dictionary of Japanese History*,' pp. 198–9; etc.).

S.Mo.

BUN-YŪ (C. 234), a Japanese Pure Land priest, also called Sōkei and Musō. He was born in 1700 at Kuwatagun, Tanba Province (present Kyōto Prefecture). While very young, he entered the priesthood at the Gyokusen-ji (temple) in his native area. Going up to Kyōto, the formal capital of the day, later on, he became a disciple of Seiyo at the Ryōren-ji there. Again, he went to Edo, (present Tokyō), the actual capital of the time, and studied not only Buddhism but also some non-Buddhist teachings at the Dentsū-in (temple) there.

Bun-yū learnt the phonetics of the Chinese language from Jun Dazai, a well-known Confucian scholar. After coming back to Kyōto, he wrote the *Makō-inkyō* in two fascicles on this subject. This was highly appreciated by his master, Dazai himself, while he also made researches on the phonetics of the Korean language.

Bun-yū set his heart on the study of the teachings of Pure Land Buddhism. The following works are some fruits of his effort in this field: the *Jōdo-gegyō Shōka-shū* and the *Senzatsu-kentohen*, one fascicle each, and the *Renmon-ruiji kyōsekiroku* in two fascicles, which is a revised and enlarged catalogue of the *Jōdoehyō Kyōronshōshu Mokuroku* in one fascicle, edited by Chōsei. The latter is a catalogue of the sūtras, commentaries and other works regarding the Pure Land doctrine.

Although he became the chief priest of the Rgōren-ji mentioned earlier, succeeding his master Seiyo, he retired early in the 1750's to a temple, named the Keirin-ji, where many pupils were willing to follow him.

In May 1763, Bun-yū went on a journey to Awa and Sanuki Provinces (present Tokushima and Kagawa Prefectures) in the Shikoku District. In September of the same year, after returning to Kyōto, he died at the age of sixty-three.

His writings, other than those mentioned above, are plenty: the *Makō-inkyō Kōhen* in five fascicles, the *Jisōgakuon* in four fascicles, the *Makō-inkyō Yohen* in three fascicles, the *Waji-taikanshō*, the *San-on-seigi*, the *Sōgenshō kōyō* in two fascicles each, and the *Keishisōgakuon*, the *Inkyō-sitsushō*, the *Inkyō-shiyōroku*, the *Honsetsu-bakkahen*, the *Kurōben*, the *Kokon-inkatsu*, the *Kōin-jihu*, the *Hi-shutsujō-kōgo*, the *Renmon-gakusoku*, the *Jōdo-genryūshō-sakuin*, the *Shari-kudokushō*, the *Kongōhōkai-shingiben*, in one fascicle each, and many others (*MOC*. Vol. V, p. 4503, etc.).

S.Mo.

BUOYANCY (*lahutā*) is a mental property (*cetasika*) common to all mental states that are morally clean (*sobhaṇa-sādhāraṇa*). Its presence in every one of those fifty-nine classes and its constant conjunction with other concomitants, such as pliancy (*mudutā*), fitness (*kammaññatā*), proficiency (*pāguññatā*), and rectitude (*ujukatā*), do not give this property much individual character. Thus, it is not found in corresponding lists of *caitasikas* or *citta-samprayukta-saṃskāra* in the Sanskrit traditions of the Sarvāstivāda, of the Sautrāntika, or of the Yogācāra Schools.

Two kinds of *lahutā* are distinguished in later Theravāda literature (e.g., *Visuddhimagga*, *Atthasālinī*, *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*), namely buoyancy

of the mental aggregates (*kāya-lahutā*) and buoyancy of thought (*citta-lahutā*). Its function is to dispel, by its lightness, the instinctive sluggishness of the mental process. Therefore, this property assists the mind in its process of thinking to effect quick alterations (*Vism.* xiv, §65, p. 379); and it manifests itself as non-sluggishness in its opposition to the defilements of sloth and torpor (*thīnamiddhādikilesa:* ibid. §145, p. 394). In this connection, the three mental aggregates of sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*) and ideations (*saṅkhārā*) are collectively referred to as material (*kāya*), though not physical (*rūpa*); they form the mental 'body' in the sense that they give shape to the mind. But they remain mental aggregates (*arūpa-khandha*), throughout, and are the mental object of the thought (*citta*). *Lahutā* of the mental 'body' and of thought is originated by consciousness (*citta samuṭṭhāna :* op. cit. xx, § 32, p. 528).

H.G.A.v.Z.

BUPAYA, a Buddhist monument in Burma. Although tradition states it was built by the third king of Pagan in the third century, this pagoda, renovated and repaired by many sovereigns, certainly dates from the ninth or tenth century A.C. Erected on a summit bordering the Irrawaddy where the river heads towards the south, it was used as a landmark by navigators. The ground descends steeply toward the river and has been arranged in concentric terraces bordered by crenelated parapets. The very shape of the pagoda, built on a low octagonal terrace bordered by pointed crenals, resembles that of Tibetan *chortens*, narrow at the base and swelling toward the top. An *āmalaka* flattened like a cushion supports a very high point of concave lines on its summit, topped by a modern wrought-iron *hti*. The structure is solid; leaves or petals decorate the summit of the bulb and the *āmalaka*. In a modern wooden pagoda (Mondaing Nat), built alongside the Bupaya, a tempest *nat* (a nature spirit) is venerated, which clearly indicates the designed role of this pagoda, a guide to navigators (Louis Frédéric, *The Temples and Sculpture of Southeast Asia*, London, 1965, p. 57).

BURĀ, a female donor of a railing-pillar to the Sāñcī stūpa I, mentioned in a third century B. C. inscription on that pillar (A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 251, 271).

BURGESS, JAMES (1832–1916), noted archaeologist in India. He was born in Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, and received his education in Dumfries, Glasgow and Edinburgh. He prepared himself for the life of a teacher, specialising in Mathematics. In later years this subject brought him a high award, the Keith Medal of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1898.

He was only 23 years old when he went to India as Professor of Mathematics in Doveton College, Calcutta. Six years later, he moved to western India as the head of a Parsee Foundation school in Bombay. The change of locality resulted in the creation of a new interest which brought him into eminence in Indian archaeology. For, his attention was aroused by the antiquities of the district, particularly the cave temples many of which were Buddhist. He commenced his studies with the caves of Kaṇheri and Elephanta; the first results of his researches were given in the form of small books on Satruñjaya (1869) and Elephanta (1871).

He then conceived a more comprehensive idea in the cause of Indian archaeology. The result was the *Indian Antiquary*, which he started in 1872. He bore practically all the costs of the journal for the first 13 years and then gave it to others who assured its continuance. This happened at the end of 1874. His own penultimate contributions to the journal were a scholarly survey of McCrindle's translation of Ptolemy's Geography of India and South Asia.

Burgess now received official recognition and the government appointed him (1874) to the post of Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter for western India. He was an accomplished draughtsman and photographer. He also was able to obtain the support of others competent in fields with which he was not familiar, e.g., epigraphy.

He wrote Reports on the antiquities as well as the operations connected with well-known Buddhist sites (e.g., Auraṅgābād caves) and also issued a highly informative, though provisional, list of architectural and archaeological remains in the area under his administration (1874).

South India was added to his responsibilities in 1881 and here he engaged himself in studies of Dravidian culture. Similarly, he wrote on Muslim architecture.

His fourth volume on western Indian antiquities appeared as a report on the Buddhist cave temples and their inscriptions (1883). Though not an epigraphist himself, he had familiarised himself sufficiently to revise and add to those articles on

the subject which had been earlier discussed by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji. In the same year was published the fifth volume of the series, on Ellora and the Brahmanical and Jaina caves. In the preceding year he had collaborated with James Fergusson in the *Cave Temples of India* which had been issued under the joint authorship of the two scholars.

Burgess rose to the highest post in his service in 1886 upon the retirement of Sir Alexander Cunningham, the Director-General of the Indian Archaeological Surveys. As Cunningham's successor he reorganised the administration in order to secure the speedier publication of research material. He secured the services of men who were themselves to add lustre to the archaeology of India, like Cousens, Rea, Bühler, Hultzsch and Führer. His mathematical gifts enabled him to devise and put into operation better techniques in the taking of estampages of inscriptions than those used up to that time which, scientifically, were not considered the most desirable.

He also turned his attention to a separate treatment of epigraphy. A decade earlier, Cunningham had planned a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*; but it was taking long to produce results on account of Cunningham's particular system of first securing a chronological as well as a dynastic framework. Burgess was of the opinion that the large number of collected epigraphs should be published as quickly as possible in order to make them available for study with [illegible] loss of time. Thus, he was enabled to [illegible] *Epigraphia Indica*, its earlier numbers [illegible] supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Scholars such as Kielhorn, Eggeling, [illegible] and Hultzsch gave him of their labours. Two years before the first volume was completed (1891), he had already left India, but he continued to be busy on it from his home in Edinburgh until 1894 when Hultzsch took charge of it from the third volume.

When engaged on his southern research, Burgess published his works on the Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeṭa (1889). Back home appeared his work on the Buddhist Art of India (1901); it was a translation of A. Grunwedel's well-known book, but much revised and enlarged. Seven years later, his article on Buddhist architecture was published in that year's edition of the second volume of the *Imperial Gazeteer of India*. He collaborated with Phena Spiers to bring out the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910). This work, by James Fergusson, had been published in 1896 and had to be brought up to date as well as revised in the light of subsequent research. Practically the last paper of Burgess was on the 'Chronology of Modern India, 1494–1894.' He was ailing for several years with heart trouble and in the last years was confined to his bed.

Burgess was a member of several learned societies at home, in India, France, Russia and America. Their interests were varied: architecture, archaeology, philosophy, ethnology, and other arts and sciences. He was a Doctor of Laws and Fellow of the Royal Society (both of Edinburgh), Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Bombay University. He was awarded a Companionship of the Order of the India Empire (The larger part of his works are listed in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. See also Obituary Notices in the *IA*. Vol. XLVI and *JRAS*. for 1917).

D.T.D.

BURIAL—See DEATH.

BURLINGAME, EUGENE WATSON, born at Albany (N.Y.) in U.S.A. on 5th August, 1876, had his preparatory education at the Albany Academy and graduated in 1898 from Yale University, where he also received his M.A. degree in 1902.

Under Professor Lanman he was engaged in research in Sanskrit and Pali. After two years as Harrison Fellow in Sanskrit and comparative philology at the University of Pennsylvania, he obtained there his Ph.D. in 1910. During this time he also did research work in Indic philology at Harvard. The next four years of his teaching work were at Haverford school, being concurrently Fellow at John Hopkins and Harrison Research Fellow in Indo-European philology at Pennsylvania. After spending two years as Johnston scholar in Sanskrit at John Hopkins, he returned to Yale as lecturer in Pali in 1917 and 1918. From then until his death (3 August 1932) he was engaged in original investigations in Indic philology and Hindu fiction, together with independent literary work.

He was the author of *Act of Truth* (1917) and of translations from the original Pali, *Buddhist Legends* (3 volumes in the Harvard Oriental Series, 1921); *Buddhist Parables* (1922); *The Grateful Elephant and other Stories* (1923); and *Parabole Buddhista* (1926).

Burlingame was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the American Oriental Society.

H. G. A. v. Z.

BURMA

The country which is officially known as the Union of Burma and more popularly as simply Burma, is inhabited mainly by a people to whom scholars attribute affinities with the Tibetans. The word 'Burma' itself is corrupted from 'Mramma', upper Burma from where the Burmese as such developed in history above such other peoples as, for example, the Talaings of the ancient Rāmañña country (lower Burma), or the Shans in the hill tracts.

Burmese tradition invests the history of Buddhism in their land with an antiquity connecting it with the emperor Asoka (3rd cent. B.C.) and even further back in time.[1] This great emperor of India was inspired by Moggaliputtatissa thera to send out members of the Saṅgha to different countries on missionary work. Soṇa and Uttara, two of their number, were despatched to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Golden Land). In this particular reference, this is the name most frequently used in general for Burma; more specifically to lower Burma, the Talaing region. The mission of these monks is not noted in Burmese records but is found in the ancient chronicles of Ceylon (e.g., *Dīpavaṃsa*, viii, *v.* 12; *Mahāvaṃsa*, xii, *v.* 44). Moreover, it is not known from any inscription of Asoka himself. More than one region of South-east Asia were described as 'golden' countries. However, Burma has definitely been stated to be the ancient Suvaṇṇabhūmi, although it appears so only in the 15th cent., in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions (of 1476 A.C.) where the Môn country has been called by that name. The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, of a century ago (compiled from earlier material), applies the name more particularly to the city of Sudhamma (Thaton), the ancient Talaing capital. Burmese Buddhists in general follow this identification.

These local traditions need not be summarily rejected. On the contrary, they have a claim to be regarded as semi-historical, on the implications of an inscription of the third century A.C. This particular inscription, found in the second apsidal temple of the ancient site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*EI.* XX, pp. 22-23, Inscrip. F), mentions Buddhist enterprise among a people called the Cilātas. The authorship of the inscription was attributed to the monks of Tambapaṃna, presumably in Pāṇḍya.[2] Kirāta, the country of the Cilātas, has been suggested as Arakan and lower Burma. Furthermore, according to some Chinese writers in Chin-lin or Chin-chou (Frontier of Gold), Buddhism was known about 250 A.C. That was in Lin-Yang, which seems to have been at Prome or somewhere in central Burma. This suggestion is significant in the light of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.

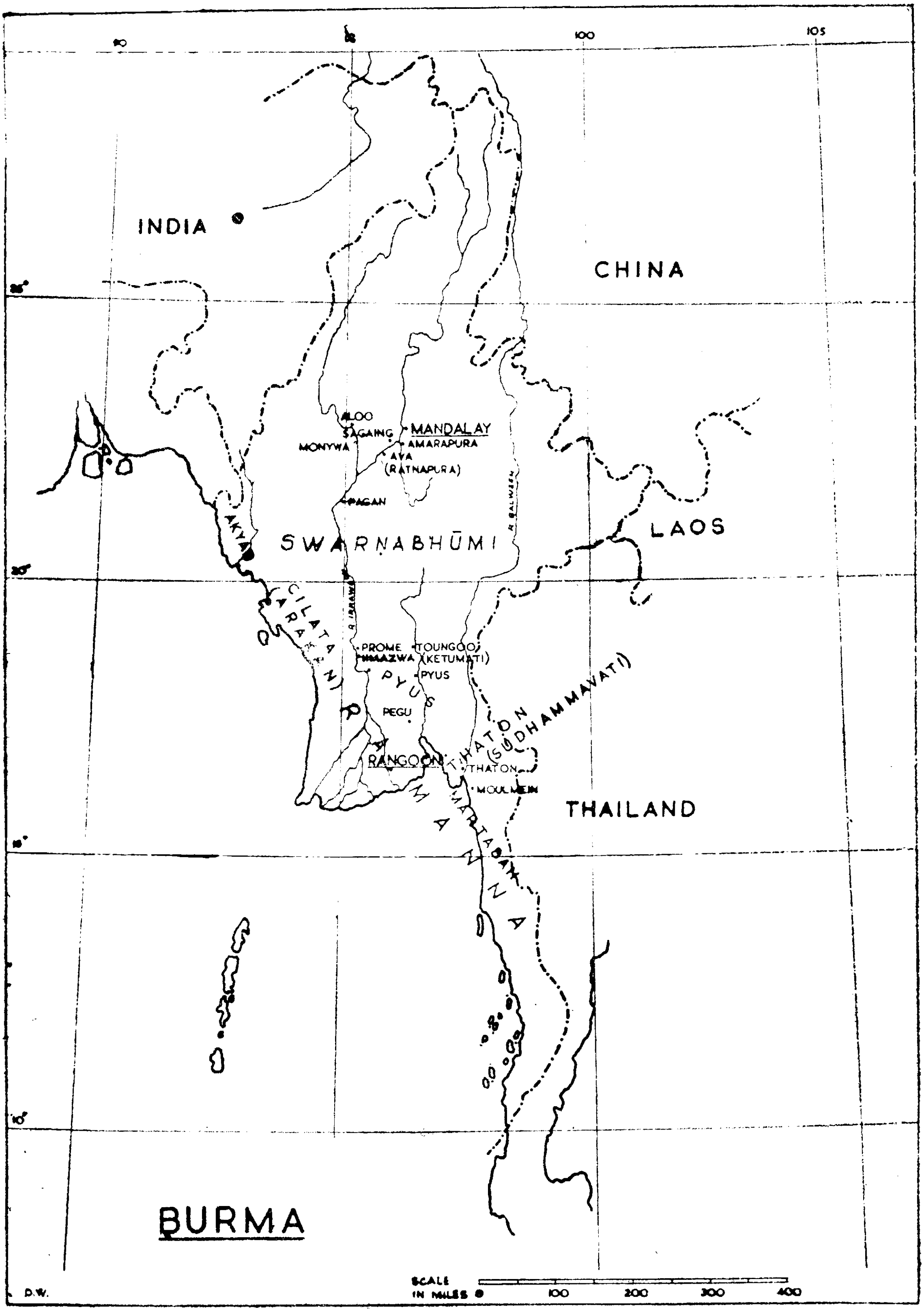
From the small town of Hmawza, possibly a capital city of the ancient Pyus, come the earliest verifiable traces of the existence of Buddhism in the country of the Burmese people. Hmawza is 5 miles south of the well-known historical city of Prome and is rich in Buddhist ruins. A considerable number of monuments, images, terracotta tablets (some inscribed), religious and other unmistakable signs of the religion have been found in and around Hmawza. A large part of these is unquestionably related to the Theravāda school. It is clear that their language Pali, was known and understood, that canonical texts were studied (even metaphysical topics) in Prome, the better known Pyus capital in history. Sanskrit forms of Buddhism are also known from the remains, so that the religion was evidently influenced by different streams of thought. Whilst the Pali form to which the people have been most inclined for some thousand years, had originally been introduced from south-east India, the Sanskrit form or Mahāyāna, with its ramifications, probably came from such active Indian centres as Bihār and Bengal.

Earlier than the Sanskrit stamp was that indelibly left on Burmese tradition by the great fifth century exegete, Buddhaghosa. After his labours in Ceylon, he is consistently spoken of as having gone to the Talaing country. All Burmese Buddhists look upon him with the same degree of grateful devotion which Ceylon Buddhists offer to Mahinda thera. But here again, the known writings of Ceylon make no identifiable reference to Burmese connections—these are known only after the 11th century. It seems thus reasonable to assume that the earlier Buddhism of lower Burma received no direct inspiration from Ceylon, in spite of the fact that the form which was subsequently adopted and which prevails to the present time, is that introduced from that island.

Inscriptional evidence from some of the finds near Prome, when examined in the light of palaeography, makes it probable that religious texts were known in the country not too long after Buddhaghosa's day. For instance, two gold plates with writings closely akin to the Kadamba script,

1 For traditions earlier still, connecting devout Burmese with the Buddha and Buddhist activities in the land from the time of Kālāsoka, see U Hla Maung in *Presence du Bouddhisme* (Saigon, 1959), 'Early traditions & Notices', pp. 829 ff.

2 As distinct from the *island* of Tambapaṇṇa. For the tribe see also D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1960.



INDIA
CHINA
LAOS
THAILAND
SWARNABHŪMI
ALOO
SAGAING
MANDALAY
MONYWA
AMARAPURA
AVA
(RATNAPURA)
PAGAN
AKYAB
CILATA
(ARAKAN)
R. IRRAWADDY
R. SALWEEN
PROME
HMAZWA
TOUNGOO
(KETUMATI)
PYUS
PEGU
RANGOON
THATON
(SUDHAMMAVATI)
THATON
MOULMEIN
MARTABAN
RAMANNA
90
100
105
25°
20°
15°
10°
BURMA
SCALE
IN MILES 0 100 200 300 400
D.W.

(5/6th cent. A.C.) and in the Pali language, have been found in the hamlet of Maunggan which is close to Hmawza. Each of them begins with the 'Buddhist creed' (*Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetu ....*). One of these plates may be described as summarizing the contents of the *Vibhaṅga*, as a sort of aid to memory. The other reflects sentiments and expressions found in portions of the *Dīgha* and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*. Better than these, a book of twenty gold leaves also has come to light; from their contents extracts from the different texts of the *Piṭakas* have been identified. A third gold leaf datable as far back, and also containing the formula *Ye dhammā* etc., was found in Kyundawza village, near Hmawza.

Thus, the existence of Buddhism in lower Burma at a time not too far removed from Buddhaghosa is admissible on inscriptional evidence alone. From the type of script in these plates, the Pali Buddhist influences are traceable to the Andhra region of the Deccan in south India where were flourishing such well-known centres as Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Kāñcīpuram, Kāveripaṭṭana and Uragapura. The ancient marine contacts between the two lands were no doubt the chief medium of cultural exchange.

The form of Buddhism (about the 7/8th cent.), as surmised from Chinese accounts of the T'ang period, besides the notes of I-tsing, seems to have been Hīnayāna, which included the latter's Sthavira Nikāya (*Theravāda*) as well as the Sarvāstivāda; this latter was, more probably, Mūla-Sarvāstivāda. The two apparently existed side by side. Judged also from the discovery of the late-Gupta style of some Buddhist images, inscribed with Sanskrit legends in Gupta-Brāhmī script, the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, the earlier of the two traces, seems to have been inspired from the Magadha region of east India. Probably, their position in Prome changed about the 9th century when the Mahāyāna form appeared. That this could have been the situation is admissible from the palaeography of the later inscriptions on terracotta tablets and the manifestly Mahāyāna character of the gods and goddesses whose images have been found. Prome, the capital of the Pyus, was to lose its importance about the 9th century to Thaton, the capital of the Talaings. Here was developing a place of Theravāda, which in two centuries was to be the boundless and sole religious spring that in the end nourished the entire Burmese people.

In upper Burma, led by Pagān, there would appear to have been active centres of Mahāyāna in the fifth century. According to Tāranātha, these were the results of the work of the pupils of Vasubandhu. The Arī (q.v.), who held sway from about the 6th cent., most probably developed from the tāntric cult which stemmed from it—with its origin in Bengal. Sanskrit legends on votive tablets, the mind behind the sensual paintings in Paya-thon-zu and Nandamañña temples, as well as the base practices of this community of so-called Buddhists, are strong indications from archaeology of this probability. The power of the Arīs was wrested, though the group was not wholly eliminated, by the strong king Anawrahta (q.v.) who stamped Theravāda on his people (1057 A.C.) with the help of the Talaing, Shin Arahan (Dhammadassi: see *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. III.), the doctrinal works and theras forcibly obtained from the Talaings. In Tāranātha's Koki country, (comprising Pagān, Arakan and Pegu), there would also appear to have been a form of Mantrayāna in the 10th century. It was this region which later on supplied such teachers as Vanaratna to Tibet. Tāranātha's teacher, Buddhagupta, in his travel accounts, mentions that traces of Mahāyāna were persisting in certain parts of lower Burma (e.g., Tennaserim), although this school had ceased to exist in Pagān by the 16th century. In Haṃsavatī, also in traditional Suvaṇṇabhūmi with Sudhammavatī (Thaton), Buddhism was known in the 11th century. With Hinduism, which was also followed there, sometimes arose differences of opinion and, from traditional accounts, some kings (e.g., Tissa) were known to have even persecuted Buddhists in their zeal for Hinduism.

Royal Patrons : Tradition invests Thaton, too, with early Buddhism. The existence, however, of the religion is historically borne out from 1057 A.C., the reign of Anawrahta, who is regarded as the first notable sponsor of the faith in his own region. His instrument was Shin Arahan, the great Talaing monk of Thaton. This in itself establishes the prior existence of Buddhism in the ancient Rāmaññadesa and its introduction to Anawrahta's kingdom; probably, there existed more than one fraternity of monks. It is also evident from antiquarian remains that Buddhism was known earlier in the region.

Anawrahta of Pagān was the patron *par excellence* of Buddhism in any part of Burma. His semi-barbarous subjects received the softening culture of the religion and the benefits of a worthy civilization which arose with it. Thus resulted the pre-eminence of Pagān in the cultural history of early Burma. The exertions of this king led to religious contacts with Ceylon from where was brought the version of the Tipiṭaka, to be compared with that brought from Thaton. Shin Arahan

[illegible] and it became the standard. Heterodox [illegible] sects or beliefs were suppressed and the [illegible] set on a sure course of progress. Shrines [illegible] and relics deposited. The great Shwe[illegible] pagoda was begun by him : it was to be completed by his son. Although Anawrahta was successful in breaking the unholy influence of the evil Arī of his day, he could not totally obliterate either them or the Sanskrit (Mahāyāna) form of Buddhism. This is evident from the finding of terracotta tablets with legends pertaining to the latter's influence.

Pagān's faith prospered no less under his son Kyanzittha, who completed the work on the Shwezigon pagoda and built his own magnificent Ananda pagoda (q.v.). The unrivalled sculptures, paintings and legends of the latter shrine are testimony of the fact that Theravāda had taken firm root in less than two centuries. They also are evidence that, towards the end of the 11th century, the *nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka* was familiar in upper Burma. Kyanzittha was a worthy patron of Buddhism, the religion which brought lustre upon his people. His time was replete with erudite monks, who made important contributions to Buddhist studies. In this galaxy there were, besides the aged Shin Arahan, Dhammasenāpati, Ñāṇagambhīra, Moggaliputtatissa, Sumedha, Brahmapāla, Brahmadiw, Soṇa, Saṅghasena and Ānanda Bodhi. It is recorded of this king that he won over a Chola ruler to Buddhism, a story which shows in him an unusual exuberance [illegible]. In addition to building shrines, he is [illegible] repaired ruined temples in Arakan [illegible]. [illegible] however, was his re[illegible] the Buddha Gayā shrine in India.

[illegible] Alaungsithu, the next, also devotedly [illegible] his predecessors. He continued the work at the Mahābodhi, particularly at the Vajrāsana which all Buddhists hold in the deepest veneration. This work, he effected through Prince Letyaminnon whom he raised to the Arakan throne. As the leading thera, he had the strong-charactered Panthagu. The king, in his inscription at the Shwegugyi pagoda, shows himself as a Buddhist of rare brilliance.

Narapatisithu (1171–1210), a successor, proved to be equally devoted to the religion. In his reign, Panthagu, then a voluntary exile in Ceylon from a previous unprincipled ruler, returned home to be respectfully received by the new king. Narapatisithu set up large Buddha images and built several temples, Gawdawpalin, Sulamaṇi, Dhammayazaka, Mimalungkyaung, the Chaukpala, etc., in order to draw his people's mind more strongly towards the religion. Monastic scholarship reached great heights in his time.

A more important event, however, was that the Sīhala ordination (from Ceylon) was introduced into the country (about 1181 A.C.) by Chappaṭa. This monk had gone to that island with Uttarajīva Mahāthera, had been conferred the *upasampadā* after a stay of ten years, and had deeply studied the canon and commentaries. Coming home with four monks from Ceylon, the group lost no time in introducing this new ordination from a land reputed as the home of the spiritual successors to the 'apostle' Mahinda. For this reason, the Sīhala ordination received enthusiastic support. But, the new ordination was also regarded with unfriendly eyes by the indigenous Saṅgha, who claimed their succession from Soṇa and Uttara ; they styled themselves, '*purima*' (older), and the others '*pacchā*' (later). But the king was inclined towards the later *gaṇa*, and it was that section which ultimately triumphed in the land. Differences, mainly in the interpretation of Vinaya rules, arose among the leaders of the new Order and each, in the end, set up its own following. But, they remained consistent to the traditions of Ceylon. These separations seem to have occured after Chappaṭa's death. The last of these principal figures, Ānanda, died about 1246 A.C. By that time, the ordination had witnessed rapid acceptance and had spread even in the Talaing country, from where Theravāda had first gone out to upper Burma through Shin Arahan.

In the days when Narapatisithu was ruling in Pagān, Buddhism continued to flourish in the Talaing country, particularly in the regions of Daḷa and Martaban, where there was a succession which claimed origin from the traditional Soṇa and Uttara theras. For, here was also introduced the Sinhalese Order when it had come to upper Burma. Sāriputta of Daḷa was admitted to the new Order after a journey to Pagān. He was so deeply learned that Narapati conferred on him the title 'Dhammavilāsa.' The older section of the region was known as the Krom (Kamboja) fraternity or Ariyārahanta-pakkha-bhikkhusaṅgha.

By the close of the 13th cent., however, Buddhism was to suffer an eclipse in Pagān. It was brought about by political causes and, although the Saṅgha would have continued to work on quietly, the days of spectacular royal patronage were drawing to a close. King Htilominle (1210–34 A.C.), a son of Narapatisithu, was devout and built the temples of Sittana and Mahābodhi (in imitation

of the famous shrine), besides one named after him. He also put the finishing touches to Gawdawpalin and was appreciated as a benefactor of the religion. The next king, his brother Kyaswa (1234–50 A.C.), outshone the father, and the Saṅgha gave him the title 'Dhammarāja.' Both he and his daughter are reputed to have written a work each on Pali grammar. A grandson, Narathihapathe (1254—87 A.C.), the last of the line, was a tyrant. He, however, built the Miṅgalazedi where he left an inscription, albeit revealing his vainglory.

Pali Tradition: In the sphere of learning, both the Dhamma and the Pali language in particular, the Pagān tradition was noteworthy. This was most evident from the reign of Narapatisithu. The king's tutor, Aggavaṃsa, compiled the *Saddanīti*, which was highly praised by the Saṅgha in Ceylon. To Chappaṭa (Saddhammajotipāla) is ascribed the authorship of a number of works. As already mentioned, Burmese theras made intensive studies of the Pali language and the *Sāsanavaṃsa* relates quaint stories of lay people, even women, as equally assiduous in the same branch of study. Among those who continued the work of predecessors the best known were Saddhammasiri, (Mahā-) Vimalabuddhi, Aggapaṇḍita, Subhūticandana, Ñāṇasāgara, Uttama, Uttara and Abhaya. This activity continued unabated in the succeeding reigns, in which may be noted such literary figures as King Kyaswa and his daughter and the thera (Guṇa-) Sāgara who were pre-eminent.

But, inexplicably enough, the Talaing country lacks a record such as that of Pagān. There, the name of Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa, the author of *Dhammatat* (Code of Laws), stands practically alone. A most curious impression, gathered from the several works and their authors, whether of Pagān or Talaing, is that the studies emphasized above all others are those on the Pali language and its construction. It has been suggested that the Burmese, Saṅgha or lay, were deeply influenced by the intricacies of the Vinaya, particularly after the introduction of the Sīhala ordination and that great value was attached to the exact significance of words and phrases. For this purpose, a searching analysis of the content of the canonical language was regarded as indispensable. If this had actually been the driving influence in the literature of the time, it is also a notable result of the adoption of the ordination from Ceylon.

The evidence from archaeology is no less conclusive, more particularly for the wide prevalence of Theravāda up to the thirteenth century, both in Talaing and Pagān. Sculptures and paintings in a number of temples, terracotta plaques and inscriptions serve to add considerably to the volume of this evidence. The stories of the Buddha, both in his last life and in his earlier *Jātakas*, are freely depicted in the temples and these are testimony enough of a wide dissemination of the Pali tradition in these two regions of the country.

This is not to deny the influences of primitive cults or of Mahāyānism (in its different divisions), which are indicated in various archaeological discoveries. In Pagān, especially, the deference paid to the ancestral *nats* (spirits) was tolerated, there being even fanes for this purpose, e.g., the Nat-hlaung-kyaung in Myinpagan city. Similarly, there was a tolerance of Brahmanism, and there were devotees of the gods allied to it, e.g., a temple to Viṣṇu-Daśāvatāra in the same city. These survivals were possibly from an Indian community in the region. But, it may also be remarked that in Ceylon and Siam, two sister Theravāda countries, the situation of the occasional cults, foreign to the prevailing religion, was much the same as in Burma, to a lesser or greater extent. The policy of the propagandists of Buddhism was not to make themselves offensive towards those who could not be wholly absorbed into their religion, nor was it one of exclusive aloofness and offensive intolerance.

The trouble in Pagān culminated in 1287 A.C. in the fall of the city, before the Tatar (Tartar) armies of Khubilai Khan. The aggressors were hoping to re-establish the old dynasty on the throne, but were soon outdone by the northern Shans who quickly swept through practically all of the land. Their chiefs established different centres of power, at Pinya (Vijayapura), Ava (Ratnapura) and Pegu. In the last-named place, Wareru (1287–96 A.C.), an erstwhile pedlar, entrenched himself in power. He proved himself to be a patron of the religion for which others of his martial and predatory race of the time had paid scant respect or attention. He actively interested himself in Buddhism. He encouraged monastic scholarship and is reputed in the land as the author of *Dhammatat*, the earliest surviving code of laws. The tradition of scholarship in Pagān was, however, not destroyed. For, in the succeeding century there were great monk-scholars who wrote notable books which posterity remembers. Among these men of learning may be mentioned Saddhammañāṇa, who was well versed in both Pali and Sanskrit, Maṅgala, Sirisaddhammavilāsa and Saddhammapāla (*Sāsv.*: Saddhammaguru). The trend of their best work was more towards Pali grammar than the doctrines. As events progressed, a change of heart

became evident in the Shan rulers. The Shan Thihathu (1312–24 A.C.), who had supplanted Narathihapate's successor, Kyawswa (1287–98 A.C.) of Pagān, was a Buddhist (probably along with his two elder brothers), who not only built temples but also received instruction from a monk. His capital of Pinya shone with monasteries in which resided thousands of monks. Literary activities went on apace, and of those who engaged themselves in these pursuits, the foremost perhaps was Sirisumaṅgala (Sirimaṅgala). To him the *Piṭakatthamain* attributes the preparation of commentaries on Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*, and *Sammohavinodanī*. At this time arose an unseemly dispute in the Saṅgha in regard to their share of produce from those who tilled land; it was so sharp and contentious that numbers left monasteries for a contemplative life in the forests, thus virtually giving rise to a new sect. Such undignified quarrels naturally corrupted the Saṅgha even to the point of a recrudescence of the influence of the Arī whom Anawrahta had virtually crushed three hundred years earlier.

Uzana, the step-son of Thihathu, was reputed as the builder of seven great vihāras, which he endowed with lands and offered to the Saṅgha. His nephew, Kyawswa-ngo, was a patron of monk-scholars who received much encouragement from the king. Nāgita of Kaṇṭakakipa, a monk of Sagu, Navavimalabuddhi, Vepullabuddhi and Cullavajirabuddhi were foremost among the learned bhikkhus of his time. Caturaṅgabalāmacca (chief of the four-fold army division) was one of his ministers who himself composed two learned works. The Shans moved capital from Pinya to Saggaing and from the latter to Ava in 1364. The second king after this event, Mingyiswasawke (1368–1401 A.C.), built a pagoda and appointed to chief position the Arakanese monk Khemacara.

Under their Shan rulers the Talaing country, too, generally prospered in the religion. Monks, whether Talaing or others, were frequent travellers to Ceylon from where, no doubt, they returned confirmed in the orthodox Theravāda practices of the Mahāvihāra tradition. Perhaps, the best remembered of them among the Talaings is Medhaṅkara, who wrote *Lokadīpasāra*, a work which is well known to this day. He came to live in Martaban and was the preceptor of Bhaddā, the queen-mother of Binnya U (*Sāsv.*: Sethibhinda), who succeeded Wareru and ruled from 1353–85 A.C. In Pegu, there were a number of erudite theras, who wrote on various subjects. Among the religious works of Binnya U may be mentioned a pagods built to enshrine a relic from Ceylon and the king's repairs to Shwe Degon in the course of which he increased the height of this famous pagoda. Razadarit (1385–1423 A.C.), his son and successor (*Sāsv.*: Rājādhirāja), built the great Shawmawdaw pagoda in token of his peculiar conception of the several defeats which he inflicted on the army of his Burmese enemy. An incident occurred in which the Saṅgha is shown in a special light of influence in what may be termed the political history of the times. When this king was threatening to invade Ava, the capital of the Burmese king Minhkaung (*Sāsv.*: Adhikarāja, 1401–22 A.C.), the latter summoned a number of bhikkhus whom he requested, with his own counsellors, to consult with the ministers as to the course of action to take. One of these bhikkhus volunteered to speak to the invading king in camp. He succeeded in inducing the threatening enemy to desist from the attack and return to his own country. Such an example of the persuasive influence of the Saṅgha on matters affecting the State is also known from Ceylon history, from the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (2nd cent. B.C.) and a parallel instance is recorded in an epigraph of Parakkamabāhu I (12th cent).

Ceylon Contacts: *Reforms*—During the ensuing decades the contacts with Ceylon take an important place in the history of the Burmese Saṅgha. For instance, towards the middle of the 15th century two leading Sinhalese theras went to reside in Ava and engaged themselves in active work. In the reign of Narapati (1443–69 A.C.), the royal preceptor Mahāsāmi himself studied under the renowned Sāriputta of Ceylon. The country was not free from conflict and other disturbances, but these apparently did not affect the monastic life. The Saṅgha continued to receive support, sometimes for intrinsic reasons and at other times as political insurance, and among them are memorable figures in the country's religious annals. Ariyavaṃsa, (Mahā-) Sīlavaṃsa and Raṭṭhasāra, noted for their untiring and scholarly labours, are the most prominent amongst those erudite theras. Ariyavaṃsa was a pioneer in the use of the national language in his religious writings.[3]

But the country was on the threshold of a momentous religious event and in it figured the

3 One curious consequence of the labours of Sīlavaṃsa and Raṭṭhasāra was that the two theras were excluded from notice in the line of theras, as they also composed works in poetry, a medium said to be contrary to Vinaya rules. An intimate glimpse of the comprehensive nature of monastic literary pursuits is revealed from a record of B.E. 804 (1442 A.C.) found in Pagān, commemorating the gifts of the ruler of Taungdwin and his wife. Here are mentioned a large number of works in the library.

Talaing Saṅgha who had earlier lagged behind their northern neighbours. It was the action of King Dhammazedi (Rāmadipati) of Pegu (1472-92 A.C.), a ruler of strong convictions, who was determined to cleanse the Saṅgha of the slow corruption and disruption of centuries, which was leading the community unmistakably away from the path of Theravāda. It was necessary to check it without delay.

King Dhammazedi, himself once in the Saṅgha, found the need to establish the Order on a proper footing, upon an Ordination that could be accepted without question and that, too, firmly founded. No longer attached to the Order (in which itself there was little he could have done from within), established in a position of unassailable temporal power and stirred deeply by an unbounded conviction in the sincerity of the impassioned idea, he concluded that an irreproachable Saṅgha could function only upon a valid Ordination. It appeared to him, after consultations with his Saṅgha, that such an Ordination was to be found only in the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon with its continuous tradition dating from the most ancient days. This, the Sīhala Saṅgha, had been introduced into his country at different times. As already noted, it was this later Order, which was regarded with respect, and which was most frequently the sect supported by rulers. Nevertheless it, too, had broken up into contending groups from time to time. In the event of a problem arising in regard to the acts of the Saṅgha, there was now no unified authority upon whom reliance could be placed.

Sīhala Ordination—The Saṅgha supported the king's proposal to despatch a select band of bhikkhus to Ceylon. Twenty-two, with an equal number of junior monks, were sent in two ships and reached the island in 1476. They were duly ordained by the Mahāvihāra monks at the consecrated *sīmā* on the Kalyāṇī river, near Colombo. Upon the return of the majority of them, the rest having perished in a disaster at sea, it was they who conveyed the valid Sīhala Ordination and established the Saṅgha in their own land. The new ordination continues to this day without any challange to its authority.

The king did not mince his words. Inviting all the monks of the kingdom, who possessed faith and desired the higher ordination to receive it from those who had returned from Ceylon, he threatened with expulsion from the Order all those monks who were engaged in secular activities and had transgressed the Vinaya rules, even in trifling ways. His call was answered by the thousand; the number given is 15,666. The response is testimony of the fine spirit of the Burmese Saṅgha. Thus orthodoxy triumphed: the age-old dissensions between the Mramma (Burma) and the Sihala Saṅgha ceased, and the latter became the universally accepted institution. The reformation has been epitomised thus:

"It reveals the whole character of the religion in Burma, not only during the four centuries that were left behind, but also during the centuries that lay ahead. Indeed, that character was now determined once and for all. Dissensions will take place and controversies will in future lead to sectional feuds within the Order, laxity of discipline will from time to time disturb the fraternity, the relation between the Order and the king will give cause for anxiety, but everything will at last be decided in consonance with the nature and character brought forth by the history of the religion so far pursued, i.e., beginning with the introduction of the Sihala Saṅgha to the reformation of Dhammaceti. The rest of the history has, therefore, its factual interest alone; it would only go to confirm what we already know of the nature and character of the religion."[4]

Strictly speaking the influence of the king himself did not embrace all Burma but only the confines of the Rāmañña country. Nevertheless, his momentous work for the Saṅgha reached out much wider and spread to almost the entire country. Politically the horizon of the land was dark. This was seen from the actions of Thohanbwa, who came to the throne of Ava (1527–43 A.C.) and showed himself a despoiler of shrines and a notorious slayer of monks, until he was destroyed by his principal supporter. This was Myinkyiyanaung of the old Ava court, who was so devoted to the religion as to make away with his lord, after which he retired into the peace of monastic solitude, far from the turmoil of his country's politics. The tradition of scholarly and saintly monks continued as is known from such figures as Saddhammakitti and his pupil, Tisāsanadhaja, who sought a haven in Toungoo (Ketumatī) from the ferocity of Thohanbwa. The same fortune favoured Pinya, which escaped Thohanbwa's persecutions.

The Taungoo fraternity, in the ensuing period, was split on the question as to whether fermented juice of the palm-trees could be taken by monks. On this point, which threatened a wide rift, thera Mahāparakkama gave his ruling which he later elaborated in his *Surāvinicchaya*.[5]

4 Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, University of Calcutta, 1946, pp. 191–2.

5 If one were to judge from a work of the same name written by Ñāṇavara two centuries later, this dissertation does not seem to have closed the matter.

King Minkyinyo (Mahāsirijeyyasura, 1486–1531 A.C.) of Toungoo was at this time a keen upholder of the Order. This king's successor absorbed the Talaing kingdom, which at last fell to the Burmese. But, at Ava, there was a Shan prince who proved to be as ruthless towards the religion as Thohanbwa.

King Bayinnaung (*Sāsv.*: Anekasetibhinda, 1551–81 A.C.) of the Toungoo dynasty, who consolidated the conquest of Talaing and eventually controlled the Shan states, proved to be a bountiful monarch in every way. He not only worked zealously to further Buddhism but, emulating Asoka, went even as far as prohibiting the slaughter of animals. The prohibition extended even to Muslims and foreigners in the land. Under his benefactions there flourished in Haṃsavatī monk-scholars, such as Saddhammālaṅkāra, Ānanda and Dhammabuddha: he went to the great shrines as a humble pilgrim, to Shwe Dagon, Shwe Sandaw and Shwe Zigon; included the compilation of a code of law proceeding from the *Dhammatat* of king Wareru; gifted religious texts; built the imposing Mahāzedi of Pegu, enshrining in it relics sent from Ceylon; repaired several other shrines—a record of pious acts not often paralleled in any Buddhist country. His almost fanatical fervour is reflected in enforcing the decree that every single subject, Burmese, Talaing or Shan, and Muslim or Portuguese Christian, should profess Buddhism. His son, Anuruddha, he sent as viceroy to Yonakaraṭṭha (Haribuñja, Kamboja, Khemavara, Ayuthia), embracing a part of Siam. He attached, as counseller to the prince, the learned monk Saddhammacakkasāmī to purify the religion in these regions. Their pious labours resulted in the production of scholarly works, two of the authors being Ñāṇavilāsa and Sirimaṅgala.

It was at this time that a curious practice had threatened to spread. A bhikkhu of the Arahanta group went about with a head covering and using a palm-leaf fan of diverse colours. What actually occurred thereafter is not very clear, but such brazen defiance of the Vinaya rules needs to be noticed.

Nandabayin (1581–99 A.C.), the son who succeeded Bayinnaung, was relentless towards his Talaing subjects, even to those of them who had taken to the robe as refugees. The older Talaing monks he banished to Ava and the Shan states. The Talaing city of Pegu was further destroyed by a Portuguese adventurer, by the name of Di Brito ('Nga Zinga') who, naturally enough, despoiled sacred objects and appropriated their valuables to himself. King Anaukpetlun (Mahādhammarāja: 1605–28 A.C.) slew him and made amends by becoming a patron of the religion. Mahāsaṅghanātha, a celebrated monk, was elevated to the position of the chief of the Saṅgha.

From about the 15th cent. Burmese monks had engaged themselves in a special study of the Abhidhamma. For some time during the period under discussion they also concentrated on *pariyatti*, and it was probably because this particular thera had expert knowledge of this important study that he was thus honoured. A lack of this qualification invariably led to the non-recognition of monks in the accepted succession—as actually happened to two Rāmañña monks who had even gained the king's favour by their expert knowledge of statecraft and other secular matters (*lokadhammesu chekatāya*).

Talaing Saṅgha: The Talaings, although now under the Burmese of the Toungoo dynasty, were not to receive their due as that of the race who had contributed considerably to the religious and general cultural progress of the Burmese. Conscious themselves of their pre-eminence, they tended to look down on their northern rulers and their Saṅgha. The Burmese, in turn, disregarded their southern neighbours. But, a balance seems to have been effected in the reign of king Thalun (Ukkamsika: 1529–48 A.C.) when learned theras from the two sections held discussions at the instance of the king and amity was restored amongst them. In the hour of their vindication, the Burmese theras were decorous and left after paying homage to the revered Talaing thera, Tilokaguru. The king supported the religion in various ways and the fruits of his actions were seen in several scholarly works by monks.

New Trends: Two trends are noteworthy during the 17th century when these events were taking place. One of them was the gradual emergence of the Burmese Saṅgha into pre-eminence in the study of the Abhidhamma over branches in which many had interested themselves in the previous periods. The country was duly to be known to our own times as outstanding in the study of this Buddhist philosophy. The other feature was the popularity of the use of the native language in doctrinal matters. This not only was for the general good of the large majority; it also indicated the widespread influence of the religion.

Besides what has been said above, within the Saṅgha there were signs that the old divisions were reappearing. That is to say, differences were coming to notice which seemed to hark back to the revolts against orthodoxy, the insistence on strict

compliance with Vinaya rules and, by the others, a tendency to drift away from rigorous discipline. An incident in the reign of Narawara (*Mahāsīha-suradhammarāja*, 1672–73 A.C.) fairly illustrates it. A learned monk of Pubbārāma Vihāra in Ava used to reside within the boundaries of the village. Furthermore he used a head covering and also a palmyra fan. All this was repugnant to the orthodox sections, as being contrary to Vinaya. Consequently, public opinion compelled him to give up the practices which were considered improper and to spend the rest of his life in the solitude of the forest. The fact that he was the author of the Pali *Gulatthadīpanī* and the *Visuddhimaggaganthi-padattha* and of a translation of the *Nettippakaraṇa* into Burmese gave him no particular standing to take liberties with monastic rules. The long drawn-out controversy in regard to the manner of wearing the robe which raged in the country in the next century thus came as a natural climax to the gathering dissensions.

Internal politics disturbed religious activities to some degree during this period. This is well illustrated in the contest for supremacy which rose again between the Burmese and the Talaing Saṅgha and ended with the subjugation of the latter. It was disastrous for the Talaing Saṅgha, of whom over 3,000 were said to have been done to death by being trampled by elephants. The reason given for the massacre was that they had actively engaged themselves in resisting the attacks on their city of Pegu. The slaughter was at the command of king Alaungpaya (1752–60 A.C.) who, oddly enough, claimed to be a divine incarnation and professed to aspire to Buddhahood!

But such drastic methods were exceptional and were applied only in tense situations. On the whole, the kings continued their patronage. But, the Saṅgha were in need of sobering measures, for the urge to ignore Vinaya rules was not stilled.

The differences came to a head with the controversy known as Pārupana-Ekaṃsika, that is to say, whether the outer robe should be so worn as to cover both shoulders or to leave the right shoulder bare, when a monk sets out of the vihāra.

The question could not be resolved for a long time, even after it had been put before kings. Some of the kings provided temporary solutions, because the protagonists were unable to adduce a convincing basis for a decision, and some were reluctant to be precise in judging a matter which was bound to be unfavourable to one section. Sometimes a royal decree was issued whereby monks were enjoined to follow the practice of the king's own tutor. Such was the case in the reign of Alaungpaya whose preceptor, Atula Yasadhamma, was a strong upholder of the Ekaṃsikas. The balance then was in favour of his own practice: the orthodox appeared to have lost. But among the latter (Pārupaṇas) were many who would not follow the decree. Their finest representative was Munindaghosa thera. Even in the king's presence, he was defiant. The king, who had massacred so many of the Saṅgha (although they were Talaings, whom he treated as enemies of his own race) was, nevertheless, apprehensive of the effects of stern action against this spirited monk. Therefore, he banished him, but, in his banishment, Munindaghosa gathered a following. When the king summoned him to appear, the thera, convinced that he was going to his death, came before his ruler and disrobed himself, declaring that he did so in order that the king might be saved from committing the heinous sin of killing a monk. The embarassed king could only send him to prison.

The controversy thus continued to remain unsettled for some time until the century ended. It was virtually closed by king Bodawpaya (1782–1819 A.C.), who felt it his responsibility to revive it and to find a permanent solution. He addressed himself to the problem in a skilful manner. The disputants were removed from traces of his personal influence. He sent out a number of itinerant commissioners to seek the views of the Saṅgha, without either intimidation or deference to the king's own inclinations. In the end, the Ekaṃsikas could not adduce reliable authority for their practice, which was consequently shown to be an innovation. The king issued a decree in favour of the Pārupaṇas.[6]

It was not only this problem which disturbed the Saṅgha at this period. For, when Hsinbyushin (Setibhinda or Siripavara-sudhamma-mahā-rājindādhipati, 1763–76 A.C.) was on the throne, a view, considered heretical by the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, showed itself when the major dispute had temporarily abated. Its nature is not exactly known but it may have been the continuation of that of a class of metaphysicians in Ava who were known as 'Paramata.' They held that only the Abhidhamma should be respected as sacred and that the rest were only a compilation of fables. Kosan, the founder, and some of his followers had

6 The same controversy raged in Ceylon a few decades later, but was confined to the Siamese sect. The decision here given by the Saṅgha administrative authority was that both practices may be considered acceptable (See the annual *Vesak magazine* for B.E. 2504 by Messrs. M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., Colombo, 1960).

been put to death. But the mention of 'heretics' whatever they may have been, is an indication of trends which were considered undesirable in the Saṅgha.

The controversy noticed above, although appearing to be on a superficial matter, nevertheless shows how intensely the Burmese Saṅgha felt towards the rules of monastic discipline. Considered from this point of view, it evolved a principle for the ensuing generations. To this principle the Saṅgha of Burma has continued to remain loyal.

King Bodawpaya, to whom the Saṅgha denied his claim to be Maitreya Bodhisattva, generally was impatient of the influence of monks as, –so he thought– usurpers of respect and honour which he thought was his prerogative. He, for instance, forbade them to use the title 'Phongyi' (Great Glory), limited the number of those who could be in charge of vihāras, conducted an inquiry into their lives and seems even to have curtailed the extent of temple holdings. Although he built a large number of temples, executed heretics and desired the favour of the Saṅgha, he was generally dissatisfied with the state of monastic learning. Even Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, his Saṅgharāja, disappointed him by failing to satisfy the king's enquiries on certain deep doctrinal matters. Accordingly, he seems to have sought for other religions, and a story is related of how he had been told of the admirable orthodoxy of Islam. But the test he put before some of the *maulavis* ended unsuccessfully for any hopes which Muslims may have entertained of winning over the king to their faith. The *maulavis* are reported to have conducted themselves warily rather than try the uncertain temper of their eccentric king.

Sinhalese Monks seek Higher Ordination : It was in this king's time that some monks from Ceylon went to the king and the Saṅgharāja asking for higher ordination, *upasampadā*, which had been denied to certain classes after the establishment of the Siamese Ordination in Ceylon. They arrived in Burma in 1800 A.C. and after a most favourable reception returned home in 1802. This new Sinhalese sect is known as the Amarapura Nikāya (q.v.) and counts the second largest group of bhikkhus and, incidentally, the most numerous splinter groups.

Under Bagyidaw (Siritribhuvanāditya - pavaramaṇḍita: 1819–37), the Saṅgha received earnest support. The king even revived, out of personal curiosity, the matter of land grants to vihāras, thereby showing his desire to clarify the relation between king and clergy in the ownership of property. He also investigated the nature and extent of his duties towards the Saṅgha. In his reign the English annexed lower Burma and the king, who had now lost his reason, was displaced by Tharwaddy-Min (Siripavarādityalokādhipati - Vijayamahādhamma: 1837–46 A.C.) in whose time there was another mission from Ceylon. Under his son and successor Pagan-Min (Siripavarāditya-vijayānantyasa- mahādhammarājādhirāja: 1846–52 A.C.), there was an outburst of literary activity which in turn continued under his own son, Mindon-Min (1852–77 A.C, whose reign may be described as a 'golden age'.

It was at this time that Paññāsāmi, the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, flourished. There was now seen an inclination on the part of some monks towards laxity in discipline. Mindon-min was instrumental in convening an assembly of Mahātheras to settle these matters and, in doing so, removing the deliberations and the venue from the suspicion of any sort of influence by him. Mainly because of the convincing advocacy of Paññāsāmi, the assembly concluded in a triumph for orthodoxy and the firmer establishment of the Vinaya code. Even the highest among the theras agreed not to be satisfied with their privileged position but to re-take their vows before the image of the Buddha.

At this time more religious deputations of the Sinhalese Saṅgha are noted. Apparently, these missions were in connection with the settlement of one point or other which arose over such ecclesiastical acts as, for instance, establishment of a *sīmā*.

Five theras and three laymen from Ceylon arrived in Pegu on a very special mission in B.E. 2405 (1860–61 A.C.) that is, to obtain Ordination from the Saṅgharāja. On their return to Ceylon two years later, they established the Rāmañña Nikāya in that country, upon a very austere code of discipline. The king held a great council where the texts were recited for some three years (1868–71 A.C.), after which the complete Tipiṭaka was engraved on 729 marble slabs. They have been set up in Mandalay within the precincts of Kutho-daw pagoda. On the patron of this Council, the fifth in the tradition of Burmese Buddhists, the grateful Saṅgha conferred a treasured title commemorating for posterity his connection with this momentous assembly.

In the year 1885 Mandalay was occupied by the English. The recent history of Burmese Buddhism dates from this event which brought the country into touch with a larger world and opened new horizons towards which the people had to turn themselves.

D.T.D.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

Archaeological discoveries reveal to us that in Burma ancient architecture dates back to the 5th century A.C. or even earlier. But, owing to the destructive nature of the climate, especially in Lower Burma, and partly on account of devastating wars, the earliest surviving remains of architecture are rather scanty. According to local chronicles, Thaton became the seat of Buddhist learning and culture from the advent of Theravāda Buddhism, about the 3rd century B.C., and tradition has it that Tagaung in Upper Burma came to settle there more than 2500 years ago. But, no traces of religious art of such antiquity have yet been discovered. Significant evidence has, however, been found of a very flourishing state of Buddhism around Śrīkṣetra (Old Prome) from the 5th to about the 9th century A.C. This early phase of Burmese art and architecture is followed by a period when the height of development was attained under the benevolent rule of a long line of Burmese kings at Pagān from the 9th to the 13th century A.C.

Religious architecture in Burma may be roughly divided into two categories, the stūpa and the temple. The first is a bell-shaped structure of solid brickwork raised on a series of receding terraces and crowned by a conical finial. The term '*zedi*,' which is derived from the Pali word *cetiya*, is applied to such structures, commonly having a small sealed-up chamber often in the basement and sometimes in the *dhātugabbha* (the relic-chamber) which lies between the bell-shaped section and the finial.

The second is a square, hollow temple, constructed to contain large images of the Buddha and rising up in gradually diminishing terraces and pyramidal roofs and crowned with the curvilinear *sikhara.* They are mostly large structures, some of which attain a height of nearly 200 feet.

Of the solid stūpas, the earliest extant examples are the Bawbawgyi, Payagyi and Payama of Śrīkṣetra (Old Prome) and the Bupaya of Pagān. The Bawbawgyi (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. II, Pl. LVIII) consists of a solid mass in brickwork of a cylindrical form, about 80 feet high, raised on a triple base and surmounted by a finial carrying the gilt iron-umbrella, a feature which crowns every pagoda reaching the total height of about 150 feet. Similar in shape and size are the Payagyi and Payama pagodas of the same city. Tradition ascribes these religious edifices to the 1st century B.C. but, archaeologically, they belong to the 5th century A.C. The Bupaya at Pagān is ascribed to the 3rd century A.C. Though repeatedly repaired, this pagoda probably retains the original shape and design. The main portion of it is of bulbous form, raised on a triple base and finished off with a bold torus moulding and a conical finial.

At the Ngakywenadaung of Pagān and the Petleik pagoda of Siripaccaya, a village three miles south of Pagān, which are structures of the 11th century A.C., a similar bulbous form is to be found. At the Petleik pagoda, where the torus becomes an important feature, we find the earliest example also of the decorative bands, carried about two-thirds up the bell, which, according to Buddhist scholars, represents the begging bowl of the monks.

When the great development of Burmese architecture commenced as from the 11th century, the stūpa always took the form of a bell, sometimes of great size with decorative bands round, and raised on a series of three to five stages or platfo.ms decorated with boldly projecting mouldings with square panels between.

These platforms are generally either square on plan, or have a series of projecting planes one in front of the other.

Thus the pagodas in Burma can be generally divided into four distinct portions, originally springing from their counterparts in the ancient Indian stūpa. The first is a square masonry terrace on which are generally placed small pagodas, sometimes miniature ones of the main stūpa which they surround. Steps ordinarily lead up to this terrace on the four sides. At the corners are frequently found huge figures of lions or human-headed lions called *manussīha*. The second portion is made of receding platforms with bold mouldings, and, frequently, projecting angles occur at this stage, especially in the stūpas of Lower Burma. The third portion is the bell which is the representative of the hemispherical body of the ancient stūpa. The fourth is the spire, consisting of a number of diminishing rings, and decorative features. Above the ring is a band of lotus leaves pointing downwards and another with the leaves upturned, the two being intercepted by a bead moulding. The next component of the spire is a cone, designated *āmalaka* in India and known in Burmese as *khayaithee*. The whole structure is finally surmounted by a richly gilt iron *hti* or umbrella. It consists of several rings, rising in diminishing stages, and the central iron rod, which bears a gilt and bejewelled iron vane, is topped by a 'diamond-bud' (*seinbu*), often made of crystal or genuine precious stone. Small bells usually hung to the concentric rings tinkle sweetly with every movement of the air.

Fergusson (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, pp. 343-4), observes that the principal variations made in the design of the *zedi* are those of the relative proportion of the bell to the rest of the structure, the outline of the same and its superstructure, and the decoration employed. Thus, in the Lokānanda pagoda at Siripaccaya, about 3 miles south of Pagān, built by king Anawrahta in 1059 A.C., the bell is of immense size, being three-sevenths of the total height of the structure, including the triple base and finial, and that is generally the characteristic of the earlier examples. But, where occasionally employed to crown the *sikharas* of the square temples, it is so small as to be scarcely recognisable. In the older pagodas of Pagān, the several mouldings are all more or less convex in outline, but in later examples, and especially in those cases, where the pagoda has from time to time been built over and enclosed, as in the Shwemawdaw at Pegu and the Shwedagon at Rangoon, the convex outlines are alternated with concave silhouettes which, whilst it lessens the vigour and boldness of the design, gives it at times a certain elegance. So far has that been carried out, that it is sometimes possible to determine the date of the structure by its attenuation. This is shown in the Shwedagon, where, in the last rebuilding in 1774, the lower part of the bell was widely spread out and the finial or spire, originally conical with straight sides, has been given a concave outline.

Three main features of decorative treatment of the pagoda are to be seen in the fully developed architectural period of Pagān. Firstly, the sides of the platforms or terraces are outlined with boldly projecting mouldings, and the space between these ornamented with square terracotta panels with figures in bas-relief as in the Shwezigon, Dhammayazika and Mingalazedi. Secondly, lotus leaves are carved at the base of the bell and in the upper part of the finial. The rich ornament applied to the bell consists of pendants and bead festoons held in the mouths of gorgons (*kīrtimukha*). At the Seinnyet and Petleik pagodas, near Pagān, niches are hollowed out on the four sides of the bell to enshrine figures of Buddhas. The third decorative feature is the addition of small pagodas ranged around the stūpa or at each angle of the several terraces.

Some of the pagodas, such as the Shwezigon, Shwesandaw and Mingalazedi, have in the centre of each face a flight of steps leading to the upper terraces, and, on the level of the first platform, an archway similar to the examples in Barabudur. In one or two cases also there are porches in front of each flight of steps, cruciform in plan, similar to those of the temples of Cambodia.

In the Sapada, Tamani and Pebingyaung pagodas at Pagān, above the bell is a square moulded plinth symbolic of the chamber in the basement, containing sacred relics of the Buddha and his disciples, and is known as the *dhātu-garbha*[1] or 'relic-chamber'. This feature is, however, of ancient origin, as it is shown on the stūpas in Ajanta and Ellora. It forms an essential feature in all the Sinhalese dāgabas, and as Sapada, the builder of the pagoda bearing his name, was a Buddhist monk from Ceylon, he probably introduced it into Burma.

The Shwe-maw-daw pagoda at Pegu, ranks among the most important stūpas of Burma. This building is extremely interesting architecturally, in that it deviates from the usual type which is exclusively used in the big edifices of this class hitherto described, having an octagonal base together with elaborated, multiplane forms. It returns, however, to the circular form before terminating and was crowned prior to its destruction by earthquake, by an iron *hti*, richly gilt. This upper portion has since been reconstructed by public efforts and state patronage. Another peculiarity of this pagoda is that, around its base, is a double range of miniature pagodas. Tradition ascribes its commencement to two merchants who raised it to the height of 12 cubits, at an age slightly subsequent to that of the Buddha himself. Successive kings of Pegu added to it from time to time, till at last it assumed the height of 324 feet above the terrace prior to the first earthquake.

Next in importance is the more venerated Shwedagon pagoda at Rangoon, a building very similar in dimensions to the Shwemawdaw, and by no means unlike it, except that the outline of the base is cut up to even a greater extent, and the spire more attenuated, both signs of a comparatively modern date. Its history is similar to that of many of the pagodas of Burma. Originally, it is said to have been only 27 feet high and to have attained its present height and dimensions by repeated casings many feet in thickness. About the middle of the 15th century, the height of the pagoda was raised to 302 feet and it reached its present height of 326 feet in 1774 A.C. As at the Shwemawdaw at Pegu, there are several miniature pagodas on the first terrace.

1 In Ceylon the term *dhātu-garbha* is used exclusively to refer to the hemispherical dome of the stūpa which forms its main body and contains the most esteemed relic-chamber of the stūpa—E-in-C.

The Sule pagoda is another remarkable pagoda in Rangoon. Its peculiarity lies in its being octagonal in shape throughout its height, from the terraces to the spire. It is said to be as old as the Shwedagon pagoda and believed to be originally founded in 326 B.C. by Sihadipa, king of Thaton, on the site of the shrine of the Sule *Nat*, who pointed out to the king of Ukkalapa the site of the Shwedagon pagoda.

The Botataung pagoda in Rangoon is also ascribed to the same king, the one who built the Sule pagoda. It was totally destroyed during the Second World War and was reconstructed on a new design. During the excavations to lay new foundations, a relic-chamber was found and a relic casket, in the form of a stone stūpa, belonging probably to Kyanzittha, was discovered. Among the antiquities recovered from the relic chamber, was a terracotta votive tablet, bearing the effigy of the Buddha on the reverse of which is an inscription in evolved Brāhmi script of the well-known Buddhist stanza, *ye dhammā hetuppabhavā*, etc. This testifies to the antiquity of the pagoda, which cannot be later than the 5th century A.C.

Numerous pagodas, known to have been originally founded long before the Pagān period and to have since undergone various stages of repair and reconstruction, are scattered throughout the whole country. For instance, the Shwesandaw at Prome belongs to the same age as that of the Shwedagon. It was repaired by Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.C.) as may be surmised from the inscription in Mon set up by him at the pagoda, which asserts that the king was an upholder of the Religion. Kyanzittha's acts of merit were not confined to Upper Burma and Prome. He extended his patronage to promote the religion in the Mon country, and thus we find a similar inscription at the Kyaik Talan pagoda, in Ayetthema village near Thaton, and Kyaik Tai pagoda, with its inscription in Aloo village. The repairs to the Htizaung pagoda near Zokthok may also probably be assigned to the same king, Kyanzittha.

At Moulmein, there is another pagoda which dates back to the 3rd century B.C. It is the Uzina pagoda, built by Rishi Manawzina aided by Meindi, a rich merchant, over a hair of Gautama Buddha. It was last repaired about a hundred years ago. At the same town is another well-known pagoda of the common stūpa type, the Kyaikthanlan, built on a hill, overlooking the town. It was erected by Rishi Thila in 875 A.C. and is a good example of how that similar structures were subsequently enlarged and repaired. In this case, repairs were done to the pagoda by Ponnurat, King of Moulmein, and in 1538 A.C. by Wareru, king of Martaban. It lay in ruins after the first Anglo-Burmese war and was repaired by U Taw Lay, with funds collected by public subscription, thus attaining its present height of 152 feet.

The art of decorating the terraces of a pagoda with terracotta plaques, illustrating scenes from the Jātakas, is found to have commenced at an age prior to the Pagān period, as evidenced by the bas-reliefs at the Mytheindan pagoda or the Thagyapaya at Thaton. The date of construction of this pagoda is unknown, but some of the plaques, which depict characters from the Buddhist Jātakas, bear testimony to the antiquity of the pagoda. Near it is the Shwesayan, believed to have been built in the 5th century B.C. by king Thuriya-Canda-Duttabaung, enshrining four teeth of Gautama Buddha.

The religious fervour of the Burmese people is so great that no amount of hardship would distract them from erecting stūpas in remote places or on mountain peaks. The Kyaiktiyo pagoda, 12 miles from Kyaikto in the Thaton district, is an example of such achievement. The small pagoda, just 18 feet high, stands precariously on a boulder which is balanced on the edge of a high mountain, the three sides of which run down to a deep ravine. Tradition ascribes the erection of the stūpa to a *rishi*, some two thousand years ago, to enshrine a hair of the Buddha.

Another important example of a solid cylindrical structure is the Shwezigon pagoda at Nyaungoo. It is a prototype of similar stūpas in Burma. It was built by king Anawrahta, who left it in an unfinished state, and was completed by Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.C.). Around the terraces of the pagoda there are set in panels, enamelled plaques, illustrating scenes in the previous lives of the Buddha. It is believed to contain the frontal bone and a tooth of the Buddha and is thus held in great veneration by the Buddhists of the whole of Burma. On each of the four sides of the pagoda is a small temple which enshrines a standing Buddha of the Gupta school of art.

The Mingalazedi pagoda at Pagān indicates the high-water mark of Burmese religious architecture, because it was constructed a few decades before the subversion of the Pagān Empire by the Mongols. It consists of three stepped terraces and the usual superstructure, in fine proportions. The pagoda is noted for its beautiful terracotta tiles with Burmese legends set in the panels round the terraces.

The forms and aspirations of the art were however, continued and stūpas of considerable

interest built at a later period could be seen at many places throughout the country. Among these may be mentioned the Rājamaṇicūla, also called Kaunghmudaw pagoda near Sagaing, built by king Thalun in 1636 A.C. It is in the hemispherical form, being built on the model of the Mahāceti of Ceylon. The pagoda rises from the plain and is an enormous solid dome, with a massive *hti* (umbrella), but with no spire, raised on three circular terraces or bases. Round the plinth, about a foot high, is a ring of moulded stone posts each having the cap hollowed out to serve as receptacles for lights.

The Sinbyume or Myatheindan pagoda at Mingun, about seven miles north of Mandalay, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, is in the form of the legendary Cūḷāmani pagoda on the top of Mount Meru in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, the abode of Indra or Śakra. The seven concentric terraces at the base correspond to the seven ranges of mountains surrounding Mount Meru. The figures in white marble in the niches of the parapets of every terrace represent the five kinds of mythical monsters safe-guarding the mount. Built in 1816 by Bagyidaw, while he was yet a prince, the pagoda suffered severe damage during the earthquake of 1838. It was restored in 1874 by king Mindon, but the upper portion was again shattered by the earthquake of 1956.

One of the modern examples of the type of solid stūpas in Burma is the Kuthodaw pagoda at Mandalay built by king Mindon in 1857 on the model of the Shwezigon at Nyaungoo. Its distinctive feature is the collection of 729 stone slabs, on which are inscribed the whole of the Tripiṭaka. Each marble slab is sheltered in a small pagoda or shrine surrounding the central pagoda.

The last to be listed in this series is the Man Aung Yadana pagoda, built by king Thibaw in 1881 A.C., after the model of the Kuthodaw, some two miles to the south east of Mandalay. Both its historical and architectural interest lies in its being the shrine built by the last king of the Burmese nation and in its constituting the last link in the long series of religious edifices marking the sites of Burmese capitals.

The Laymethna at Śrīkṣetra (Old Prome) is the earliest example of the second type of Buddhist monuments in Burma. It is a low brick building with a central pillar surrounded by a vaulted corridor. Against the pillar are embedded four sculptured stones facing the cardinal points. The arches of the doorways, formed by radiating voussoirs of bricks, laid flatwise, constitute a distinctive architectural feature of the period. The Bèbè and the Zegu temples are other examples at the same old city of the Pyus.

At Pagān, the square temples, dominated by Mon influence, are distinguished by their dark corridors which are dimly lighted by perforated windows and by their bright frescoes of variegated colour with Mon writing on the walls. The typical Burmese temples are bright and airy within, with imposing plan and height. The Kubyaukkyi temple at Myinpagan, near Pagān, is an example of the first category. It was built in 1113 A.C. by Rajakumar, son of Kyanzittha, as testified by the quadrilingual inscription, known as the Myazedi Pillar. The temple consists of a square basement, surmounted by a *sikhara*, with curvilinear roofs resting on terraces, and a *maṇḍapa*, projecting on the east face. The interior of the building has a sanctum around which runs a vaulted corridor, adorned with niches enshrining images of the Buddha in stone. The building is lighted by perforated stone windows on which are incised geometrical designs of fine proportions. The architecture of this temple is typically Mon. Its greatest importance, however, attaches to the paintings in the sanctum, in the corridors surrounding it, and in the entrance porch. These paintings are considered to be contemporaneous with the building and are the earliest now extant at Pagān. Additional interest attaches to these paintings on account of the legend in Old Mon characters under each of the scenes they depict. These inscriptions are not only interesting from an epigraphical point of view but also help us to identify the scenes.

The Ānanda (See *EncyBsm*. Vol. I, Pls. XLVI and XLVII), an intermediate form, and the Thatbyinnyu, a purely Burmese type, are fine illustrations of architectural achievements of the Pagān period. Built by Kyanzittha in 1091 A.C., it is one of the finest and most venerated temples at Pagān. Tradition says that it was built according to a plan furnished by Indian Buddhist monks, which purported to be their cave-temple in the Nandamūla mountain, believed to be in the Himālayās. The temple symbolises the endless wisdom (*ananta-paññā*) of the Buddha, just as the Thatbyinnyu symbolises the omniscience of the Thathāgata. The name Ananta was later corrupted to Ānanda, the name of the Buddha's cousin.

It is in plan a square of nearly 200 feet to the side, broken on each side by the projection of large, gabled vestibules, which convert the plan into a

perfect Greek cross. These vestibules are somewhat lower than the main square mass of the building, which elevates itself to a height of 35 feet in two tiers of windows. Above this rise successively diminishing terraces, the last of which just affords breadth for the spire which crowns and completes the edifice. The lower half of this spire is in the form of a mitre-like pyramid, adapted from the temples of India. The upper half is the same moulded taper pinnacle that terminates the common bell-shaped pagodas of Pagān. The gilded *hti* (umbrella) caps the whole, at a height of 168 feet above the ground.

The interior consists of two vaulted and high but narrow corridors, running parallel to each other along the four sides of the temple. They are connected by low and narrow passages in front of the window by which light is admitted and further intersected by four large corridors into which access is obtained through the porticoes. In the centre is an enormous cube, on the four sides of which are deep and high niches, enshrining four colossal standing Buddhas of the present age who have appeared and entered Nirvāṇa. The images are represented in the following order: North—Kakusanda; East—Konāgamana; South—Kassapa and West—Gotama. Each of them is 31 feet above the throne, which itself is nearly 8 feet in height above the floor level. Of these images only those on the North and South are the original ones, contemporary with the founding of the temple. Those on the East and West were added later to replace the original ones which had been destroyed by fire.

Other interesting features of the temple are the numerous glazed terracotta tiles, ornamenting the base, and the receding terraces which represent the Jātaka stories and the attack and temptation of the Master by the hosts and daughters of Māra. Each of these plaques is inscribed with a Mon legend. The inner walls are honeycombed with niches in which are set small stone Buddhas in various postures. The most notable sculptures are a series of eighty reliefs in the two lower tiers of niches in the outer corridor, illustrating the last life of the bodhisattva from his birth to the attainment of Supreme Wisdom. The western sanctum also enshrines the life-size statues of its founder, Kyanzittha and the primate, Shin Arahan (See *EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pl. III).

The Thatbyinnyu temple was built in 1144 A.C. by king Alaungsithu, grandson of the king who erected the Ānanda. Standing within the ancient city walls, some 500 yards to the south-west of the Ānanda, the Thatbyinnyu (Sabbaññu) rises to a height of 201 feet above the ground and overtops all the other monuments. Its general plan is not unlike that of the Ānanda, but it does not, like the latter, form a symmetrical cross. The eastern porch alone projects considerably from the wall. Narrow stairways, built in the thickness of the walls, lead to an upper platform above the main mass of structure and three diminishing terraces.

From this level rises another square cube of greater height which again supports another series of terraces together with the *śikhara* and the finial. Before reaching the upper platform, a circumambulatory corridor, forming the first floor of the building, has to be passed through. Thus, the main sanctuary, enshrining the biggest Buddha image in the temple, is contained in the cubicle on the second floor of the structure.

Most of the square temples of the Pagān dynasty and later of the Ava dynasty follow the models set by the Ānanda and Thatbyinnyu. For instance, the Gawdawpalin and the Sulamani, built by king Narapatisithu, and the Htilominlo, built by king Nantaungmya, follow the model of the Thatbyinnyu, while the Dhammayangyi, built by king Narathu, follows the model of the Ānanda Temple.

The Nagayon at Myinpagan is another temple built by king Kyanzittha. It is a square structure with a vestibule on the north, where the only entrance is provided. A single circumambulatory corridor goes round a sanctuary wherein stands a double life-size Buddha of brick and stucco under the hood of a huge serpent.

The Nanpaya, one of the earlier temples at Pagān, also possesses interesting architectural features. It is built of brick and mortar and surfaced with stone, and is square in plan, with a porch projecting on the east face. Flanking the sanctuary in the main building, there are four stone pillars, on the sides of each of which are carved triangular floral designs and the figure of the Brahmā holding flowers in each hand. The temple is crowned with a *śikhara* and the perforated windows are highly decorated with pilasters and pediments.

At Pagān, king Nantaungmya or Natonmya built a temple after the model of the temple at Bodh Gayā in Bihar (See *EncyBsm*. Vol III, Pl. LV, Fig. 1). Known as the Mahābodhi pagoda, it is the only specimen of its class to be found in Burma. The basement is a quadrangular block of no great height, supporting a tall spire. The whole structure is covered with niches, bearing seated Buddhas and interspersed with ornamental panels and mouldings

3—CP 14744 (73/07)

The architectural tradition of the Ānanda and Thatbyinnyu temples continued unabated till the 19th century, when, in 1847, the Kyauktwgyi temple was built by Pagan Min, overlooking the Taungthaman lake at Amarapura. The plinth is a few feet high and is approached by a broad flight of steps on each of the four sides. The design and decorative features are almost equal to those of the Ānanda but the decadence of the Pagān style of architecture is clearly seen in the temple.

At Mrohaung in Akyab district, there are religious edifices built by the Arakanese kings, between the 15th and 18th centuries. Many of them are peculiar to the locality. The Ratnabon pagoda is constructed entirely of blocks of sandstone. It is circular in plan and rises in a number of concentric tiers, similar to the ordinary Burmese pagoda but its massiveness is imposing. The Shitthaung temple, built by king Minbin (1531–53 A.C.), stands on a hill and is more a fortress than a pagoda. There are intricate secret passages and chambers within the central structure, and the most interesting feature is the gallery of stone sculptures, and depicting scenes from the Jātakas and mythical monsters and animals.

Besides the solid stūpas and square hollow temples, there are other types of religious buildings, namely, the *thein* or ordination hall for monks, *pitakattaik* or library, *umin* or cave-temple, and *kyaung* or monastery. Very few examples of the early types of ordination hall are extant. The Upali Thein at Pagān was built in the 13th century and repaired in the 17th century. It is a masonry structure of fine proportions, rectangular in plan and containing a hall with an image of the Buddha placed on a pedestal at the end of it. The roof is ornamented with a double row of battlements in simulation of wooden architecture, and its centre is surmounted by a small, slim pagoda. The arches, on which the superstructure rests, are well-built; and the fine and brilliant frescoes covering its walls and ceiling are in an excellent state of preservation. They belong to the late 17th or early 18th century A.C. Shorn of Buddhistic architectural details, this *sīmā*, at least its external appearance, reminds us of the wheel-less *Vishnu raths* of South India, particularly of Conjeevaram and Mahābalipuram.

At Pagān there is a sacred library within the city walls, built by king Anawrahta in 1057 A.C., to house the Buddhist scriptures which he brought back to his capital from Thaton. It consists of a central square chamber and a circumambulatory corridor, as in the Nagayon Temple. Three perforated windows on each of the three sides and three doorways on the east bring in light and air to the building. Its chief peculiarity is its approximate simulation of architectural form in wood, in that it is covered by five multiple roofs surmounted by a *dubika* (a finial in wooden spire), and ornamented with peacock-like finials in plaster carving.

The next type of building is the subterranean structure or rock-cut temple, as at Pagān, and near Moulmein and Monywa. The Thamiwhet and Hmyathat *Umin*, near Nyaungoo, are caves formed by digging into the sides of hills. They were constructed about the beginning of the 13th century and were used as residences of Buddhist monks. These subterranean passages are the Burmese counterparts of the cave-temples of India. The Kyaukku temple, situated about two miles east of Nyaungoo, is a structure of unique architecture. It consists of three receding terraces, built in stone and brick, against the precipitous side of a deep ravine. The upper two storeys are attributed to Narapatisithu (1173–1210) and the lower one is believed to have existed before Anawrahta. On the stone jambs of its portico are good carvings of mythological features. It contains one inscription, frescoes, and six stone figures representing scenes in the Buddha's life. The principal feature inside is the colossal image of the Buddha in the usual seated posture, facing the entrance of the hall. The Kyanzittha *umin* near the Shwezigon pagoda at Nyaungoo, is a low brick building half under ground and half above. Popular tradition has it that it was built by king Kyanzittha. The interior of the building consists of long and dark corridors, some of the walls of which are ornamented with frescoes dating from the 11th to the 13th century. Those of later date were most probably painted during the Mongol occupation of the city in 1287 A.C. and represent Mongolian personages, viz. nobles, captains and warriors.

The caves at Powundaung, near Monywa, vary in size and features, but the most important are the earlier, larger ones which are excavated deep in the heart of the rocks. An interesting feature of all these niches and temples at Powundaung is that every detail in them, whether architectural decorations or bas-reliefs of images and figures, is part and parcel of the excavation. These are rock-cut temples in the true sense of the word and resemble those in India.

Among the natural limestone caves near Moulmein, the Kawgun cave is the most noteworthy. It is about 100 feet long and 50 feet wide. A large

recumbent Buddha image occupies the further end of the inner cave and all available space within is taken up with a mass of images of all sizes. There are also numerous shrines of all ages and the walls are encrusted with thousands of small terracotta tablets, bearing images of seated Buddhas. They date back to the 10th century or earlier.

The monasteries did not receive as much serious attention in architecture as the pagodas and, as they were mostly built of wood and partly of brick and mud mortar they have perished rapidly. The earliest structures could be seen round or near the sacred shrines at Pagān. The simplest and most elementary form is a two-storeyed square building, with a central pier from which spring pointed vaults. It contains a small cell on the first floor. The front entrance is extended by a large square platform covered by a gabled roof in wood. In this open porch was placed the main shrine between the two doors leading to the building.

An elaborate form is the group of college buildings, the general plan being a rectangular court of considerable size in the centre, with a row of cubicles about ten feet square around the court. There is also a lobby on the east and a two-storeyed chapel on the west, all of which are connected by narrow passages. Tho Somingyi monastery at Pagān is one such example.

The best preserved monastery, built entirely of masonry, is the Okkyaung at Ava, which is a simulation of wooden forms of architecture of a highly developed nature. It was built in 1818 A.C. by Nanmadaw Me Nu, the famous Chief Queen of Bagyidaw, for the residence of her religious preceptor, the Nyaunggan Sayadaw. The earthquake of 1838 A.C. damaged it and in 1873 it was restored by Sinbyumashin, Queen of Mindon, and daughter of the donor. Constructed on a low elevation, it is a rectangular structure of 140 by 100 feet, supported by masonry pillars inside and arches outside. It consists of the following four regular divisions of a monastery :—(i) the Pyatthat Saung, with the seven-roofed spire where the Buddha image or images were kept; (ii) the Sanu Saung, where the presiding abbot lives; (iii) the Saungmagyi with triple roofs, or the hall, where lectures are given, ceremonies are held and junior monks are provided with apartments; and (iv) the Bawga Saung, or the dormitory of junior monks.

About a dozen fine examples of similar architecture in wood could be found in and around Mandalay, the most outstanding group being the Sangyaung monasteries at Amarapura. They are called the Mahatulut-bonkyaw and Maha Aungmye-beikman, and were built by the Queen Consort and her daughter, the Princess Royal, during the reign of Shwebo Min (1837–46 A.C.). When the capital of Burma was transferred from Amarapura to Mandalay in 1857, they were bodily removed thither and re-erected, but were burnt down during the troublesome years that followed the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 A.C. There were, however, two small monasteries, called the 'Medaw Kyaung' ('Royal Mother's Monastery') and 'Thamidaw Kyaung' ('Royal Daughter's Monastery') which were constructed by the same personages and dedicated as the residence of the Thathanabaing U Nyeya, the Buddhist Patriarch during the reign of Shwebo Min and Mindon Min.

Sir Henry Yule of the British Mission to Ava in 1855 saw these monasteries in their supreme splendour and entire character, and the extracts given below from his account would convey a vivid picture of the exquisite Burmese art:

"The Medaw Kyaung was built on the usual monastic plan with a detached hall and three shrines with tapering spires, abreast of one another at the west end, all rising out of the same platform at the level of the first floor." "The building was carved like an ivory toy, and was ablaze of gold and other sparkling ornament. Even the posts of the basement storey were gilt, which is seldom the case, and so were the brick staircase and parapets ascending to the platform."

"The brackets or corbels from the outer posts, which support the projecting eaves of the platform above, were griffins or dragons with the head downwards, the feet grasping the post, and the tail rising in alternate flexures, which seemed almost to writhe and undulate as we looked. No art could be better of its kind. The outer range of posts rose as usual through the platform, forming massive props or stanchions for the balustrade above. The tops of these posts were gorgeously carved and hollowed into the semblance of an imperial crown, with various figures under its arches. The successive roofs were sheeted with zinc, that glanced in the sun like silver covered with a net-work of gold. Even the ladders that leant against the walls, to give access from roof to roof in case of repair being needed, were covered with gilding and inlaid with mirror-work. In the basement storey were some curious works of art in another style. On the plastered reverse of the gilded staircases were paintings representing

different nations, such as Burmese, Chinese, Shans and Englishmen. They were drawn with a good deal of character."

The Thamidaw Kyaung is, in plan and general character, quite similar to the Medaw Kyaung. The former even exceeds the latter in gorgeousness of adornment. Here the three spires remain ungilt, the work having been interrupted by the civil commotions of 1852. "The contrast thus arising between the mellow colour of the teak and the brilliant mass of gold is no detriment to the effect. The posts of the basement, instead of being wholly gilt are covered with scarlet lacquer banded with gilded carving. From post to post run cusped arches in open filigree-work, very delicate and beautiful."

"The balcony balustrade is quite unique. Instead of the usual turned rails, or solid carved panels, it is a brilliant open work of interlacing scrolls, the nuclei of the compartments into which the scrolls arrange themselves, being fanciful fairy like figures in complete relief, somewhat awkward in drawing but spirited in action. Below this balcony is an exquisite drooping eaves-board, in shield-like tracery, with interlacing scrolls cut through the wood like lace-work."

"The panels of the walls in the upper storeys are exquisitely diapered and flowered in mosaic of looking glass, whilst the eaves-crests and ridge-crests (the latter most delicate and brilliant) are of open carving in lattice-work and flame-points tipped with sparkling mirror. The indispensable religious pinnacles of finials, with their peculiar vanes of flags, are of unusually fanciful and delicate carving, each crowned with its miniature golden htee and bells."

The war had shattered these richly gilt monasteries and to-day only a single building in an advanced stage of decay stands to show the orthodox architectural style of the past. It is the Shwenandaw Kyaung built in 1880, mainly of materials obtained by dismantling the apartments occupied by Mindon Min just before his death. It is smaller than the Sangyaung monasteries but the decorative features are as pleasing and interesting as the older works. Inside the building are wooden sculptures illustrating the ten great Jātakas.

U.L.P.W.

PAINTING

The earliest paintings extant in Burma belong to the Pagān period, beginning from the 11th century A.C., but, inasmuch as an earlier school of architecture and sculpture was active since the fifth century, there is no doubt about the existence of an art in Burma in pre-Pagān times. Time and climate have destroyed whatever remained of the ancient architecture which used wood as its material, and with those religious edifices would have perished the first native representations in colour and sculpture of Buddhist legends. The paintings at Pagān are executed on the walls of masonry temples and, just as different types of religious architecture extend beyond the historic epoch of the Pagān dynasty, so also the remains of Buddhist paintings represent a long period of more than seven centuries, thus offering to us the various aspects of the history of art of the well-known Buddhist centre, Pagān, which virtually is the history of art in Burma.

The ruins of Pagān cover an area of nearly seventeen square miles. Among the thousands of monuments in different stages of decay are square, hollow temples, the interiors of all of which seem to have originally been decorated with paintings. To-day, we find fairly preserved a good number of the mural paintings sufficient to enable us to form an accurate idea of their scope and capacity and also the method of their execution. Contemporary lithic inscriptions also contain many allusions to the art of painting which afford us ample evidence of the technique and the extent to which this popular practice was promoted during the Pagān perod.

Technically speaking, these mural paintings are not frescoes in the strict sense of the term. As the plaster of the walls is allowed to dry before applying the background of white lime wash, preparing the outlines and filling in the colours, the method is actually that of tempera painting as is still practised in the present day. Very few of the early paintings, therefore, survive to-day in their original charm of colour. A characteristic feature of these mural paintings is the outlining of all forms with a clear black line and rarely with red, and the absence of perspective and shading in the earlier period is discernible. Yet, most of them are of absorbing interest, as they fulfil the primary object of telling edifying stories in an attractive way and producing works of art which are epic in character, rather than artistic in the modern sense.

The reign of Anoratha, who first united the whole of Burma, synchronised with the advent of the Theravāda form of Buddhism to Pagān. The king, a champion for the propagation of the pure faith, resorted to all means available to rouse the religious fervour of his subjects. One of the results of the powerful influence, exercised by the doctrine of the Buddha on the minds of the people, was the

efflorescence of an art, dedicated to the glorification of the Master's life. The theme of the paintings on the walls of the temples is, therefore religious in character and mostly centres round the Buddha, incidents from his life, and from the Jātakas. These afforded opportunity for vivid representations and illustrations to supplement the teachings of the elder monks to their students at the religious institutions or colleges.

The style of the Pagān paintings shows strong south-Indian influence in the earlier stages and the technique of the Varendra school of Bengal can be traced in the paintings of the 12th-13th century. But, Burmese art was inspired to a great extent by Burmese nature and religious teachings, so that the fully developed paintings at Pagān, in particular, and in the whole country, in general, indicate no traces of foreign elements.

The rulers of Pagān were benevolent despots, but in religious matters they tolerated the existence of various sects of Hinduism and the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, which flourished side by side with the purer faith for sometime after the latter's introduction to Upper Burma. This is evident by the presence in not a few temples of paintings of bodhisattvas and their embracing *śaktis* and other non-Theravādin themes, Hindu, Tantric and Mahāyānist.

At the Patothamya temple, one of the earliest structures of the 10th–11th century A.C., may be seen Indian figures on the begrimed walls. A royal personage, with a crown, halo, ear-ornaments and drapery and a bearded musician, beating a pitcher-like drum, bear all the semblance of Indian features. The temple also contains large panels of painting depicting scenes from the Buddha's life. They have become greatly blurred by the ravages of time, but enough remains to show that these paintings were the work of no mean artist. There is greater precision in the proportions of each figure than in the case of paintings of a later period. Below each scene is a legend in Mon, in an archaic type of characters. Traditionally, the Patothamya is said to have been built by King Taungthugyi (931–64 A.C.), but it is not yet possible to confirm that date. From the style of the paintings and the epigraphs below the panels, we may safely assign the temple to a date not later than the eleventh century A.C. Two of the noteworthy scenes here are the prophesy about Siddhattha by the *rishi* Kāla Devala, and the performance of the Twin Miracles by the Buddha. The male royal personages are invariably rep esented with large cloaks covering the whole body, on which are shown patterns of geometrical design. The facial expressions seem to represent the characteristics of Indians.

Another contemporary temple, the Nat-hlaung-Kyaung, stands a few hundred feet to the east of the Patothamya. This is the only Hindu temple now extant at Pagān. The interior walls of the temple are painted with figures, now mostly obliterated, of Viṣṇu seated with his devotees. The outlines of a few may still be traced and the attributes, namely, the *cakra*, conch, lotus, club or sword are distinguished in the case of images with four hands. These wall paintings were probably contemporaneous with the building and the sculptures of the ten *avatāras* in the niches of the outer walls.

A unique example of a series of paintings reflecting the influences from three sources, namely, Brāhmanism, Mahāyānism and Theravāda, may be noticed at the Abeyadana temple at Myinkaba, Pagān (See *EncyBsm*. Vol. II, Pls. I and II). The temple was built by Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.C.) and consists of a sanctum with an arched corridor running around it. The only entrance to the sanctum is on the north. In a band around the inner face of the outer walls of the corridor, and placed at a height of about seven feet above the floor level, there could be seen, in panels simulating mountain caves, many figures of Mahāyānist gods and goddesses, both in their peaceful and fierce forms, as well as images of bodhisattvas. The erotic representations of the Tantric sect are, however, totally absent here. The bodhisattvas, arranged in three rows, one above the other, have two arms each and the attributes they carry are lances, clubs, *cakras*, daggers, swords and books, without any sign of Tantric character in them. There is no writing below the figures and it is difficult to identify them but for the attributes in their hands, by which Vajrapāni, Padmapāni, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are distinguishable among them. Added to the figures of bodhisattvas are the representations of a monk, an ascetic and other Mahāyānist deities. On the inner walls of the corridor, are small circular panels between the niches for sculptures. Each panel has a Brahmanic god painted on it and representations of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, each on his mount, are discernible. The panels on the porch, however, illustrate scenes from the Jātakas and each scene is explained in a legend, in Mon, in addition to giving the number of the Jātaka represented. The arrangement of the Jātakas follows very closely that given

in Fausboll's edition of Jātakas, and it is remarkable that the same is met with in many other temples at Pagān.

Unlike the Abeyadana, the Nagayon temple, built by the same king, Kyanzittha, contains mural paintings solely devoted to Theravāda Buddhism. The plan of the building is similar to that of Abeyadana though it carries an elegant superstructure. The Nagayon also houses some of the earlier stone sculptures, representing scenes from the Buddha's life. The porch of the temple is adorned with paintings, depicting incidents from the Buddha's life, his retreats, sermons, miracles and conversions. These are fully explained in Mon legends below the scenes, which enable us to identify the illustrations easily. Among the noteworthy pieces of art executed on the walls are scenes showing a deva beseeching the Buddha to preach the *Maṅgala Sutta*, Dīpaṅkara's prophecy regarding Sumedhapaṇḍita, the preaching of the *Metta Sutta*, the Twin Miracles of the Buddha, Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha, the *Kusa Jātaka*, the *Chaddanta Jātaka*, the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, etc.

The Kubyauk-kyi temple, at Myinkaba, is another structure, wherein orthodox Theravāda paintings are predominantly exhibited. Built about 1113 A.C., by Rājakumar, in solemn and revered dedication to his father, Kyanzittha, the temple assumes the traditional early types of a square structure, with a dark sanctum, circumambulated by a corridor lighted through perforated windows. The vaulted hall faces east. Inside the hall and the corridor are paintings depicting the *Vimānavatthu*. The main block is ranged around in nine rows with the 547 Jātakas, each fresco carrying a Mon legend below it. One of the most popular scenes from the Buddha's life, namely the Descent from Tāvatiṃsa, is a remarkable feature exhibited therein. This temple is not devoid of Mahāyānist painting. In the outer porch is a fairly large panel, painted with the figure of a ten-handed bodhisattva attended by seated *śaktis*. This is presumably a later addition.

The Loka-Okshaung temple at Pagān, though built later than the Abeyadana and Kubyauk-kyi, portrays figures of Viṣṇu on its walls. Some of the mural paintings of Pagān are not contemporary with the buildings which they decorate. The Kyanzittha cave temple at Nyaungoo, east of Pagān, is an example of this category. Here, some of the paintings pertain to the earlier period of the Pagān dynasty and some figures of secular character seem to have been executed as late as the Mongol invasions of Pagān in 1287 A.C. The building is traditionally assigned to Kyanzittha. One of the frescoes depicts the footprint of the Buddha, on which may be noticed the entire absence of the numerous symbolical figures, usually found in such a representation. Scenes of local incidents are of much interest. The figures of a venerable lady, wending her way to a Buddhist shrine, has much the same prominent facial characteristics as the drummer from a painting found on the wall of the Patothamya. These forms and expressions are evidence of the antiquity of the first series of paintings.

Another series represent several Mongol types. Some of the inner walls of the cave are ornamented with a variety of well-executed frescoes which, on the whole, are very well preserved. They do not all represent Mongol personages, but those that do, were probably painted during the Mongol invasion of the city. One represents a Buddha, seated in European fashion, on a high chair, his feet resting on a lotus. Another shows a seated Buddhist monk, holding a rosary, and his dress indicates that he is Chinese. A Mongol officer seated on a low wooden stool and a Mongol soldier, in the act of shooting with bow and arrow, certainly show strong Central Asian influence.

The Alopyi-gu, a small square, hollow temple, south of the Pagān-Nyaungoo road, is one of the earlier structures with peculiar features of mural paintings. The vaulted roof is decorated with lotuses and flowers and numerous small Buddhas, preaching, as indicated by the Mon legends below them. The most interesting series is a row of the last twenty-eight Buddhas, under their respective Bodhi-trees. The description under each painting enlightens us with the name of the Buddha and the nomenclature of the tree in Old Mon, the importance of which lies in being the only specimen in that language.

Jātaka scenes fill the walls of many a temple built throughout the Pagān dynasty and the Kubyauk-kyi, near Wetkyi-in village, figures prominently in this respect. Each scene here is painted in a small square panel, very neatly delineated in row upon row of the vast wall of the eastern vaulted hall. The legends, which are in Burmese, give the title of each Jātaka and mention the main character depicted in the scene; thus, *Jambu Jat, sacpan nat* signifies the *Jambukhādaka Jātaka*, the main personage represented being identified as the tree-spirit.

In the temples of the late twelfth century and thirteenth century A.C., we find that the art of

painting has reached a high level of Burmanisation. The scheme of colouring becomes more complex and many contemporary inscriptions record the decoration of temples with colourful paintings on the walls and especially on the ceilings. The Old Burmese word *kyak-tanuy*, which often occurs in the Pagān epigraphs, undoubtedly refers to the interior of the vaulted roof, painted with a multiplicity of medallions in variegated colours, each of which contains a small, seated Buddha, though possibly the term was originally applied to a canopy above the central image of a temple. Lamp-black is obviously used to draw the outlines and to fill in certain details. The use of other materials, namely, orpiment, vermillion, lac and chalk, is also mentioned in the inscriptions. The paintings executed during post-Kyanzittha period may be found in the Thayambu, Loka-hteikpan, Theinmazi and Penathagu temples at Pagān, the Thetkyamuni and Kondawgyi temples at Nyaungoo and in almost all the lesser temples in the Minnanthu area. The walls are covered with not only Jātaka scenes but also with the eight miracles of the Buddha and scenes of the 'Mansions of the Blessed' from the *Vimānavatthu*. The Thetkyamuni contains scenes in the life of Asoka, the Convenor of the Third Buddhist Council, and the advent of Mahinda to Ceylon. Portrayal of the last twenty-eight Buddhas from Taṇhaṅkara onwards, under their respective Bodhi trees, is also a very popular theme, and not a few of the paintings show the traditional Burmese cosmography.

Fine paintings, the technique of which parallels that of the Ajaṇṭā frescoes, may be seen in the Thambula temple at Minnanthu. The building was erected in 1255 A.C., by Princess Sumulā, the daughter of King Kyazwa, and wife of King Uzana. It is square in plan with a circumambulatory corridor running right round the central square pile which supports the *sikhara* above. On one side of this pile is a large recess, containing a seated figure of the Buddha in the earth-touching attitude. On the face of the cubical mass, surrounding this recess, is a splendid fresco, representing the assault of Māra's hosts to oust the Buddha from his seat. The diversity of the figures pressing in disorder on their onward march, the life infused into the attitude of each of them and the size of the painting which, representing one scene, covers several square yards, renders it one of the most remarkable paintings in Burma.

Close to the Thambula temple are two noteworthy structures, the Payathonzu and the Nandamanna, which contain well preserved frescoes distinctly Mahāyānist and Tantric in character. The former consists of three distinct small, square buildings with narrow passages leading from one to the other. This is a unique feature in Burma. The interior walls are covered with frescoes quite peculiar and unlike any other as yet found. They represent that phase of religion, so much abhorred later, when the Theravāda school of Ceylon had been firmly established at Pagān. The walls, pilasters and the vaulted ceilings are all covered with floral motifs in which mythical monsters, animals, birds and human figures are cleverly interwoven. A striking feature is the portrayal of bodhisattvas, mostly in worldly clothes, embracing their female counterparts; others are seated with one or two *śaktis* sitting on their knees. The painting on the westernmost portion of this structure is left unfinished and the scenes are merely outlined, which indicates that the work of decorating the interior of the building had to be abandoned, presumably due to the outbreak of a civil strife or to the Mongolian invasion of Pagān, close to the end of the 13th century A.C.

The Nandamanna is only a few hundred yards away from the Payathonzu. The frescoes therein, still better preserved, are also Tantric in character, and in some instances, depict an unspeakable eroticism. The temple was built in 1248 A.C., according to an inscription within its precincts. Minnanthu was no doubt one of the strong-holds of one of the sects of Mahāyānism, and this is borne out by the fact that it is only about one mile distant from Thamati which was the traditional centre of the Ari monks who indulged in grossly immoral practices. The presence of Tantric frescoes in the Nandamanna temple indicates that 'Northern Buddhism' was still extant at Pagān in the 13th century. In fact, it was actively promoted side by side with the Theravāda form of Buddhism, as is evidenced by a few scenes in the same temple depicting the performance of the Twin Miracles by the Buddha and the birth of Siddhattha.

After the fall of the Pagān dynasty, artistic life went on, but with diminished vigour. However, when peaceful periods were ushered in, during the late 17th and early 18th centuries A.C., the traditional art was revived with royal patronage from the later capitals of Ava and Amarapura. Thus, in some of the buildings at Pagān we find fresh frescoes which have been painted with purely Burmese ideals. The Upāli Sīmā (ordination hall), assigned to the second quarter of the 13th century, has its walls adorned with frescoes belonging to the early 18th century. The scenes here represent not only incidents from the life of the Buddha but also the circumstances under which the last twenty-

eight Buddhas renounced the world. In conformity with the utility of the building, is a scene showing the rehabilitation of a monk who had committed an offence, that could be expiated only by undergoing penance, the ecclesiastical ceremony for which has to be performed strictly in accordance with the Vinaya rules in an ordination hall. Lively scenes portraying the Jātakas, as well as the secular life of the day, are painted on the inner walls of the Ānanda Okkyaung, a brick monastery close to the venerated Ānanda temple at Pagān. The building and the frescoes are contemporaneous, dating back to 1775 A.C. The Sulamani temple, built by king Narapatisithu (1173–1210 A.C.), also contains frescoes executed in the late 18th century. Typical of the latter period, the scheme of painting here is delineated in horizontal panels from the floor level to the frieze, the upper panels being devoted to religious themes while the lower ones portray contemporary secular life and infernal scenes and animals.

The paintings at the Upāli Sīmā, the Ānanda Okkyaung and the Sulamani temple are specially striking, in that the variety of subjects is fairly large and the narration of Jātakas and of incidents from the Buddha's life is comprehensive and continuous. The highlights of social and economic developments are discernible in the lively secular scenes, which pronounce the artistic originality of the period. As far as the themes and forms of expression are concerned, Burmese painting at that time had, in fact, reached the pinnacle of success.

Similar contemporary Burmese frescoes may be seen in many religious buildings, besides those at Pagān. The Tilokaguru cave-temple at Sagaing, the Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi at Amarapura and the Pegalon temple at Shwezayan, near Mandalay are repositories of fine frescoes of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The Pagān frescoes afford scholars a unique opportunity of interpreting the early Buddhist images and throw much light on the religious history of Burma. Later paintings are equally valuable in that they present a faithful interpretation of Burmese life and thought. If anyone argues that the Burmans have not advanced very far in the art of painting, it may be pointed out that the motive of ornamentation and decoration is solely dedicated to religious devotion and the forms of expression are rarely the product of conscious effort exclusively towards that end.

U.L.P.W.

POPULAR RELIGION

The popular religion of Burma is a syncretic one made up of popular Theravāda Buddhism and indigenous animistic beliefs. These animistic beliefs, generally known as *nat*-worship, co-exist within the frame-work of Buddhism and are, at present, more or less a complementary part of Burmese Buddhism. E. Michael Mendelson suggests that Burmese Buddhism represents a continuum between the two extremes of *nat*-worship and ideal (scriptural) Buddhism, rather than a set of disparate elements.[1] Of the two forms of beliefs that comprise the syncretic religion of Burma, Buddhism is apparently the more predominant, more formal and more institutionalised system, and, as such, its influence upon the day to day life of the people, their mode of living and way of thinking is by far greater than that of *nat*-worship. This influence percolates mainly through the agency of monks who are found in large numbers in monasteries scattered throughout the country.

The Burmese monastery is called *pongyi kyaung* and is comparable to the *wat* in Thailand and *pariveṇa* in Ceylon. Normally a monastery is made up of a sermon-hall (*dham-mayone*), ordination-hall (*thein*), the school (*kyaung*) and the residing quarters (*zayat*) of the monks. The resident monks of each monastery are hierarchically ranked according to the number of years spent in monkhood. At the head of each monastery is a senior monk known as *sayadaw*, meaning 'venerable teacher'. The other residents are made up of ordained monks called *upazin* and novices called *shin*.[2] The monks are held in high esteem and are addressed with honorific terms such as *pongyi*, meaning 'great glory', 'great holiness' or 'great nobility', and *yahan* meaning 'perfected one'.

The Burmese Saṅgha is divided into two main sects, one called the Thudhamma sect and the

1 "Religion and Authority in Burma," *The World Today*, March, 1960, published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford Univ. Press. However, scholars are not in agreement on this point. R.C. Temple, in his article on Burma in the *ERE*. III, p. 21 says, "It is now a recognised fact that, whatever the profession of faith may be, practical everyday religion of the whole of the Burmese people is animism, called generally in Burmese 'Nat-worship', *nat* being the generic term for all kinds of supernatural beings." J. G. Scott, writing about Buddhism in Burma, also seems to hold a similar view (ibid. pp. 41 f.). But David E. Pfanner holds the view that the dominant element of the syncretic form of religion in Burma is Buddhism and not animism (*Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism*, Yale University, "The Buddhist Monk in Rural Society," pp. 77 ff.).

2 Sometimes this hierarchy is slightly extended. The lowest are the *Shin* or novices, then comes ordained monks *pyitshin*, the third are the heads of monasteries *saya*, who never have spent fewer than ten lents. Above them are those who are heads of a group of monasteries and they are called *gainyok*. The fifth are the *sayadaw* and it is from among these *sayadaw* that the grand superior of the Order, Thatha-napaing, is appointed.

other the Shwegyin sect, a division which dates back from the reign of King Mindon (1852–77 A.C.). Both these sects agree in their interpretation of the basic tenets (*dhamma*) of Buddhism. The difference lies in their interpretation of certain disciplinary rules (*vinaya*). The Shwegyin sect, the younger of the two sects, is strict in the observance of Vinaya rules than the Thudhamma sect, and, as such, the members of this sect are strictly prohibited from attending dramatic performances, smoking, chewing betel in the afternoon, riding in carts drawn by horses or bullocks, indulging in the practice of astrology, palmistry and medicine, and wearing the robe in an informal manner. Due to their strict observance of disciplinary rules, they are more aloof from society than the monks of the Thudhamma sect. Generally, the laity, too, have their own preferences in their support of the monks of the two sects.

Admission to the fraternity of monks is open to any male who has his parents' consent, who is free from debt and contagious diseases and who has been provided with the right requisites of a monk by a sponsor. Generally speaking every male spends some period of his life as a monk. The practice of reverting to the lay life after spending a number of years as a monk is not uncommon and there is no social stigma attached to this act of reversion to the lay life.

The Burmese monks play a major role in education. The monastery is the centre of learning and it is incumbent on every novice to devote all his time to scriptural studies under the guidance of the senior monks. This has resulted in producing erudite monks in Burma. The monastery school also served as the centre of learning for the laity. Till recently, every Burmese village boy attended the monastery school to obtain his preliminary education. There he was taught the alphabet and then such texts as *Mingala thut* (*Maṅgala sutta*) made up of twelve Pali verses with a short introductory preface, and *Nāma-kara*, a short lyric said to have been composed by Buddhaghosa. Those who opted to do higher studies learnt also the *Pareittam* (*paritta*), excerpts from the Tripiṭaka, *Lawkanīti*, a book of world wisdom, *Dhammanīti*, a book of moral teachings and *Rājanīti*, a work on secular affairs. The curriculum of only those who opted to enter the Order contained further studies. However, due to the increasing secularization of Burmese society and also to the restriction imposed on the activities of the monks with regard to secular affairs, the situation has changed considerably. The monasteries are fast ceasing to be schools and the monks' role as educators, too, is gradually becoming less important. The monks are looked upon as spiritual guides and the religious life of the laity is moulded by them. While being the centre of learning, the monastery also serves as the place of worship. The popular expression of faith in religion mainly consists of periodical visits to these monasteries and the worship of pagodas and shrines therein. On important festival days, the laity perform rituals and ceremonies. They also make occasional pilgrimages to well-known shrines in different parts of the country. The giving of alms to monks (*hsungywe* : Pali *dāna*) is regarded as an act which brings about much merit (*kutho* : Pali *kusala*). There are seven obligatory times for giving alms. These are (i) on the full moon day of Kahson (May), (ii) the beginning of the *Wa* (lent) season, (iii) the end of the *Wa* season, (iv) the festival called Tazaungman, (v) during the new year celebrations, (vi) seven days after a death and (vii) on the day of a death anniversary. Besides these occasions, villagers usually invite monks for alms before embarking on a long journey, on birthdays or on days on which they commemorate any event of importance.

Nat-worship, too, is an important feature in the popular religion of Burma. Many scholars have attempted to explain the origin of the *nat* cult. J. C. Nash is of opinion that *nats* originated in the spirits of those who died a violent and unnatural death and whose souls failed to become incorporated in a new life.[3] The *ERE.* (III, p. 21) defines the *nats* as supernatural beings derived from three separate sources: (1) tutulary spirits, (ii) ghosts and spirits of the departed, (iii) supernatural beings of the Buddhists. The *nats* are thirty-seven in number and are of two categories called the *ahtet nats*, the higher *nats*, and *auk nats*, the lower *nats*. The *ahtet nats* correspond to the devas and it is said that they are mostly of Buddhist origin, perhaps representing the thirty-three gods of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, with four others added. However, at present most of these *nats* represent national heroes and heroines. The pantheon of the thirty-seven *nats* was first officially recognised during the reign of king Anawratha who, when his attempts to suppress this cult failed, placed the thirty-six images of *nats* in the compound of Shwezigon

3 J. C. Nash, "Living with Nats: An Analysis of Animism in Burman Village Social Relations", *Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism*, p. 129. See also R. R. Langham Carter, "Lower Chindwin Nats: (1) Bodawgyi (2) Amye Yeyin", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1933, Vol. 23; R. G. Brown, The Taungbyon "Festival", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1915, Vol. 45; Aung Htin, "The Lord of the Great Mountain", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1955, Vol. 38; J. G. Scott, *Gazetteer of the Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Vol. I, pt. 1.

pagoda and established Thagya Min (Sakka) at their head, bringing the total to thirty-seven. Though some old *nats* have been displaced by new ones and the personalities of later ones have become merged in earlier ones, the total number remains unchanged. The *auk nats* include both named and unnamed spirits, drawn from indigenous pre-Buddhist cosmology as well as from Hindu and other outside sources. These *nats* could also be categorised as (i) household-*nats*, (ii) village-*nats* and (iii) regional *nats*. The household-*nats* are usually selected from among the thirty-seven *nats*. The village-*nats* are either one of the thirty-seven or local ones, and the regional *nats* include any of the thirty-seven who have attained eminence as well as those omnipresent *nats* of fields or trees whose influence extends over wide areas.

The most important *nat* among the thirty-seven appears to be the one called Min-maha-giri or Ein Zaung *nat*, and usually in almost every Burmese village-house a coconut is slung from the south-east pole of the house as an offering to him. As this *nat* is offended by such events as birth and death in the house, the coconut slung in his honour is removed at such times and replaced only after the household returns to normal. Along with this *nat*, every householder makes offerings to one or more *nats* known as *mizaing-hpazaing*, i.e., *nats* inherited through one's ancestors on the mother's side and the father's side. Usually, the Burmese women are more superstitious than the men, and therefore, it is they who are more concerned with the propitiation of *nats*.

Almost on every important occasion and crisis in life, *nats* are propitiated. Even when a boy is initiated into the Buddhist Order ceremonies are held in honour of the household-*nat*. Before performing the initiation ceremony (*shinbyu*), the village-*nat* too, is propitiated. The day before the ceremony, the one who is to be initiated (*shinlaung*) rides in a cart drawn by white bullocks, offering fruits to the village-*nat* as well as to the elders of the village. The village-*nats* are regarded as so important that shrines (*natsin*) are erected in their honour. The regional-*nats* are propitiated before embarking on a long journey, before entering a forest, and starting cultivation.

Nat-worship has also its special festivals (*natpwe*) which consist of dancing, singing, dramatization to the accompaniment of an orchestra of drums, cymbals, clappers and flute. Normally, the Buddhist monks do not take part in these ceremonies, but on important occasions they present themselves and take a scriptural share in them. As is evident from numerous legends, the *nats* originated in spirits of those who died violent and unnatural deaths and whose spirits failed to gain new birth. However, as Buddhist rituals are performed to put these restless roaming spirits to rest and make them enter fresh life, this belief in spirits of the dead becoming *nats* is rapidly losing ground.

Popular Festivals : There are numerous festivals, rituals and ceremonies in Burma all of which are not purely religious but are yet so overladen with religious features, that they assume quasi-religious forms. Though there are minor differences with regard to the way in which those rituals and ceremonies are performed in different villages, their fundamental features appear to be common to the whole country. One such national festival is the new year festival called the Thingyan, celebrated in April. The main feature of this festival, which continues for three days, is the splashing of water on each other, as a symbolic gesture of washing away the previous year's dirt and paying respect to the elders. This is followed by the purely religious festival called *Kahson labyi* (the equivalent of Vesak). On this day the banyan[4] tree at the entrance to the village is ceremonially bathed in the morning. Alms are offered to monks. Three days before the *Kahson labyi*, a *nat* ritual (*natpwe*) is performed in the village. The *nats* are offered food and drink in the same way as they are offered to monks. The rituals performed during the 'lent' season or rains retreat are purely religious. This is called *Wa* in Burmese, from Pali *vassa* which means rain. This season lasts for three months. If the monsoon does not set in at the regular time, a special rain-inducing ritual is performed by propitiating the rain-*nat*, called No-*nat* or Mogaung kyawzive. The *Wa* season is introduced by an alms-giving (*hsungywi*), a communal feeding of monks ; a similar alms-giving takes place at the end of the *Wa* season.

In the month of October is performed a religious festival called *Thadingyut*, a festival of light, to mark the closing of the *Wa* season and to commemorate the Buddha's ascension to heaven where his mother was said to await him. In villages, paper lanterns with lighted candles are sent up in the air, and it is popularly believed that this is done to light the Buddha's way to heaven.

4 In Burma, the banyan (*ficus indica*) tree is regarded as the bodhi-tree.

Another important religious ceremony performed at the end of *Wa* season is called the *kahtein* (Pali *kaṭhina*), in which the monks are presented with their eight requisites. This is performed both as a communal and an individual ceremony. The communal *kahtein* is a colourful ceremony, involving a grand display of all the objects intended to be given to monks. Besides the usual eight requisites, such items as blankets, towels, tumblers etc., are also offered. The 'money-tree' is a regular feature at this ceremony. The 'money-tree' is made up by planting a stick in a flower-pot to which fans and sticks are tied to form branches and on to these branches are pinned *Kyat* currency notes.

In November another festival of lights is held. On this occasion, people flock to local temples and light candles around the pagodas. Again, on the full-moon day of November is performed the festival called *Matho yetchin* or *Matho thingan*. On this occasion, too, candles are lit near pagodas in honour of the Buddha. As this day is considered to be an astrologically important one, on which all the planets are said to form a straight line across the sky, the lighting of candles, done mainly in honour of the Buddha, is also regarded as being performed to mark this unusual and auspicious event. However, the main feature of the *Matho yetchin* is the making of a monk's robe before the dawn of the next day. A mock planting, harrowing, tree growing, cotton plucking and ginning of cotton is done in the afternoon. The cotton is brought to a large compound and woven into a robe by a large number of girls. Almost all the girls in the village take their turn in weaving the robe. The elders participate by watching and providing the girls with refreshments.

During the months of December and January, villagers are busy with harvesting and there are no festivals of any significance during this period. Again, in February and March, villagers start rituals to placate the *nats*. Weddings, initiation ceremonies (*shinbyu*) and such other events as had been postponed during the *Wa* season are carried out during these months.

S.K.N.

BURNOUF, EUGÈNE (1801-52) born in Paris on the 8th of April 1801 as the only son of J. L. Burnouf, a well-known authority on grammar. He was a brilliant student of Louis-le-Grand College, and took his degree in literature and law in 1824 at the École des Chartes. From then on he devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit.

In 1826 he published together with Chr. Lassen his *Essai sur le pali ou langue sacrée de la presqu'île au delà du Ganga* (Essay on Pali, the sacred language of the peninsula beyond the Ganges), at a time when Pali was still so much unknown that it was frequently confused with Pehlvi, a semi-semitic language which in Persia had succeeded the ancient Zend. Burnouf proved philologically that Pali was as closely affiliated with Sanskrit as Italian with Latin, with its softer articulations, but similar declensions, conjugations and syntax. But, at that time Burnouf himself was not aware of the wealth of material he had just opened up.

His knowledge of the Zend language was sufficiently acknowledged by the worshippers of Ormuzd that his Commentary on the Yasna (*Izeschné*) served as authority in a religious disputation between the Parsis of Bombay and some Protestant missionaries.

Three volumes still leave incomplete his work on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. Also, his *Introduction á l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (analysed in April 1845 by Biot in the *Journal des Savants*) requires a second volume which he was not able to complete. His translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852) forms part thereof.

It is unfortunate that J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire in his commemorative volume on the works and correspondence of Eugène Burnouf (Paris, 1891) has found it necessary to draw unwarranted inferences which do not reflect well on the scholarly labours of Burnouf and on the tenets of Buddhism.

The introduction of a chronological element in the history of India is due to the investigations of Burnouf, and even if no absolute certainty has been achieved his service to subsequent studies will always be appreciated.

Among his works the following are related to Buddhism: a Pali grammar, almost complete, in which is found only the section dealing with verbs; a literal translation of the *Sandhikappa*, a Pali grammatical theory as regards *sandhi*; a transliteration in Roman characters and translation of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, a Pali lexicon; a transliteration in Roman characters and translation (almost complete) in Latin of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the Ceylon chronicle; a translation, with explanations and a foreword, of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, the *Nemi Jātaka*, and the *Suvaṇṇa Sāma Jātaka*, from the Pali text in Burmese characters; fragments of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, also from the Pali text in Burmese script; a translation of the *Pātimokkha-nissaya*, the rules of monastic observances, from Pali in Burmese script.

He did further some research on the ancient geography of Ceylon in connection with the history

of the island, but was not able to complete more than a first part in a memoir on ancient names in Ceylon which was read in 1836 for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres. He also commenced a translation of the *Lalitavistara* and compiled eight collections of translations of Buddhist legends in Nepal.

His services rendered to Oriental studies include an inspectorate of oriental typography, succeeding Silvestre de Sacy, supervising the engraving and casting of several hitherto unknown characters and scripts.

It is hardly necessary to say that such admirable pioneer work opened for Eugène Burnouf the gates of most scholarly academies and societies in Europe. Thus, he was Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin, Doctor of the Christine-Albertine Academy of Denmark, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Baveria, of the Royal Academy of Prussia, of the Imperial Academies of Sciences of Vienna and St. Petersburg, of the Royal Academy of Lisbon, of the Royal Society of Sciences of Goettingen, etc. He was a Member of the Institute of France from 1832 and was appointed permanent Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature a few days before his death. In 1845 he was made officer in the Legion of Honour.

It is generally agreed that the two magnificent volumes, the result of his twenty years' labour in Buddhism, viz., *Introduction* and the *Lotus* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*), not only brought Buddhism to the notice of the West, but also remained for more than a quarter of a century the chief authorities on the entire subject. But, as a scholar he was more a linguist than a philosopher and hence, his greater interest was in the comparison of manuscripts, rather than in the publication of their doctrines.

A comprehensive bibliography of his works can be found in *Eugène Burnouf, ses travaux et sa correspondance* by J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Paris, 1891, pp. 121–58.

H.G.A.v.Z.

BUSHIDŌ (*Code of the Warrior*). It was after the Kamakura period that warriors became the governing class in Japan and formed theirown code, Bushidō. In this same period, along with it there came another power in the sphere of religion. This was the Buddhism of Kamakura. This quite unique Buddhism influenced the life of Japanese at the time. The faith of Nembutsu (Invocation of Amida Buddha) was advocated by Hōnen (1133-1212) and enlarged by Shinran (1173-1262). In this faith, the followers secure complete freedom from mundane torments by devoting themselves to the absolute mercy of Amida Buddha. Zen Buddhism was advocated by Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200–53), and here, it is said that Zen monks must not look backward but go straightforward to Enlightenment. The faith of Hokke was originated by Nichiren (1222–82), and here, the followers are able to have the power of doing bodhisattva-deeds by devoting themselves to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the Mahāyāna text.

These new forms of Buddhism had important effects upon the life and the mental attitude of the warriors of the time. For example, we find that brave warriors like Kumagai Renseibō, Utanomiyā, Renshōbō, Shionoya Shirō and his brother, Tsudo Saburō, Amakasu Tarō, were among Hōnen's disciples. These warriors had often seen tragic deaths in the battlefields, and they had to kill their enemies to escape from miserable death. However wild and simple they might be, they must have been struck with these cruel experiences and felt themselves blameable. To purify from all sin, many warriors believed in the faith of Nembutsu advocated by Hōnen. His opinion that one who recites the name of Amida Buddha would be saved, appealed to the warrior's suffering mind. But this faith had little effect upon the forming of the *Code of the Warrior*, Bushidō.

Nichiren advocated, depending on the thought of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, that a person who gets about executing the bodhisattva-deeds must devote all his life to propagating the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. This fanatic faith also strongly appealed to the warrior's mind. Through the habit to think that devoting their whole life to the lord as the most important moral, they believed easily in the faith of devoting themselves to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. Above all, the spirit of martyrdom of Nichiren appealed to their positive and warlike spirits. But this faith also had little effect upon the forming of Bushidō.

It was Zen Buddhism which exerted the most important influence upon the forming of Bushidō, the *Code of the Warrior*. The Zen monk's life such as sitting in meditation earnestly looking for Enlightenment, keeping the rigorous regulations for monks, sitting alone with complete calm amidst disturbances had something in common with the warrior's life or state of mind.

Of course, the life of Zen monks was outside human relations while the *Code of the Warrior* was formed on the relationship between the lord and his retainers. Thus, for the first time,there were no direct relations between these two.

But as time went on, these two came in contact with each other, became of great help to each other and made remarkable progress in their own spheres.

Historical connection between Zen and Warriors : Zen Buddhism which originated in the Kamakura district, the headquarters of the warrior class at the time, and patronised by many warriors, was intimately related to the life and spirit of the warrior in every respect, especially in the following:

(1) *Not to retreat.* It is advocated in Zen Buddhism that the Zen monk must not look backward or sideways or retreat, but train his will once the course is decided upon by his master. This strict discipline went well with the fighting spirit and the habit of absolute obedience to the lord of the warriors. The warriors must go to the front, with a joyous smile, when ordered by their lord, however desperate the war may be. In the battle field they are to be always single-minded with their attention fixed on their enemy. They should not look backward and retreat until their enemy is dead. The spirit of Zen monks going straight forward to Enlightenment, leaving behind delusions, goes well with the spirit of the warriors to cut their way into the enemy's ranks, leaving behind delusion and fears.

(2) *Upholding intuition against intellection.* Intellection is to be conscious of oneself, and of other persons and to make a distinction between oneself and others. But, in Zen Buddhism, there is no distinction between the subject and the object, and Zen monks grasp the reality intuitively, in a mental state in which the subject and object merge into oneness (*tathatā*).

Though life and death are in striking contrast, Zen monks regard life and death as one and the same, and live a fundamental life from which both life and death originate. In a world, where there is no distinction between life and death, Zen monks grasp the vivid reality. This appealed to the warrior's view of life also. Warriors fight always at the gates of death, and grasp the reality intuitively while in that desperate state, and return alive. In such a desperate state, intellection is of no use and incomplete intellection may drive a person into a corner. This intuitive view of life of the warriors was intimately related to the way Zen monks grasp reality.

(3) *Historical connection.* There is a historical connection between Zen monks and warriors. Eisai is regarded as the first Buddhist monk to introduce Zen Buddhism into Japan. He first tried to propagate Zen Buddhism in Kyoto, but failed. Kyoto was at the time the headquarters of the older school of Buddhism, so that to propagate this new Buddhism was almost impossible. The Taira family and the court nobles had no mind to listen to this new Buddhism, against the strong opposition offered by the older schools of Buddhism. Then, this new Buddhism drifted to the east, in search of new areas, and found in the Kamakura district, the promised new world. The Hōjō family took the power of the government from the warriors and succeeding the Minamoto family extended whole-hearted support to this new movement. In the new city of Kamakura, there were neither the annoying forces of the older Buddhism nor irksome traditions. The heads of the Hōjō family embraced Zen Buddhism as their spiritual guide, ignoring accepted traditions.

Zen Buddhism and the directing heads of warriors in Kamakura : The first follower of the Hōjō family was Hōjō Tokiyori (1227–63). At first, he believed in Tendai and Shingon Buddhism; later being interested in Zen Buddhism, he invited to Kamakura the Japanese Zen Masters in Kyoto and also some Chinese Zen masters directly from China, under whom he devoted himself to the study of Zen Buddhism. At the start, he could not master this new Buddhism, but after twenty-one years of constant application, at last he attained final Enlightenment under Gottan, a Chinese Zen master. Gottan was a strange and magnificient monk. When he entered the sanctuary of Kenchōji temple for the first time, he paid no homage to the principal image, Kṣitigarbha-bodhisattva, and cried out aloud, "You, Kṣitigarbha, descend from the altar, and pay homage to me." All the Japanese Zen monks and their followers were greatly struck by his magnificient appearance. Tokiyori died in 1263 when he was only thirty-seven years old. When he realized that he was at death's door, he put on his Buddhist robes and sat in meditation, and, after writing his farewell poem, passed away quietly. The poem reads :

"The karma-mirror raised high,
These thirty-seven years :
'Tis broken now with one hammer blow,
The great Way unrolls, ever serene."

This poem is not his own but the farewell poem of a Chinese Zen monk, Hsio-wêng Miao-chan who lived in Mt. A-yü-wang-shan In this Chinese poem, Tokiyori chanted the praise of the highest state of mind which he had attained. His austere

way of living and his quiet death won the admiration of all. His brilliant and magnificent life made a strong impression upon the mind of the warriors and they eagerly devoted themselves to the study of Zen Buddhism.

Tokiyori's son, Tokimune (1251–84), succeeded to his father's position when he was eighteen years old. During the whole of his regency, 1268–84, Mongolian troops made two inroads into Japan, but he crushed these invasions. This victory was largely due to his power, both military and political. He passed away at the end of this dreadful war, when he was only thirty-four years old. His short life was wholly devoted to the conquest of the invaders. This indomitable spirit was due to years of hard application to Zen. His Master was a Chinese Zen monk, Tzŭ-yüan (1226–86), whom he invited to Japan from Southern Sung. He erected a Zen temple for Tzŭ-yüan, and visited this temple many times, and applied himself studiously and vigorously to Zen. When Tzŭ-yüan lived in Nêng-jên-ssu temple in Southern Sung, Mongolian soldiers entered the temple and brandished a sword over his head, but he quietly recited this poem:

"Throughout heaven and earth there is not a piece of ground where a single stick could be inserted;

I am glad that all things are void, myself and the world;

Honoured be the sword, three feet long, wielded by the great Yüan swordsmen."

For, it is like cutting a spring breeze in a flash of lightning. Being struck by his spiritual power, the Mongolian soldiers paid homage to him and went away.

When Tokimune received definite reports about Mongolian invaders coming over the sea, he appeared before his master Tzŭ-yüan, and confirmed his determination, and uttered this:

"The greatest event of my life is at last here."

His master asked:

"How would you face it?"

Tokimune uttered the word '*katsu*' (victory) with all his heart as if he were frightening away his enemies actually before him. Tzŭ-yüan, delighted with this, said,

"Truly, you are a lion's child; you roar like a lion."

Tokimune confirmed his determination to stand up to the Mongolian invaders and carry on the dreadful war, which would decide the fate of Japan.

The fact that such leaders as Tokiyori and Tokimune were interested in Zen Buddhism and thus attained greatness, appealed to the mind of the warriors, and Zen was auspiciously initiated into the warrior's life.

Zen began to spread its influence not only among the warrior class but also among the Japanese masses. It spread over to Kyoto and found strong followers among the members of the Imperial family. In the Ashikaga period, the Shoguns of Ashikaga family were also great advocates of Zen Buddhism, and most generals under them naturally followed suit.

In those days, the Japanese genius went either to soldiery, thus satisfying the will to power, or to the priesthood, to join the cultivated circles. The spiritual co-operation of these two forces contributed to the creation of the peculiar moral code which is now generally known as Bushidō, *Code of the Warrior*.

View of Life and Death: To be ready always to face death is the most important aspect of Bushidō. In war, warriors are always near death; thus, in times of peace, they had to make an effort to conquer the fear of death. We read the following in the *Hagakure*, a book of Bushidō, compiled in the clan of Nabeshima of the Kyūshū district, in the middle of the 17th century (its editor Tsunetome Yamamoto, a Zen monk, was formerly a warrior):

"Bushidō means the determined will to die... every morning and every evening, have the idea of death vividly impressed in your mind. When your determination to die at any moment is thoroughly established, your life will be faultless, and your duties are fully discharged."

We also read the following:

"A warrior is good for nothing, unless he can go beyond life and death. When it is said that all beings are of one mind, you may think that there is a thing known as mind. But, the fact is that a mind attached to life and death must be abandoned, and then you can execute wonderful deeds."

Also, a warrior writer of the 7th century, Daidōji Yūzan has the following in his book, *Prime of Bushidō*:

"The idea most vital and essential to the warrior is that of death, which he should have before his mind day and night, night and day, from the dawn of the first day of the year till the last minute of the last day of it. When this notion takes firm hold of you, you are able to discharge your duties to

their fullest extent...... Think what a frail thing life is, especially that of a warrior. This being so, you will come to consider every day of your life your last and dedicate it to the fulfilment of your obligations."

Some of the warriors applied the spirit of Zen directly to their view of life as warriors. For example, one of the famous heroes in the Sengoku period (the turbulent period), Takeda-Shingen (1521–73), made reference to Zen and the mental attitude of the warrior in his Shingen-kakun (Constitution):

"You must have a firm belief in the protection of Buddha. When your mind is in accord with Buddha's mind, you will gain great power from Buddha. . . . You must devote yourself to the study of Zen. Zen has no secrets other than seriously thinking of life and death."

Uesugi-Kenshin (1530–78), who was a rival of Takeda-Shingen, also studied Zen Buddhism in all earnestness. He left the following lecture for his retainers:

"A man who clings to life, dies, and a man who masters death, lives. The essential thing is the mind. Stare at this mind fixedly and firmly; take hold of it and you will come to grasp something in you which neither drowns in water nor burns in the fire, and you will be able to go beyond life and death. I investigated what I am now telling you thoroughly and entered into this samādhi. A man who clings to life and fears death is not a true warrior.

Next, here is an example where the spirit of Zen flashed like lightning at the moment of the death of a warrior. In the desperate war in which the troops of Hōjō Takatoki were surrounded and massacred by the punitive force of the Imperial Court in 1333, a Zen warrior, called Nagasaki-Jiro-Takashige, a retainer of Hōjō Takatoki called on his Zen master and asked:

"How should a brave warrior behave at a moment like this?"

His master immediately gave this answer:

"Go forward straight, wielding your sword."

Takashige trembled as though he had been struck by lightning. He at once perceived what it meant, fought most bravely and fell before his lord, Takatoki. It was the only way he could go forward, so he went and died with tragic bravery.

There was another retainer, Shiaku-Shinsakon-Nyudo who believed in Zen Buddhism earnestly. When he felt he was near death, he entered into his house, sat cross-legged in the fashion of a Zen monk, on a chair at the gate, and quietly wrote his farewell-poem on paper:

"Holding forth this sword,
Cutting away vacuity in twain;
In the midst of the great fire which blazed,
A stream of cool breeze runs."

When he had finished writing, his son, Shirō, cut off his father's head. After that, Shirō pierced his own body with the sword up to the hilt and fell down on the ground, dead. Three retainers also pierced their bodies with the same sword and died like fishes. The life and death of their lord, Takatoki, was their own life and death. When Takatoki died, their fate was sealed. Takatoki was the most foolish among members of the Hōjō family, and yet almost all the warriors fought to the end for him. It was the warrior's ultimate object to die before his lord with no regret.

Farewell poems of Zen Monks and Warriors. To be able to appreciate the beauty of Nature, praise the bravery of a person, and compose a poem at the gates of death was the flower of chivalry. Warriors were taught and trained to find a moment's leisure to detach themselves from the intense excitement in which they may happen to be placed at the moment of death or in death in battle. The warriors attained to this state of mind under Zen monks. At the moment of death, a Zen master would give a farewell poem expressing his own view of life, instead of bidding to his followers. Kwaisen of Erinji temple was a brave monk who refused to give up some runaway soldiers who beaten by Oda-Nobunaga's troops took refuge in his temple. So his monastery was surrounded and burnt down by the soldiers. Kwaisen went up to the top storey of the monastery gate, accompanied by all his pupils, and gave his last sermon, in his ordinary manner, amid the raging flames, saying:

"We are now enveloped in the raging flames; how would you revolve your Wheel of Dharma at this crisis? Let each one of you say a word."

Thereupon, each monk recited a poem according to the state of his understanding. When all had finished, Kwaisen gave his view of life, saying:

"For a tranquil meditation, we need not go to mountains and streams; when thoughts are quieted down, fire itself is cool and refreshing."

Such a farewell poem by which an eminent monk condensed his view of life was filled with vital energy and impressed those who heard it. This

[illegible] impression agreed with the spirit of the warriors. They, therefore, made it a custom to make a farewell poem in the manner of Zen monks.

The warriors were always ready to face their moment of death in this manner, so that their attitude to life became serious and placid. This attitude to life also formed the basis of Bushidō. In ordinary times, too, warriors were men of refined taste. Those who were devoid of this feeling of refined taste (*füryū*), were regarded with contempt as being uncultured. This attitude was in agreement with the attitude of Zen monks. Zen monks who looked for Enlightenment seriously, also had sufficient time to represent their state of mind or their conception of natural beauty in calligraphies and black and white drawings.

Relation between Master and Pupils, Lord and Retainers : The warriors had a regard for the admirable relation between lord and retainers, especially the devotion of the latter to their lord as the most important factor in Bushidō. In 1221, when the fourth Shōgun, Minamoto Sanetomo was killed, the Imperial Court tried to send a punitive force to Kamakura, taking advantage of the political distu bance there.

Faced with this crisis the lady Masako, wife of the first Shōgun Minamoto Yoritomo, and mother of the dead Sanetomo, was emphatic in her assertion that all the Kamakura warriors were under obligation to the successive Shōguns and they were in duty bound to defeat the punitive force. Thereupon the Kamakura warriors replied, saying :

"The memory of our three lords always haunts us ; moreover, our families have served under eight lords of the Minamoto family. We shall be eternally grateful to our remotest generations. Tomorrow morning, we will start immediately and charge towards the west."

The devotion to their lord was the highest moral action. In the case of the imbecile general, Hōjō-Takatoki, 46 feudal retainers, 283 relatives and 3000 odd warriors sacrificed their lives for him.

Nichiren's views also had an important effect upon this characteristic. In *Kaimokushō* written by Nichiren, we read :

"There are three objects to be respected in this world. They are the lord, the master and the parents."

He laid stress on the lord's favour. It is the special characteristic of the Zen sect to have regard for courtesy between the Master and his pupils, and to train the pupils' mind accordingly. But, in this attitude we find great variety. For example, Dōgen's master, T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching, struck with his shoe, his pupils who were sleeping in meditation and blamed them vehemently, but the pupils were greatly delighted with his condemnation and admired him. One day, Ju-ching addressed an app al to his pupils :

"I am now your Master, so I must dispel your delusions, blame you and beat you, to show the reality of this world. It is a frightful experience, but I have to do such things in the name of lord Buddha. Pardon me, brothers, pardon me."

Hearing this appeal, the pupils could not restrain their tears. Dōgen brought this seriousness, full of profound affection, into Japanese Zen Buddhism. To train seriously and watch over pupils with more affection than even a relative would show was the way of Zen Buddhism. The courtesy which existed between master and pupil in Zen Buddhism was a model of what the Kamakura warrior should follow.

Up to that time, the Kamakura warrior had appreciated the lord's favour instinctively, but after learning Zen Buddhism, they recognised this obligation as an essential quality of a warrior. The Zen master, who undertakes the task of teaching many monks, hās an attitude of mind similar to that of a military lord who leads many retainers.

We can cite the case of Tokugawa-Ieyasu and his Mikawa warriors as an example of the most admirable relation between lord and retainers. In art. 1 of his *Mikawa Code*, he says :

"The lord should sacrifice himself for the sake of his retainers. . . ."

He had a deeper affection for his retainers than for his relatives. Owing to this attitude, the absolute devotion of the retainers to Tokugawa family continued for many generations.

As mentioned above, Bushidō, the *Code of the Warrior*, was closely related to Zen Buddhism in many respects.

K.Kr.

BUSSHIN-IN, a Japanese temple in Kyōto. This was originally the votive temple of Montoku Tennō. When Seiwa Tennō, in 876 A.C., became a monk there, it acquired the name Seiwa-in. As Seiwa was an adherent of the Shingon sect, he converted this temple into a shrine of that sect, dedicating it to the two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara (Kannon) and Kṣitigarbha (Jizo). For further details see M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vol, I, pp. 42 f.).

S.K.N.

BUSSHŌ, a term used to denote guilds of sculptors in Japan.

BUSSHŌ-E, "celebration of the Buddha's birth", a festival held on the eighth day of the fourth month in all temples of Japan to commemorate the birth of the Buddha. It was the Empress Suiko who, in 606 A.C., first instituted this festival. She commanded princes and ministers to make a vow together and also to make two images of the Buddha, one of copper and other of embroidery, each sixteen feet high. When these images were completed on the eighth day of the fourth month, she enshrined the copper image in the Golden Hall of Gwangō-ji. She also decreed that, beginning with that year, vegetarian festivals should be held in all temples on the eighth day of the fourth month to commemorate the birth of the Buddha. This festival is also known by other names such as Kwambutsu-e, Tanjo-e, Gōtan-e. (See also M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.) For details see BIRTHDAY CEREMONY.

S.K.N.

BUSSHŌZENJI-(JŪ-ENICHIZAN-TŌFAKUZENJI-) GOROKU (*Fa-chao-ch'an-shih-(chu-hui-jih-shan-tung-fu-ch'an-ssu-)yü-lu* : *Taishō*, No. 2546, Vol. 80, pp. 27a-45b), a work of Japan in two fascicles. The title means 'Analects of the Zen Master Busshō, living in the Enichi-zan Tōfaku-zenji (temple).'

This work contains the sayings of Egyō (1223–97), who was the 4th chief priest of the Tōfuku-ji, the headquarters of a school with the same name, in the Rinzai or Lin-chi sect in Japan. His posthumous title is Busshō-zenji. The work consists of simple preachings in the Zen style, delivered by Egyō during the regular annual functions in his monastery. There are also poems in praise of persons and objects of Buddhist veneration or expressing his own thoughts. This work was not originally written by the master himself but compiled by Kihaku, one of his disciples, and others.

S.Mo.

BU-STON, LO-TSĀ-BA, a translator, known also by the name of Rin-chen grub, was a very distinguished scholar of the Khro-phuḥi Brgyud system of the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect in Tibet. His grandfather, Bla-chen Tshul-khrims dpal bzaṅ-po, was a great master of mantras of the Rñin-ma-pa sect, and both his father, Bla-ma Rgyal-mtshan dpal bazṅ-po, and mother, Slob-dpon-ma Bsod-nams ḥbum, were Tantric Ācāryas.

He was born in the monastery of Śab-smad Bsgom-gnas on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra (about the 24th day of the first month of the lunar calendar prevalent in China Proper) in the 27th year of the Chih Yüan Period (1290 A.C.) during the Yüan dynasty. He began to learn the Dharma under his mother in his boyhood days and when he was about five or six years old she taught him to read the *Ḥdaḥ-ga ye-śes*, the *Saḥi-sñiṅ-po ḥkhor-lo cu-paḥi mdo*, etc. At the age of seven he went to Khro-phu-pa, from whom he received instructions on how to initiate *bodhicitta* (q.v.), and at the age of eight, he received from him the four baptisms (*abhiṣeka*) of the *Bde-mchog dril-bu maṇḍala*, as well as the rules for repeating *dhāraṇīs* and th profound, orally transmitted instructions of th a-lugs (the Sa's sect). During his youth, he also lea ed from other teachers arithmetic (*rtsis*), script (*dbu-med*), the arts of divination (*spar-khab*) and magic (*mkhyud-spyad*), and he mastered all of these. Furthermore, for several years, he studied the 'Great Perfection' of the old sect from his grandfather and he mastered the *Kun-byed*, the five sections of the former t anslation, the thirteen sections of the later translat ons, the Mind-section (*sems-sde*) including 18 sub-sections of 'Mother and Sons' and the Essence-section (*kloṅ-sde*) of 'The Great Perfection'. As a result of these studi s he attained the state of 'Producing Course' (*Utpatti-krama*) at an early age and became a 'Great Holder of Vajra in the Recit ion of Mantras'.

In 1307 A.C., he left home and became a śrā aṇera under the tutorship of Bsod-nams mgon under whom he studied for two years approximately the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, the Commentary on the *Pañcaviṃsatisāhaśrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, etc., the work of the sūtra and *śāstra* category, the *Vinaya-sūtra* and the *Jātakamālā* of the Vinaya category, as well as the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and various other expository commentaries. Later, he also learned the various Tantric Dharmas from Ācārya Tshad-maḥi skyes-bu, Rin-chen seṅ-ge, and some others. In 1312 A.C., when he was twenty-three years old, he received the ordination of a bhikṣu; henceforth he enlarged his studies in the esoteric and the exoteric teachings of various sects. He then went on to study *śabdavidyā* from Mkhan-chen Thar-pa Lo-tsā-ba, and thoroughly mastered the *Candrapaḥi Mdo-ḥgrel-pa*, the *Kalāpaḥi Mdo-ḥgrel-pa*, the *Amarakoṣa* (dictionary), etc. He also learnt the different languages of both East and West India, including the dialects of Kāśmīra, Sindhu, Siṅga

Gliṅ, and the regions situated along the sea-coast. He was indeed an unparalleled, great translator of his time.

He also studied the combined teachings of the *Kālacakra-abhisecana-upadeśa* of the two sects of Rva and Ḥbro, and many other Tantric Dharmas from Bla-ma dam-pa Dpal-ldan seṅ-ge. Since Dbon-po Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzaṅ-po was an unequalled expert in the *Dus-kyi ḥkhor-lo* at this time, Bu-ston went to learn under him for a period of nine months and eventually became a master of the *Dus-kyi ḥkhor-loḥi rgyud-ḥgrel*. Afterwards, he continued his researches under various teachers, and it is said, he studied under twenty-eight great Ācāryas of his time, learning all the esoteric and the exoteric doctrines of his day in Tibet.

Bu-ston's learning and thought ripened when he was about thirty years old, and thereafter he engaged himself in writing books, as well as in translating and editing the Tripiṭaka. In 1320 A.C., he went to the Sha-lu monastery and thereafter spent most of his time residing in that monastery. His disciples succeeded him in the abbotship and founded the Sha-lu-pa sect. Afterwards his fame reached far and wide, and when Tho-gon-the-mur-gan ascended the throne as Emperor Shun of the Yüan dynasty in 1333 A.C., he dispatched a minister to convey greetings to Bu–ston. And Puṇya-mala of India too, sent an envoy to pay his respects to him. In 1344 A.C. Emperor Shun appointed Bha-de Tshiṅ-dben and Dsanbhala-tu-śrī-mgon to invite him to the court with an imperial decree, but Bu-ston, considering that the time was not yet ripe for him to go to the Court, declined the invitation. At that time he translated Durgasiṃha's *Sgra-Kūlapaḥi ḥgrel-pa* and also wrote the *Dpe-ḥgrel chen-po*. He then translated the *Rdo-rje bdud rtsiḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* composed by Dri-med-sñiṅ-po, the *Rdo-rje sñiṅ-po rgyan-kyi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* composed by Rab-shi bśes gñen, the *Rdo-rje sems-dpaḥi sgrub-thabs-kyi ḥgrel-pa* composed by Līlavajra, the *Sgron-gsal-gyi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* composed by Thugs-rje Shabs, and the *Rim-lṅaḥi ḥgrel-ba* composed by Muniśrī. He also made supplementary translations to complete the old rendering of the *Rim-lṅaḥi ḥgrel-pa* composed by Abhaya. At the request of Bla-ma Kun-spaṅ chen-po, he also translated the *Dpal-gñis-su-med-pa rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi rgyud-chen-poḥi gshi*. Briefly stated, concerning the translated canons of both the *Bkaḥ* and the *Bstan-bcos* categories, he made refutations of unauthentic works, re-translated or corrected some defective ones, or made supplementary renderings to incomplete texts, with annotations and explanations. A number of copyists always accompanied him, and he conducted his translation, editing and writing consecutively. Yet he never ceased preaching, baptising, and teaching his disciples, whom he accepted on an equal footing without bias, even as regards novices. The number of his disciples was countless. It is said that even Jag-dpon Cog-pa sño-thur, a leader of robbers, always welcomed him and escorted him to and fro on journeys personally and made offerings to him when he preached.

In 1351 A.C., when he was sixty-two years old, he went to Ri-phug. In the following year he composed the *Shape and Dimensions of the Mahābodhi Stūpa* (of which there is a translation in Chinese), and constructed at Ri-phug a Byaṅ-chub chen-po (stūpa of brick), sixty-nine cubits in height and twenty three cubits in length and breadth, in which many Buddhist cultural relics of India, Nepal, China Proper and Tibet were enshrined. In 1353 A.C., he taught the profound Dharma of Dus-kyi ḥkhor-lo at the request of Prajñā cin-zeḥu ciṅ-dbaṅ, a descendant of Jiṅ-gi Gan (Jenghis Khan) of Mongolia, after six generations; and in the same year he also composed the *Dpal bde-mchog rtsa-baḥi rgyud-chen-poḥi ṭīkā* and some other works. In 1354 A.C., he lived in the Sha-lu monastery, where he practised meditation, preached the Law, and never ceased debating, writing and translating Buddhist books, and also performed more than seventy kinds of *mahā-maṇḍala* ceremonies to propagate the Tantric Dharma. In 1357 A.C., Paṇḍita Sumanaśrī of Kāśmira came to Tibet, and Bu-ston received from him the baptism of Spyan-ras-gzis bla-med padma dra-ba and translated the Sanskrit texts of Sgrub-thabs, Dkyil-chog, Dban-chog, Rab-gnas and Sbyin-sreg. He died in the morning of the 21st day of the month of Āsāḍha (about the 6th day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar) in 1364 A.C., at the age of seventy-five. His disciple Sgra-tshad-pa Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, who was well versed in Śabdavidyā and Hetuvidyā, succeeded him and later founded the Sha-lu-pa sect.

The later period of propagation of Buddhism in Tibet began from 972 A.C. (which some take for 978 A.C.), a period of over 300 years earlier than Bu-ston's birth (in 1290 A.C.). It was a period in which the later Tantric Buddhism was prevalent in India while the Vikramaśilā monastery experienced its prosperity (Mkhas-pa Sgo Drug) and was finally destroyed by fire (in 1200 A.C. approximately). Great Buddhist teachers of India and Tibet then made reciprocal visits to the two countries frequently, and thus the Tantric Buddhism of the Vikramaśilā monastery was

brought to Tibet and preserved there intact. But as there were different traditions of propagation, various sects arose and developed parallelly, and the number of translated texts gradually increased. Up to the 14th century A.C. (the time of Bu-ston), there was a demand, in both the old and the new sects of Buddhism in Tibet, for a generalization of Buddhist teachings and a re-arrangement of canons. It was at such a time that Bu-ston was born and he accomplished these tasks with eminent success. His translations and writings showed a very wide scope, and his outstanding contribution to Tibetan Buddhism was his work of re-arranging, classifying and editing the Tripiṭaka. In 1327 A.C., when he was thirty-two years old, he completed his *Bde-gśegs bstan-paḥi chos-ḥbyuṅ*, a general history of Buddhism, composed in Tibet at a very early date, in which are preserved many valuable Buddhist historical data from India, Tibet, etc., as well as general historical and geographic materials. In the last part of this book, he made a theoretical and analytical catalogue of all the translated Buddhist canons in Tibet, and the *Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka*, which he composed later was based on this model. He classified the translated canons into the two categories of *Mdo* and *Sṅags* (the exoteric and esoteric teachings), and each was again sub-divided into the two classes of *Bkaḥ* and *Bstan-bcos*. Only the translated canons (*Ḥgyur-ba*) were later compiled into the Tripiṭaka, which was divided into the two parts of *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and *Bstan-ḥgyur*, i.e., the 'translated canons spoken by the Buddha' and the 'translations of commentaries and treatises'. The sūtras or the *Mdo* category were divided into the three Dharmacakras, namely, (1) the Dharmacakra of the Four Noble Truths, including such works as the *Ḥdul-ba*, the *So-sor thar-paḥi-mdo*, etc.; (2) the Dharmacakra of Formlessness, including such works as the *Śer-phyin stoṅ-phrag-brgya-ba*, the *Ñi-khri lṅa stoṅ-ba*, etc.; and (3) the Dharmacakra of the Supreme and Complete Doctrine, including such works as the *Phal-po-che*, the *Dkon-brtsegs* and other Mahāyāna sūtras. The commentaries and treatises were also divided into three groups; (1) the specific expositions of the sūtras, which were sub-divided according to the three Dharmacakras; (2) the general expositions of the sūtras, i.e., the *Hetuvidyā*, the *Śabdavidyā*, etc.; and (3) the miscellaneous writings, i.e., the *Śes-rab rgya-pa*, etc. The works of the *Bkaḥ* group of the *Sṅags* (Mantra) category were divided into the four divisions of *Rgyud*, namely, (1) the *Bya-rgyud* such as the *Ḥjam-dpal-gyi rgyud*, the *Spyan-gzigs-kyi rgyud*, the *Phyag-rdor rgyud*, etc.; (2) the *Spyod-rgyud*, such as the *Rnam-snaṅ mṅon-byaṅ*, the *Phyag-rdor dbaṅ-bskur rgyud*, etc.; (3) the *Rnal-ḥbyor rgyud*, such as the *De-ñid bsdus-pa rgyud*, the *Rdo-rje rtse-mo*, the *Ḥjig-rten-gsum rgyal*, etc.; and (4) the *Rnal-ḥbyor bla med*, which was sub-divided into both the *Pha-rgyud* and the *Ma-rgyud*. Of the former there were the *Gsaṅ-ḥdus*, the *Ḥjigs-byed*, etc., and of the latter, the *Kye-rdor*, the *Sambhuṭa*, the *Bde-mchog*, the *Phyag-rgya chen-po thig-le*, the *Rdo-rje gdaṅ-bshi*, etc. From the *Ma-rgyud* another sub-division was also made, namely, the *Gñis-su-med-paḥi rgyud*, such as the *Dus-kyi ḥkhor-lo*, etc. The translations of the commentaries and treatises of the *Sṅags* category were divided into the 'Specific Expositions' and the 'General Expositions'. The group of Specific Expositions was sub-divided into four parts according to the four divisions of *Rgyud* of the *Bkaḥ* category, as mentioned above, comprising the commentaries and writings of the different *Rgyuds*, respectively. The group of General Expositions included the general works on *Sgrub-thabs*, *Dkyil-chog*, *Mantra-lam-rim*, *Dam-tshig-gi sdom-pa*, *Rab-gnas sybin-sreg*, *etc*.

Afterwards, Bu-ston also compiled the *Rgyud-ḥbum dkar-chag* (included in the *Complete Works of Bu-ston*, Lhasa edition, case No. 26) and the *Bstan-ḥgyur-gyi dkar-chag*. He compiled the *Catalogue of Commentaries and Treatises* twice; the first compiled in 1335 A.C. is also known as the *Yid-bshin nor-bu dbaṅ-gi rgyal-poḥi phreṅ-ba* (included in the *Complete Works of Bu-ston*, Lhasa edition, case No. 26), and the second, known as the *Yid-bshin nor-bu rin-po-cheḥi za-ma-tog* (included in the *Complete Works of Bu-ston*, Lhasa edition, case No. 28), was a revised edition with supplements compiled in 1362 A.C. This is the edition which has been adapted by Bu-ston's disciples. In these catalogues careful alterations and corrections were made to the compilation, classification, numbers of volumes of the various translated canons and the names of the translators, as recorded in old catalogues. They became the basis of the different later editions of the Tripiṭaka.

The method of classification adopted by Bu-ston for the translated canons in Tibet was not similar to that adopted by the Vikramaśilā monastery in India (such as the method of Atiśa). In fact, it was a general re-arrangement of Buddhist literature made by Tibetan scholars. Eventually, Bu-ston's method of classification, such as dividing the Tantric canons into the four '*Rgyuds*,' was later acknowledged as the accepted method. Afterwards came Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419 A.C.) and he followed Bu-ston's method for the classification of

Buddhist canons, although he followed Atiśa in his thought and theory.

Bu-ston's era was about one hundred years after the Vikramaśilā monastery had been destroyed by fire. Thereafter Buddhism in India had no more development, nor was there any great Buddhist teacher. It may be said that the period of translation of Buddhist canons in Tibet terminated in the person of Bu-ston, and thenceforth an independent development of Buddhism began there. Undoubtedly he was an epoch maker in the history of Tibetan Buddhism.

Bu-ston's writings (not including his translations) collected in the old *Complete Works*, amounted to about 182 works, being divided into seventeen cases. More works by him were collected into the new Lhasa edition of the *Complete Works*, in which there are included 230 works, divided into twenty-six cases (at the end of which two cases of works by his disciple, Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, were added).

K. Yu.

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BUTSARAṆA (*Refuge in the Buddha*), a Sinhalese literary work in prose, written in praise and veneration of the Buddha. It is the first of a group of books called the *Amṛtāvaha* (q.v.). The author has stated his name at the end of the book as *Vidyācakravarti*, to whom are also ascribed the other two books of the *Amṛtāvaha* group, namely, *Dahamsarana* and *Saṅgasarana*.

The period of compilation of the book cannot be definitely stated, for no reference has been made to it as far as we know, in any of the ancient documents. The oldest reference is to the name of Vidyācakravarti in the *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya* written in the fifteenth century. But, judging from the language and style of the work one could safely put it to the period between the second half of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth.

Though the word *Butsaraṇa* has become popular as the name of the book, the names given by the author himself are *Buddhacarita*, 'Biography of the Buddha' and *Amṛtāvaha*—'Flood of Nectar'. But neither of these names has become popular.

The work is divided into sixteen chapters : 1 *Bhagavā* the Blessed One ; 2. *Arahan* the Worthy One ; 3. *Sammā Sambuddho*—The All-Enlightened One ; 4. *Vijjācarana-sampanno*—Endowed with knowledge and conduct; 5. *Sugato*—the Well-gone or (Happy-gone) One ; 6. *Lokavidū*—Knower of the World ; 7. *Anuttaro*-the Supreme One ; 8. *Purisadammasārathī*—the Tamer of beings ; 9. *Satthā devamanussānam*—Teacher of gods and men ; 10. *Buddho*—the Enlightened One ; 11. *Bhagavā*—the Blessed One : 12. the Buddha's manner of preaching ; 13. the beauty of his body (personal splendour) ; 14. the virtues of the Doctrine ; 15. the chapter on similes ; and finally, 16. the birth story of Vessantara.

The author has made an attempt to describe the quality expressed in the heading of each chapter as fully as he could and for this purpose he has drawn material from various sources such as the *Dhammapadatthakathā*, *Jātakatthakathā*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Visuddhimagga*. Thus, the *Butsaraṇa* is not a translation of a Pali book nor has the author had any single text as his source of information. As a result, the chapters seem loosely connected with one another.

In the first chapter of the *Butsaraṇa*, the author refers to the Buddha's impartiality and compassion, both towards his enemies and friends. The last paragraph of this chapter is one long sentence running into two printed pages.

At the beginning of the second chapter comes one of the most dramatic passages in the *Butsaraṇa*, describing the seductive behaviour of the daughters of Māra in their attempt to entice the bodhisattva prior to his Enlightenment. Brief mention has also been made of Ciñcamānavikā and Devadatta. The Buddha's modesty, compassion and unselfishness are the other qualities described in this chapter.

Chapter iii is a short one and of one paragraph, the phrase '*budun saraṇa yemiyi butsaraṇa yāyutu*': "It is proper to take refuge in the Buddha saying 'I take refuge in the Buddha'," occurring only once at the end of the chapter. This chapter deals with the higher doctrine found in the Abhidhamma.

Chapter iv entitled *Vijjācaraṇasampanno* deals with the Buddha's insight, his psychic powers and other super-normal qualities of the Buddha.

Chapter v relates in brief the life-story of the Buddha from the time of his birth as sage Sumedha and gives the reasons for calling the Buddha *Sugato*, the Happy or Well-gone One. Here, too, is found a paragraph running into a two-page long sentence.

Chapter vi, which is considered important, contains a vivid description of the universe. Mythical cosmological references to such as Cakravāṭa, Mahāmeru mountain, the seven mountain peaks, the various oceans and the lakes, the world of the gods and the four great continents are given popular treatment.

Chapter vii is the shortest. The author has made use of about forty-five similes to show that there is no one comparable to the Buddha and that he is supreme (*anuttara*).

Chapter viii is the longest (126 printed pages) and most important chapter. Here are given in full detail popular episodes like the conversion of Aṅgulimāla, the taming of the elephant Nālāgiri and the serpent Nandopananda, the conversion of the Baka Brahmā, the subjugation of the three Kassapa brothers, the story of the Licchavis and the Buddha's visit to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. It is here that one sees the author's originality, vividness of narrative and dramatic and poetic style.

Chapter ix relates an interesting story in detail to show that the Buddha advised not only the gods and human beings but also animals. The story relates how a frog, who was killed by a shepherd pressing a stick unconsciously in its back, was born in heaven because at the time of his death, the frog was listening to the voice of the Buddha preaching the Doctrine.

Chapter x is mostly devoted to the story of Paṭācārā, an excellent piece of literary work in ancient Sinhalese literature.

Chapter xi does not contain any special feature. Some casual incidents from the Buddha's life have been briefly described.

Chapter xii entitled 'The manner of preaching' deals with a few sermons of the Buddha.

Chapter xiii gives a full description of the thirty-two major signs of the Buddha. The chapter ends with a brief mention in one paragraph of the eighty minor characteristics.

Chapter xiv mainly describes the ten powers of the Buddha.

Chapter xv entitled 'The chapter of similes consists of 258 short paragraphs ending with the phrase "one should take refuge in the Buddha" (*butsaraṇa yā yutu*). The chapter is named thus because most of the paragraphs describe the virtues of the Buddha with the help of similes.

Chapter xvi, the last chapter of the book, is a full and complete account of the birth story of Vessantara.

The language of the *Butsaraṇa* is simple, average and hence is intelligible to the reader. When Vidyācakravarti dwells on the virtues of the Master, he is overwhelmed with devotion and almost inspired by poetic genius.

Another unique feature in the *Butsaraṇa* is the occurrence of the phrase '*budun saraṇa yemiyi butsaraṇa yā yutu*': "It is proper to take refuge in the Buddha saying 'I take refuge in the Buddha' " repeatedly at the end of each and every incident described.

Many other literary works compiled after the *Butsaraṇa* seem to have been influenced by the contents and style of that work. Some of them are *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, *Pūjāvaliya*, *Kāvyaśekharaya*, *Guttilakāvyaya* and *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya*.

H.R.P.

BUTSUBU-SAMAYA-IN, a particular posture (*mudrā*) of the hands of the Buddha referred to in Japanese Tantric Buddhism. In this posture both hands are held close to the breast, folded and clenched into fists, with the thumbs held upright close to each other. If a (*sādhaka*) performer of Tantric rites were to display this posture of hands and utter the appropriate chant (*mantra*), all the Buddhas would assemble 'like a cloud' and cause universal void (*śūnyatā*), thus freeing the performer from all obstacles and fulfilling all his wishes (M.W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vol. I, p. 168 f.).

S.K.N.

BUTSUDŌ, meaning the Way or the Teaching of the Buddha, is the term for Buddhism, occurring for the first time in the *Nihongi*, bk. XXI. See further JAPAN.

BUTSUGEMMŌ. See BUDDHALOCANĀ.

BUTSUMYŌ-E (or *Butsumyō Sange*), Chinese *Fo-ming-hui*, the 'Festival of the Buddha names,' a repentance-ceremony practised from ancient times in China, Korea and Japan. However it was in Japan, especially from 830 to 1467 A.C., that this ceremony became quite popular.

The general feature of this ceremony was the recital of the '13,000 Buddha names' (this included the names of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, pratyeka-buddhas and arhats) in order to obliterate all sins and to obtain perfect wisdom. In Japan, from the very beginning, this ceremony had been a palace-ceremony of the last month of the year and was intended to purify the Court and the country from the sins of the whole year and thereby to bring about happiness in the next year.

At first, this ceremony was based upon the text *Buddhabhāṣita-buddhanāma-sūtra* (*Fo-shuo-fo-ming-ching: Nanjio*, No. 404) in which the names of 11,093 Buddhas, bodhisattvas and pratyeka-buddhas are mentioned. For this ceremony there was also a large sūtra of 16 or 30 chapters (13,000 names) which was written in China in the middle of the T'ang dynasty, i.e., in the eighth century, and was used in Japan from 846–918 A.C. In 918 A.C., another text was introduced for this ceremony and it includes three thousand Buddha names of the three kalpas as given in three sūtras (viz., *Nanjio*, No. 405 containing the names of a thousand Buddhas belonging to the past kalpa, *Nanjio*, 406 containing the names of a thousand Buddhas belonging to the present kalpa, and *Nanjio*, No. 407 containing the names of a thousand Buddhas belonging to the future kalpa). However, the text containing the names of '13,000 Buddhas' was generally the basis of this ceremony from 830–1467 A.C.

At first, this ceremony was held for three days and nights, but from the end of the eleventh century the duration of the service was limited to one night. At this ceremony three leading priests were alternately on service for reciting the Buddha names, dividing the night into three parts. The offerings made to the Buddhas were flowers and incense; silk, incense and incense-burners were offered to the priests who performed the service.

For historical details of this ceremony in Japan see M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, Vol. I, pp. 381–393.

E.H.P.

BUTTSŪ-JI Japanese temple of the Rinzai Zen sect, located at Takasakamura, Toyota-gun, Aki Province (present Hiroshima Prefecture). Its *sangō* (mountain-title) is Mimotosan. This is the headquarters of the Buttsū-ji-ha which is one of the fourteen schools of the Rinzai sect in Japan, and which has at present, more than forty subordinate temples thereunder.

Shūkyū Guchū (1323–1409) founded the temple in October, 1397 (another legend says it was in August, 1395). When Shūkyū was passing through Aki Province on his way from the Ryūmon-an (its later name is the Zentō-ji) in Ki-i province (present Wakayama Prefecture) to Kyūshū district, Haruhira Kohayagawa, the then lord of the province became a convert to Shūkyū and built a temple for him. In October, 1397 (or in August, 1395), Shūkyū named it the Buttsū-ji, in association with the title of his master, Chi-liao Chi-hsiu of the Chin-shan-ssu temple in China. He invited his Master to be the nominal founder to the Buttsū-ji and made himself the second chief priest there in spite of his being the actual founder.

In 1399, a branch temple named the Gangki-in and the Jizōdō (Kṣitigarbha-hall), belonging to the Buttsū-ji were built by a nun, named Shōgan-ni of the Jitoku-an temple. In 1402, Shinnyo Kakuin consolidated and raised the Mugonbō, which had been a mere meditation place for Shūkyū, to the rank of an independent temple. In addition, Norihira Kohayagawa, a relative of the lord, also constructed an attached temple, called the Kōshin-in. Various amenities were gradually added to the Buttsū-ji. The lord Haruhira Kohayagawa donated to the temple the fief yielding 4,000 *kokus* of rice (a *koku*=4.9629 bushels) and the forest of 2 *ris* square (one *ri* is about 2.44 miles). In March 1404, was built a shrine in which Momoto-gongen (Incarnation of Mimoto) was enshrined as the guardian god of the temple. It was in the same year that Shūkyū retired to a branch temple, the Kōshin-in. In 1407, Yoshimochi Ashikaga, the Shogunate of the day sent a messenger to Shūkyū in order to ask him to preach. He was granted by the Imperial Court, in March of 1409, the purple robe which was awarded only to very eminent priests, together with the chief priest of the Nanzen-ji, the headquarters of another school in the same sect.

After Shūkyū died, on the 25th August, 1409, at the age of eighty-six, at the Tennei-ji temple in Tanba province, his remains were enshrined in two pagodas—one in Tennei-ji and the other in the Buttsū-ji itself. In July of 1422, the Fudō-dō (Acala-hall) was built in the grounds of the Buttsū-ji. In March 1423, the following principle was established: the four main disciples of Shūkyū, Gen-in, Etō, Shinchi and Seiyui would assume the post of chief-priest of the Buttsū-ji and the Tennei-ji by turns, for a period of three years each. After twelve years, it was changed as follows: some other six senior priests, among Shūkyū's descendents, would alternately become the chief priest of the above two temples. The Shogunate of Ashikaga

n those days appointed the Buttsū-ji as its place of rayer twice, in December, 1441 and in December, 444, bestowing on it the name of the Kigan-gokoku-ji (Temple for Prayer for Safety of the Nation). Thereafter the temple grew in prosperity. There came into being more than fifty branches in its grounds and subordinate temples were established in twelve provinces.

In August 1525, the monastic rules of the Buttsū-ji were established. Some of the buildings of the temple were repaired in 1596. When Masanori Fakushima (1561–1624) acceded to the lordship of Aki Province, he confiscated the fief of the temple once, but later he donated to it a fief yielding 200 *kokus* of rice. The next feudal lord of the province, Nagaaki Asano, assured the temple of its fief and repaired some of its structures. In March 1632, the reconstruction of the Fudō-dō (Acala-hall) was carried out. In February of the following year, Mitsuaki Asano donated some land to the branches of the Buttsū-ji. It was in April 1796 that the main structures of the temple, including the main hall, were burnt down. In July 1808, Narisue Matsudaira reconstructed some buildings, such as the Butsuden (Buddha-hall), the Hōjō (living quarters of the chief priest), the Son-dō, and the Cha-dō (Hall for Tea Drinking), and he endowed a fief yielding 500 *kokus* to the temple. He also built a library, called Tōyōrinzō, which belonged to the Eitoku-in, a branch of the Buttsū-ji.

Because of the Restoration of Meiji in 1868, the fief of the temple was forfeited and its structures deteriorated. However, the Ganki-in, a branch of the temple, was reconstructed in April 1876, the Jizō-dō (Kṣitigarbha-hall) in April 1878, and the main gate in 1894.

In June 1905, the Buttsū-ji became the independent headquarters of its own school, giving up control of the Tenryū-ji in Kyōto, the head temple of one of the main schools in the Rinzai sect of Japan.

In the grounds of the Buttsū-ji, which is about 9280 *tsubos* (1 *tsubo* equals 3.952 sq. yds.), there are to be found at present the following buildings: the Butsuden (Buddha-hall), the Dai-hōjō (larger living quarters of the chief priest), the Shō-hōjō (his smaller living quarters), the bell-tower, the treasure-store, two ordinal stores, two gates, i.e., Sanmon and Nagayamon, the line-house, the Kaisan-dō (Founder's hall), the library, the Jizō-dō (Kṣitigarbha-hall), the Jishin-ryō (quarters for monks in charge of the Founder's hall), the Fudō-dō (Acala-hall), the meditation-hall, the Tahō-tō (tower of Prabhūtaratna-Tathāgata), the Chinju-sha (shrine of the guardian god) and the six branch temples, that is to say, the Eitoku-in, the Ikka-in, the Ryōsoku-in, the Shōbō-in, the Chōshō-in and the Jōshin-an.

In the Butsuden, an image of Śākyamuni Buddha is enshrined as the main image, and two images of the bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra as the attendents of Śākyamuni. In the Founder's Hall, there are enshrined the images of Ch'i-liao, the nominal founder, and of Shūkyū, the actual founder, together with the memorial tablets of the Kohayagawas and the Asanos, two main contributors to the temple.

Of the many items of the temple, a coloured portrait of Shūkyū on a silk-cloth and a calligraphy and some letters written by him are named National Treasures.

With its colourful forests, clear streams and waterfalls, and majestic rocks, the natural scenery of the Buttsū-ji is so beautiful and attractive that it is often compared with that of the Kokeizan Eihō-ji in Gifu Prefecture or Mt. Kōya in Wakayama Prefecture (*Moc.* Vol. 5, pp. 4474b-75a).

S.Mo.

BYA-BA BSDUS-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KRIYĀ-SAṄGRAHA.

BYA-BAḤI PHUṆ-PO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See KRIYĀ-SKANDHA.

BYAKUGŌ, a curl of white hair found on the forehead, between the eye-brows of a Buddha or bodhisattva. It is believed to emit a ray of light which illuminates the universe.

In Japanese sculpture, particularly in wooden images, the Byakugō is represented by a cylindrical piece of crystal embedded in the forehead.

See further ŪRṆĀ.

C.S.R.

BYĀMAPPABHĀ (Skt. *vyāmaprabhā*), a term denoting the area of the halo of the Buddha which is believed to measure a fathom in extent (e.g., *Miln.* p.75 ; *Buv.* pp. 1, 45 ; *Vvu.* p. 213 ; *J.* 1. pp. 12,89). A fathom (*vyāma* or *byāma*) is measured by extending both arms to their full length. See further AURA.

G.K.W.

BYAṂHA, translated as 'mansion of the many folk' (*The Minor Anthologies of the Pali-canon*, IV, [SBB], p. 88) is the name of the celestial mansion of Nandiya referred to in the Revatīvimāna of the

Vimānavatthu (52, *v.* 3). This form often varies with the term *vyaṃha,* in which application it generally connotes a celestial-mansion, a palace or abode of fairies and in this sense it occurs in the *Jātaka* (e.g., IV, p.464 ; VI, pp. 119, 251), *Vimānavatthu* (35, *v.* 1), *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* (p. 160) as a synonym of *vimāna.*

W.S.Kr.

BYAMS–PA BSGOM–PAḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITRĪ-BHĀVANĀ-SŪTRA.

BYAMS–PA BSGOM–PAḤI SGO–NAS SEMS–GNAS-PAR BYA–BAḤI THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITRĪ-BHĀVANĀ-NUSAREṆACITTASTHĀPANOPĀYA.

BYAMS–PAḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITRĪ-SŪTRA.

BYAMS–PAḤI MTSHAN BRGYA–RTSA–BRGYAD–PA GZUṄS–SṄAGS DAṄ BCAS–PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA-NĀMĀṢṬOTTARAŚATAKA-DHĀRAṆĪ-MANTRA-SAHITA.

BYAMS–PAḤI SEṄ–GEḤI–SGRA CHEN–PO SHES–BYA–BA THEG–PA CHEN–POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA-MAHĀ-SIṂHANĀDA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYAMS PAḤI SGRUB–THABS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA-SĀDHANA.

BYAMS–PAḤI SMON–LAM, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 1096, as occurring in the *Gzuṅs-ḥdus* (Dhāraṇi) section of the Kangyur. The text does not appear in the *TT.* collection. The author and the translator are unknown.

BYAMS–PA ḤJUG–PA SHES–BYA–BA THEG–PA CHEN–POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA-PRASTHĀNA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYAMS–PAS DAM–BCAS–PA SHES–BYA–BAḤI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA - PRATIJÑĀ - NĀMA - DHĀRAṆĪ.

BYAMS–PAS SHUS–PA SHES–BYA–BA THEG–PA CHEN–POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAITREYA-PARIPṚCCHĀ-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYANADASSI, a monk of Burma of the line of the thera Sona. Thera Adhisīla was his teacher and the theras Mahākāla and Sīlabuddhi were his pupils. Byanadassi is said to have gone daily from Thaton to the Majjhimadesa to worship the Bodhi tree *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma,* (Trsl. by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, Oxford University Press, 1923, p. 74).

H.R.P.

BYAṄ–CHUB CHEN–PO MDOR–BSTAN–PA SHES–BYA BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See MAHĀ-BODHYUDDEŚA-NĀMA.

BYAṄ–CHUB ḤBYUṄ–BAḤI SMON–LAM, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHYĀKARA-PRAṆIDHĀNA.

BYAṄ–CHUB–KYI GSHUṄ–LAM SHES–BYA–BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHIPADDHATI-NĀMA.

BYAṄ - CHUB - KYI LTUṄ - BA BŚAGS - PAḤI ḤGREL–PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHYĀPATTI-DEŚANĀ-VṚTTI.

BYAṄ - CHUB - KYI LTUṄ - BA BŚAGS - PAḤI ḤGREL–PA BYAṄ–CHUB–SEMS–DPAḤI BSLAB–PAḤI RIM–PA SHES–BYA–BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHYĀPATTI - DEŚANĀVṚTTI - BODHISATTVA - ŚIKṢĀ-KRAMA-NĀMA.

BYAṄ–CHUB–KYI PHYOGS BSTAN–PA SHES–BYA–BA THEG–PA CHEN–POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHIPAKṢA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYAṄ–CHUB–KYI SEMS BDE–BAḤI MAN–ṄAG, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-MAHĀSUKHĀMNĀYA.

BYAṄ–CHUB–KYI–SEMS BSGOM–PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTABHĀVANĀ(2).

BYAṄ–CHUB–KYISEMS BSGOM–PA DON BCU-GÑIS BSTAN–PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-BHĀVANĀ-DVĀDAŚĀRTHA-NIRDEŚA.

BYAṄ - CHUB - KYI–SEMS BSGOM - PAḤI MAN ṄAG, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-BHĀVANOPADEŚA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-KYI-SEMS-BSKYED-PA DAṄ YI-DAM BLAṄ-BAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTOTPĀDASAMĀDĀNA-VIDHI.

BYAṄ-CHUB-KYI SÑIṄ POḤI RGYAN-ḤBUM-GYI GZUṄS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHIGARBHĀLAṄKĀRA-LAKṢA-DHĀRAṆĪ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-KYI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PAḤI DGOṄS-PAḤI ḤGREL-PA KHYAD-PAR GSAḶ-BYED CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICARYĀVATĀRA - TĀTPARYAPAÑJIKĀ - VIŚEṢADYOTANĪ-NĀMA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-KYI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICARYĀVATĀRA-PAÑJIKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB LAM-GYI SGRON-MA, a Tibetan classic of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect, compiled by Atiśa in 1042 A.C. in sixty-nine and a half *ślokas*, being a summary of exoteric and esoteric Buddhist teachings of numerous schools. See under the Sanskrit title, BODHIPATHA-PRADĪPA.

BYAṄ-CHUB LAM-GYI SGRON-MAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHIMĀRGAPRADĪPA-PAÑJIKĀ-NĀMA.

BYAṄ-CHUB LAM-RIM, (*A Śāstra on the Stages of the Path to Bodhi*), was written by Tsoṅ-kha-pa, in which he summarized the essentials of the twelve divisions (*nidāna*) in the Tripiṭaka. It was composed according to the Path of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, explaning the 'stages of Three *Puruṣas*' from the lower to the higher stages. The Path of Three *Puruṣas* is the necessary process which a man of any attainment must go through from the time he first makes up his mind to reach *bodhi* to the time of his realizing supreme Enlightenment. The contents of this *śāstra* are explanations of the nature, stages, and methods of meditation and cultivation of this process. '*Bodhi*' denotes the fruit of Buddhahood; 'the path' shows the necessary process in attaining it; 'the stages' explain the indispensable steps leading from the preliminary stage to the highest. from the easy to the difficult, proceeding without omission, disorder or overstep. Thus it is called 'the stages of the Bodhi-path'.

The remote origin of the teachings of this *śāstra* may be traced to the words of Śākyamuni himself. The proximate sources, according to its author, may be found from bodhisattva Maitreya's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in general, and Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, in particular. These are the fundamental bases of the whole work. As to the minute ramifications of this *śāstra*, each of them has its special basis on some sūtras, *śāstras* or analects. For example, under the item 'to be intimate with the well-informed', each of the sub-items has its own basis:

Nine wishes based on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: Cultivation of Belief, based on the *Ratnolkā-dhāraṇī*, *Daśa-dharmaka-sūtra*, *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka-mahātantra*, *Ratnamegha-sūtra*, *Gṛhapati-ugrapariprccha-sūtra*; Cultivation of remembrance of Benevolence, based on *Daśadharmaka-sūtra*, *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, etc.; Cultivation of preparatory activities for becoming intimate with the well-informed, based on Aśvaghoṣa's *Gurupañcaśika*, *Jātakamālā* and Maitreya's *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.

For the rest, there are multitudinous analects of the Dkaḥ-gdams-pa sect which cannot be enumerated here, one by one. In a word, this *śāstra* is based on all the Buddhist sūtras, the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Mādhyamika śāstras* in general, and on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, and the analects of the Dkaḥ-gdams-pa sect, in particular.

In Tibet, the teaching of this *śāstra* was started by Atiśa who handed it to Ḥbrom ston-pa, Rnal-ḥbyor-pa chen-po, and Dgon-pa-ba. Ḥbrom ston-pa taught it to Phu chuṅ-ba, Sbyan-mṅaḥ-ba, Po-to-ba, Khams-luṅ-pa, et al. Dgon-pa-ba also taught it to Sbyan-mṅaḥ-ba and Sneḥu zur-pa; again Po-to-ba passed it on to Śa-ra-ba and Dol-pa, et al. Owing to this way of passing from one to another, it came into the hands of Nam-mkhaḥ rgyal-mtshan and Chos-skyab bzaṅ-po. On the other hand, Atiśa also passed the teaching to Rṅog Legs-paḥi śes-rab and the latter taught it to his nephew, Blo-ldan śes-rab and later to Gro-luṅ-pa, who wrote *A Śāstra on the Stages of the Holy Teaching* and they gradually passed on to Chos-skyab bzaṅ-po. The great master, Tsoṅ-kha-pa, learned the teachings of different schools from the two great masters, Nam-mkhaḥ rgyal-mtshan and Chos-skyab bzaṅ-po; and using as his basis, *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Holy Teaching*, he wrote *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi-path.*

The author of this *śāstra*, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419) who revived Buddhism in Tibet, was born in 1357 at the Tsoṅ-kha region, now the site of the Sku-ḥbum monastery in Chinghai province. When seven years old (1363), he left home and became a monk, named Blo-bzaṅ grags-paḥi dpal. At sixteen (1372) he went to Tibet to learn Buddhism

and became intimate with famous Masters of different places. At ninteen (1375) he presented the doctrine of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in all the great monasteries of the two parts of Tibet. At twenty-four (1380) he was admitted into the Order of bhikṣus and became a well-known Master of the *śāstras*. Later, he studied the Tripiṭaka for several years at Tshal-guṅ thaṅ and learned various kinds of profound esoteric teachings from many great Masters. At thirty-six (1392) he completed his study of all exoteric and esoteric teachings which had been translated into Tibetan. At thirty-nine (1395), he received at Lho-brag from Nam-mkhaḥ rgyal-mtshan, the teachings about the stages on the bodhi-path which had been handed down by the two Masters of the 'Instruction Sect', Sneḥu zur-pa and Sbyan-mṅah-ba. Again at Brag-ko monastery, he received the instructions of the 'Canon Sect' from Chos-skyab bzaṅ-po, which had been passed on from Po-to-ba to Dol-pa and Śa-ra-ba. Besides, he studied *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Holy Teaching* under Chos-skyab bzaṅ-po and this laid the foundation of his *Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi-Path.* At forty-three (1399), accepting the invitations of many monasteries in Lhasa, he preached very widely and laid particular emphasis on propagating the *śīla* of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. At forty-six (1402), on the request of Skyab-mchog Chos-rje and many good friends, he wrote at the Rwa-sgren monastery, the amplified version of *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi-path.* Later, he also wrote *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Esoteric Path,* explaining in details the steps of cultivation of four great esoteric classes. At fifty-three (1409) he built the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery, which became the permanent seat of the Yellow Sect for disseminating Buddhism. At fifty-nine he asked Ḥjam-dbyaṅ Chos rje to build the Ḥbras-spuṅs monastery, which was finished in the next year. Because *The Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi-path* was too voluminous and could hardly be studied and digested by men of obtuse endowments, he wrote a shorter one. In 1418, when he was sixty-two, Byams-chen Chos-rje built the Śe-ra monastery. This, together with the aforesaid two mentioned earlier formed the three great monasteries of the Yellow Sect. At sixty-three (1419) the great Master entered Nirvāṇa at the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery.

The Structure of this Śāstra

This *śāstra* bases its organization on 'the three purposes' mentioned in *Bodhipatha-pradīpa.*

'The Path of the lower grade *puruṣa*' points out the *dharmaparyāya* (methods) of getting free from the three evil ways and attaining the good ways of men and devas, 'The Path of the middle grade *puruṣa*' deals with the methods of getting liberation from the cycles of birth-and-death in the triple-world and putting an end to all distresses and realizing Nirvāṇa. 'The Path of higher grade *puruṣa*' details the methods of making up one's mind for Enlightenment, the cultivation of the bodhisattva's deeds and the final realization of the fruit of *mahābodhi.*

There are four long sections explaining the 'Path of the lower grade *puruṣa*': (1) thinking about the impermanence of the human body, (2) thinking about the sufferings caused by the three evil ways of conduct, (3) relying devoutly on the Triple Gem and (4) believing deeply in the fruits of karma.

There are also four long sections explaining the 'Path of the middle grade *puruṣa*': (1) thinking about the truth of suffering (the evils of birth-and-death in the triple world), (2) thinking about the truth of the causes of suffering (the distresses and the cycle of birth-and-death through karma), (3) thinking about the twelve-fold chain of causation (the truth of transmigration and its cessation), (4) thinking about the right way of the emancipation from birth-and-death (the cultivation of discipline, meditation and wisdom).

There are two long sections explaining the 'Path of the higher grade *puruṣa*': (1) making up the mind for *mahābodhi,* (2) performing the acts of a bodhisattva. This performance is again divided into two parts: it comprehends the six pāramitās and the four *saṅgrahas* in general and the methods of cultivating *śamatha-vipaśyanā,* meditative contemplation in particular.

As a preface to these explanations of the path of three *puruṣas,* there are also two long sections dealing with the preliminary requisites: (1) to be intimate with good and well-informed friends, (2) to think of the difficulty of birth as a human being.

After the explanations on the path of the higher grade *puruṣa,* the author points out that if those who have made up their mind to attain the great Enlightenment believe and take a delight in Tantric incantations, they may also learn the esoteric vehicle.

To be personally related to good and well-informed friends is the basis for learning all Buddhist dharma. Only when one has become intimate with such friends can one be initiated into the teachings of the Buddha. As this is extremely important, such an exhortation is given at the

very beginning. Having been initiated into the dharma, one should reflect that it is difficult to be born with a perfect human body, with a great deal of leisure, and therefore one should strive to make great efforts to learn the dharma. Therefore, the Path of the three *puruṣas* is what one should follow. If one cannot be free from evil destinies, one cannot possibly have the opportunity of learning and cultivating the dharma, to say nothing of leaving the cycle of birth-and-death and attaining *mahābodhi*. If one cannot, in this life, rid oneself of the five desires (the enjoyment of colour, sound, smell, taste and touch) and does not recognise and abhor the sufferings of the three evil ways, certainly he cannot loathe the pains and sufferings of the triple-world and make assiduous efforts to leave it.

In the midst of such preliminary cultivation, if one is greedy for the five desires of the present life, one cannot have a strong wish for the peace and happiness of the next life. Nor can one have true abhorrence for the sufferings of the three evil ways. Therefore, only when one thinks of the impermanence of the human body, can one abhor evil ways. As a result of the abhorrence of the evil ways, one can faithfully devote oneself to the *Triratna*, deeply believe the truth of cause and effect preached by the Buddha and thus stop bad deeds and do good deeds, and consequently be able to tear oneself from evil ways.

The cultivation of the path of the lower grade *puruṣa*, though enabling one to attain the good ways of men and devas, does not enable one to liberate oneself from the wheel of transmigration. Therefore, one should proceed to learn the middle grade. In pursuing this path, one should first think of the general and particular evils of birth and death ('general evils' refer to the three, six and eight sufferings, etc.; particular evils refer to the special sufferings of the six ways, etc.), and should have a strong sense of contempt for the triple-world, and proceed to investigate the cause of birth-and-death in the triple-world. Knowing that the causes lie in *kleśa* (pain, affliction, distress and karma, leading to saṃsāra, one can then make the determination to annihilate them. One should then truly know that discipline, meditation and wisdom are the only means of effecting this annihilation. Only by such diligent learning and cultivation, can one get free from the bondage of birth-and-death in the triple-world. If one oneself cannot have intense dislike for sufferings of moral life, how can one make up one's mind to bring about the emancipation of all sentient beings? If one cannot deliver oneself from the triple-world, how can one help others to realize their liberation from it? Therefore before one cultivates the deeds of the higher grade *puruṣa*, one should first go along the path of the intermediate stage.

Having gone through the path of the middle grade *puruṣa*, one should further think that one's mere deliverance from birth-and-death cannot convey to the bank of Nirvāṇa all sentient beings who are still immersed in the sea of suffering. To assume the responsibility of this great task one must attain supreme Buddhahood. Thus one should make up one's mind to achieve complete Enlightenment, develop the bodhisattva discipline, cultivate the six pāramitās to perfection, and cultivate the four *saṅgrahas* towards all sentient beings. Such is the path of the higher grade *puruṣa*.

This path of three graded *puruṣa* is the path which should be traversed by all, whether they learn or not the esoteric vehicle and it is therefore called the 'Common Path.' In order to bring quickly to perfection the nutriments of both blessedness and wisdom, one should, on the basis of having gone along the common path, learn the principles of the esoteric vehicles, first getting annointed by a good and well-informed Master and strictly observing *samaya* commandments and other rules of discipline. If one wants to learn the three lower classes of the esoteric dharma, one should first cultivate phenomenal and noumenal yoga and thereby gain the various kinds of *siddhi* (accomplishment) as mentioned in the Tantric sect. If one wants to learn the esoteric teachings of the supreme yoga, one should first learn 'the Stages of the origin and Development' (*utpannakrama*) and then learn the 'stages of the fulfilling of the whole' (*sampannakrama*) and finally, one would attain the great fruit of *vajradhara*.

Such is the main outline of the structure of this *śāstra*.

The stages on the bodhi-path are the indispensable processes leading to supreme Enlightenment. To traverse the path of the lower grade *puruṣa* is not simply to gain for oneself happiness among men and devas. To traverse the path of the middle grade *puruṣa* is not simply to liberate oneself from birth-and-death. As both provide conditions for embarking on the path of the higher grade *puruṣa*, they equally form a part of the bodhi-path. But, because of the difference of tardiness and urgency, shallowness and deepness, easiness and difficulty, the path must be divided into stages. Not only does each of the great divisions have its definite stages, but each of the sub-divisions also has its definite stages which cannot tolerate

confusion. But, owing to the fact that cultivating the preceding items necessarily gives rise to the wish to learn the subsequent ones and that learning the subsequent items necessarily stimulates the wish to cultivate the preceding ones, the divisions of the path of the three purposes form an integrated whole and therefore must be studied in its entirety, without leaving or skipping over any of the items. If one finds oneself deficient in the cultivation of a certain item, one ought to devote more efforts to it in order to make the cultivation equal in all items. The divisions are not isolated and unrelated; they are interpenetrating and form an organic whole.

The Chief Contents of the Śāstra

The skeleton of this *śāstra* consists of three points which are called the 'Three Essentials'. The stages of this path of the three *puruṣas* are comparable to the structure of a whole house while the three Essentials are its pillars and beams. The three Essentials are: (1) the wish to leave the triple-world, (2) the mind for *bodhi* and (3) pure view.

(1) The wish to leave the triple-world is the aspiration to realize Nirvāṇa. It is also called 'the wish for deliverance'. If a Buddhist does not have the true wish to leave the triple-world, then all his merits can only be the cause for attaining birth among men and devas and can never become the right cause of liberation from birth-and-death. On the contrary, if he is stimulated by or occupied with this wish for deliverance, then all his merits, either great or small, even the giving of a handful of coarse chaff to beasts or the observance of a precept for a day and a night, will form the nutriment for emancipation from Saṃsāra. As regards the steps of learning and cultivation, a Buddhist should first think it is difficult to gain a birth in human form and that life is impermanent and thus he should eliminate his five desires of the present life. Then he should think of the truth of the effect of karma, the sufferings of birth-and-death and the cause and reason of transmigration in the triple-world. If he regards the whole triple-world as a house on fire, which is to be dreaded and not to be lingered in under any condition and he decisively makes up his mind to leave it and aspires to the sublime happiness of Nirvāṇa, then he is said to have the true wish for liberation. Thenceforward he should learn and cultivate discipline, meditation and wisdom in order to realize Nirvāṇa. Without the wish of emancipation, one cannot possibly initiate the mind for *bodhi*, therefore it is the first essential in the stages of the bodhi-path.

(2) The mind for *bodhi* is on the one hand, the Great Compassion, elaborately and universally shown to all sentient beings, perpetually immersed in the sea of suffering in the triple-world, without being able to extricate themselves from it, and, on the other hand, the aspiration to realize supreme Enlightenment to effect their extrication. If a Buddhist has not made up his mind to attain *mahābodhi*, all his merits can never form the right cause of Buddhahood. Of course, such a man can never be regarded as a bodhisattva. On the contrary, if a man has made up his mind to attain *mahābodhi*, he can be called a bodhisattva even though he has not acquired any other merit. Thus, any good deed he has done will constitute nutriment for becoming a Buddha. Therefore in traversing the path of the higher grade *puruṣas*, the cultivation of the mind for *bodhi* is most important.

With regard to the order of cultivating the mind for *bodhi*, this *śāstra* treats of two sorts: one is the teaching of the seven-fold cause-and-effect, handed down from Dharmakīrti (Tib. Gser-gliṅ-pa): the other is Śāntideva's teaching of the transposition between oneself and others. The teachings of both sects regard the wish for emancipation as the basis. They further indicate that since all sentient beings are fettered by ego-attachment, drifted about by a mixture of good and bad karmas, leading to Saṃsāra, and long immersed in the sea of birth-and-death with all sorts of sufferings, we should thoroughly cultivate 'Great Compassion' (*mahākaruṇā*) for them. Impelled by this great compassion, the devotee would sacrifice all his own happiness to attain quickly the great *bodhi* in order to extricate them from the miserable sea of birth-and-death. Inspired by such spirit, he can proceed to cultivate the six pāramitās and the four *saṅgrahas* and having fully acquired the factors of both blessedness and wisdom in the period of three *asaṃkheyya kappas*, he will then realize the fruits of *mahābodhi* including the three-fold body (*tri-kāya*) and the four forms of wisdom of a Buddha, embellished with infinite merit.

(3) The pure view is also called the 'Mean or Right view' distorted neither by the 'increasing view (advocating eternal substantial existence)' nor by the 'diminishing opinion (advocating nihilism)'. All phenomena proceed or are founded through *hetu* (primary causes), and *pratyayas* (secondary causes). None of them has its own independent or unchanging character. Even Nirvāṇa is attained through the removal of the obstruction of illusion. All sentient beings, from time without beginning, have inherited the residual influence of clinging to things as real, stubbornly

clinging to the self-nature of things while there is really no such unchanging character. This is 'the clinging to the increasing opinion': it is also called 'the view that things really exist', 'the view that (personality) is permanent', etc. But all phenomena, though lacking self-substance, will decidedly come in sight and will be founded through definite primary causes and secondary causes. They are not totally non-existent. For example, the image of a man in a mirror is really unsubstantial. But, owing to the combination of such causes and conditions as the clear mirror, space, light, human body, etc., there naturally appears the image, and it functions as it should. If it is said that, since all phenomena have no self-substance and would then be entirely nonentity, so whatever we see and hear would only be illusion, this is the 'clinging to the diminishing opinion', which is also called the 'view of nihilism', the 'view of annihilation', etc. The two extreme views of personal immortality and annihilation are far from true. As they are one sided, they are called lop-sided views. The mean, right view neither holds that all phenomena really have self-substance nor denies the existence of those phenomena which, though having no self-substance and no formation of unchanging character, come into perception or are established as usual. It understands them as they are, that is they come into being through cause and conditions and therefore, have no independent self-substance and thus it does not lean to the 'side of immortality'. It also knows that, since all phenomena come into being through primary causes and secondary causes, there must be regularity of cause and effect and thus it does not lean to the 'side of annihilation'. As this right view does not lean to either side it is called 'the mean'. Only this view can put an end to the 'clinging to things as real' which is the root of all torments and births-and deaths from time without beginning. If one already has the wish of emancipation and aspiration for Enlightenment and yet has not got the pure or right view, however assiduously he may cultivate himself, he cannot put an end to any *kleśa* (pain, affliction, distress). Therefore, the pure view is most important, as the corner-stone of all sects of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

In cultivating this view to comprehend the voidness of the 'ego,' one must first use the 'four reasonings' or the 'seven signs' (*nimitta*) to observe the so-called 'ego' which, from time without beginning, has been clung to by all sentient beings. Again, to comprehend the non-individuality or unreality of things, one should use the four reasonings or the methods of refuting the 'four forms of production', etc. The four reasonings are: (1) to cognize the 'ego' to be negated; (2) to determine whether the 'ego' is identical with or different from the five aggregates (*skandhas*); (3) to cognize the irrationality of identifying the 'ego' with the five aggregates; (4) to cognize the irrationality of distinguishing the ego from the five aggregates. The seven signs are: (1) identity (the ego is identical with the five aggregates); (2) difference (the ego is different from the five aggregates); (3) that which relies on something else (the ego relies on the five aggregates); (4) that on which something relies (the five aggregates rely on the ego); (5) both existing together (the ego possesses the five aggregates); (6) conglomeration (the ego is the conglomeration of the five aggregates); (7) form (the ego is the form of combination of the five aggregates). One should cognize the irrationality of the ego-attachment from these seven angles. The four ways of producing are: self-producing, producing by others, producing by both self and others and producing without cause. (The arguments in this *śāstra* are extensively quoted from the *Mādhyamika Śāstra*, etc.) In using the 'four reasonings' to negate the so-called 'real things' stubbornly clung to, one should first cognize them and their constituent parts and then negate them with the reasonings which have been employed to negate the 'ego'. Having realised the voidness of the ego and the 'real things' which have been clung to since the time without beginning, then one should carefully think of the truth that everything arises from conditions and thereby understand that though all things have no separate and independent nature, they do reveal their orderly cause and effect as a result of their arising from conditional causation. If one still feels that the orderly cause and effect of their arising from conditional causation and their voidness of self-substance are incompatible, one has not yet properly understood the deep meaning of 'the mean' Only when one understands the cause and effect of their arising from conditional causation, can one immediately dispel one's intrinsically clinging to the 'ego' and the 'self-substance' and only when one understands the real voidness of all things can one gain the 'mean' or the right view. This right view not only negates the view of clinging to permanency by seeing into the non-existent (voidness), but also denies the view of clinging to the side of permanency by the power of seeing into the existent (being) which arises from conditional causation. It not only negates the view of clinging to annihilation, by seeing into the existent (being), but it also denies the side of annihilation, by the force of seeing into

the voidness of things lacking real nature. This is by far the special function of the mean or right view.

In this *śāstra* all the methods used before traversing the path of the middle grade *puruṣa* are methods conducive to the wish of emancipation. The path of the higher grade *puruṣa* widely treats of initiating the mind for *bodhi* and the cultivation of a bodhisattva's deeds. The chapter on *vipaśyanā* (insight) deals with the pure, right view in detail. In a word, these three essentials form the chief contents of the whole *śāstra* on the stages of the bodhi-path.

The Characteristics of this Śāstra

In this *śāstra* beginning from 'association with good, well-informed friends' up to the 'Cultivation of *vipaśyanā*,' each section invariably commences its arguments with correct reasoning, then it quotes sūtras and *śāstras* to prove them and finally cites analects of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect to develop them and finally concludes with essential ideas not mentioned by past authors. Now some of the salient points of this *śāstra* are as follows :

(1) *The method of cultivating the mind for bodhi:*—For this cultivation there are many methods: the 'four causes', 'four conditions', 'four powers', etc., as mentioned in *Yogācāra-bhūmi* are intended for those who, owing to their firm establishment in Mahāyāna, by 'seeing the Buddha', 'hearing the Dharma', 'witnessing the sufferings of living beings' or 'incurring sufferings themselves', can directly make up their mind for *bodhi*. As for the ordinary sentient beings, since they do not have the good qualities, they must go through the steps of gradual cultivation according to the Buddhist doctrine, before they can have this mental initiation. In the past, many great Masters, in order to meet the needs of circumstances and the power of assimilation of the hearers, only uttered a few words which were far from being comprehensive. This *śāstra* classifies the teachings handed down from Ven. Atiśa.

(2) *The method of cultivating calmness* (*samatha*) *and stopping lapses:*—There are two hindrances to the cultivation of calmness : high-mindedness and the mind being sunk in emptiness. High-mindedness is restlessness in pursuing lovable objectives: its characteristic is unsettled movement and therefore it is easy to be observed. The characteristic of the mind sunk in emptiness is rather obscure and as it is somewhat like samādhi, it is not easily recognized. This *śāstra* quotes the text of the *Sandhinirmocana sūtra*, to prove that low-mindedness is the cause of 'sinking in emptiness', and is not 'sinking in emptiness' itself. Again, this *śāstra* explains the difference in 'natures' between low-mindedness and sinking in emptiness. Sinking in emptiness is a state of mental slackness or inability to make clear distinctions in contemplating the objective sphere. Even if the mind is calm and clear, so long as it cannot clearly apprehend the objective, it is said to be sinking in emptiness. A man cultivating samādhi ought not only to cut short quickly the state of sinking in emptiness when it has already appeared, but also should make special efforts to guard against the mind from falling into it at the interval between its absence and its possible appearance. It is a very important contribution of this *śāstra* to make a careful analysis of the difference between the low-mindedness and 'sinking in emptiness' to enable a samādhi-cultivator to cognize the nature of the latter and thus not to go astray. As regards the methods of counteracting it, this *śāstra* quotes the *Bhāvanākrama* which says: "during the time of sinking in emptiness one should meditate on bright light or on the most delightful events as the Buddhh's merits, etc.," in order to stimulate the mind. Besides, this *śāstra* also cites the śrāvaka-bhūmi of *Yogācārabhūmi* to give a detailed account of the methods of counteracting the state of sinking in emptiness.

(3) *Ways of cultivating the contemplation of voidness :*—Cultivating contemplation is to elicit supreme wisdom and to counteract distress. Thus, the most important contemplation is to meditate on the voidness (non-ego) of dependent origination. The right method of cultivation is first of all to have the right view of 'non-ego'. Having got this view one should apply this tenet of non-ego in one's contemplation. If the contemplation gives rise to easiness, it is a success.

In Tsoṅ-kha-pa's time there were many different theories concerning the cultivation of contemplating voidness.

(4) *The establishment of worldly truth:*—As sūtras on *prajñā* and *śāstras* on the Mādhyamika all say: "All dharmas are without self-substance", so most disciples who learn the Mādhyamika are apt to lean to the side of voidness; and as a result of their lack of skill in establishing worldly truth they are apt to fall into the view of nihilism. This *śāstra* explains that though the Mādhyamika school negates the self-nature of all dharmas, yet it wants to establish the tenet of arising from conditional causation without self-substance

The Propagation of this Śāstra

At the age of forty-six (1402), after Tsoṅ-kha-pa had written the *Byaṅ-chub lam gyi rim-pa chen-mo*

(*The Amplified text of the Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi Path*) at the Rwa-sgreṅ monastery he preached it to a large assembly. At the age of fifty-nine he stayed at the Dgaḥ-ldan monastery. For the sake of benefitting people of different capacities, he omitted the quotations, the refutations and the establishments from the amplified version, summed up the essential ideas and thus wrote *Byaṅ-chub lam gyi rim-pa chuṅ-ba* (*A Summary of the Śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi Path*). Since then many of his great disciples, either in accordance with the amplified text or with the summary, freely and independently taught others and thus exercised a far-reaching, beneficial influence.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa, with the deliberate purpose of encouraging his pupils and making it easier for them to carry on their practices, again summed up the stages of the path in 45 stanzas. Since then there have been many scholars who wrote summaries in verse.

Later Masters, in propagation, transmitted the teachings of this *śāstra* with brief treatises in the form of lecture notes as well as commentaries.

The History of Translating this Śāstra into Chinese

Since the publication of this *śāstra* it was widely transmitted in Tibet, Khams, Kansu, Chinghai, Mongolia, etc., (the Buddhist regions of the Tibetan language). But for several hundred years very few Chinese Buddhists have known it. In 1926, a group of Chinese Buddhist monks went to Tibet to study Buddhism and began to study the summary of this *śāstra* from the Master Byams-pa sman-lam at Pao-ma shan K'ang-ting. In 1927 bhikṣu Ta-yung lectured on it at Kantze and the Buddhist householder Hu Chi-chan took down notes and compiled them into the *Brief course of the śāstra on the Stages of the Bodhi Path.* But the chapter on *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* was not touched upon by the Master and it was later translated by the Buddhist monk Fa–tsun to fill up the gap. In 1931, Fa-tsun learned the *Amplified Śāstra* from A-mdo-dge-bśes at Lhasa. Later, he translated it into Chinese in three years when he was at Lhasa, then at Rangoon and Ch'ung-K'ing. This work, consisting of 24 fascicles, was published in 1935.

F.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS BSGOM-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-BHĀVANĀ (1).

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI BYAMS-PA DGAḤ-LDAN GNAM-DU SKYE-BA BLAṄS-PAḤI MDO, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM*. No. 199, as occurring in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Kangyur. The Chinese title is given as *Kuang-mi-K-p'u-sa-shang-shêng-tou shuai-t'o-t'ien-ching* (*Nanjio.* No. 204 ; *Taishō,* No. 452). Although the author's name is not given, the translators are known as Pab-stoṅ and Śes-rab seṅ-ge.

I. K.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI ḤPHAGS-PA SPYAN-RAS-GZIGS DBAṄ-PHYUG LAG-PA STOṄ-DAṄ, MIG STOṄ-DAṄ-LDAN-PAḤI CHO GA SHIB-MO, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM*. No. 690, as occurring in the *Rgyud-ḥbum* (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur. This work is also mentioned in *Nanjio,* (Nos. 318, 319, 320, 1383) and in *Taishō,* (Nos. 1056, 1057, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1062(*a*), 1062(*b*), 1063, 1064).

I.K.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI LAM-GYI RIM-PA MDOR-BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-MĀRGAKRAMA-SAṄGRAHA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI NOR-BUḤI PHREN-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-MAṆYĀVALĪ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI RNAL-ḤBYOR SPYOD-PA BSHI-BRGYA-PAḤI RGYA-CHER-ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-YOGĀCĀRA-CATUḤ-ŚATAKA-ṬĪKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI RTOGS-PA BRJOD-PAḤI DPAG-BSAM-GYI ḤKHRI-ŚIRI, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVĀVADĀNA-KALPALATĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI-SAḤI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-BHŪMI-VṚTTI.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SDOM-PA GZUṄ-BAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-GRAHAṆA-VIDHI.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SDOM-PA ÑI-ŚU-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-VIMŚAKA.

BYAṄ-CHUB - SEMS - DPAḤI - SDOM - PA ÑI - ŚU - PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGRE, a translation into Tibertan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-SAṂVARA-VIṂŚAKA-PAÑJIKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAHI SKYES-PAḤI RABS-KYI CHOS-KYI GANḌI, a translation into Tibetan

from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-JĀTAKASYA DHARMA-GAṆḌĪ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SO-SOR-THAR-PA CHOS-BSHI SGRUB-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-PRĀTIMOKṢA-CATUṢKA-NIRHĀRA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA BSDUS PAḤI SGRON-MA RIN-PO-CHEḤI PHREṄ-BA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀ (SAṄGRAHA) PRADĪPARATNAMĀLĀ-NĀMĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PAḤI DON BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-PIṆḌĀRTHA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PAḤI DON SUM-CURTAS-DRUG BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-ṢAṬTRIṂSAT-PIṆḌĀRTHA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG PAḤI LEGS-PAR SBYAR-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-SAṂSKĀRA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA ḤJUG-PAḤI RNAM-PAR BŚAD-PAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-VIVṚTTIPAÑJIKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPOYD-PA-LA-ḤJUG-PAḤI-RTOGS-PAR DKAḤ-BAḤI GANS GTAN-LA-DBAB-PA-SHES-BYA-BAḤI GSHUṄ, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-DURAVABODHAPADA-NIRṆAYA-NĀMA-GRANTHA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA-LA-ḤJUG-PAḤI-ŚES-RAB-LEḤU DAṄ BSṄO-BAḤI DKAḤ-ḤGREL, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskirt text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀVATĀRA-PRAJÑĀ-PARICCHEDA-PARIṆAMAṆA-PAÑJIKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-PA MDO TS-AM GDAMS-ṄAG-JU BYAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-CARYĀ-SŪTRĪKṚTĀVAVĀDA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-YUL-GYI-THABS-KYI YUL-LA RANM-PAR-ḤPHRUL-BA BSTAN-PA SHES-BYA-BA THEG-PA CHEN-POḤI MDO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-GOCAROPĀYAVIṢAYA-VIKURVĀṆA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI SPYOD-YUL YOṄS-SU DAG-PAḤI MDOḤI DON MDOR BSDUS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-GOCARA-PARIŚUDDHI-SŪTRĀRTHA-SAṄGRAHA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI TSHUL-KHRIMS-KYI LEḤU BŚAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-ŚĪLA-PARIVARTA-BHĀṢYA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤI TSHUL-KHRIMS-KYI-LEḤUḤI RGYA-CHER ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVA-ŚĪLA-PARIVARTA-ṬĪKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤ LAS DAṄ-PO-PAḤI LAM-LA ḤJUG-PA BSTAN-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHISATTVĀDIKARMIKA-MĀRGĀVA-TĀRADEŚNĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-DPAḤ SPYAN - RAS - GZIGS DBAṄ-PHYUG PHYAG STOṄ SPYAN STOṄ-DAṄ-LDAN-PA THOGS PA MI MNAḤ-BAḤI THUGS-RJE CHEṄ-POḤI SEMS RGYA-CHER YOṄS-SU RDSOGS-PA SHES-BYA-BAḤI GZUṄS, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM.* No. 3088, as occurring in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur. This also occurs in *Nanjio.* Nos. 318, 319, 320 and in *Taishō.* Nos. 1057, 1058, 1060 as well. The author is unknown, but the translator is known as Chos-ḥgrub.

I.K.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-KYI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-VIVARAṆA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-KYI ḤGREL-PAḤI RNAM-PAR-BŚAD-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-VIVARAṆA-ṬĪKĀ.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-KYI ḤGREL-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-VIVARAṆA-NĀMA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-SEMS-KYI RLUṄ RGYU-BAḤI GDAMS-ṄAG BSGOM-PA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-VĀYUCARAṆA-BHĀVANOPĀYA-NĀMA.

BYAṄ-CHUB SPYOD-PAḤI SGRON-MA SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICARYĀ-PRADĪPA-NĀMA.

BYAṄ-CHUB-TU SEMS BSKYED-PAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTOTPĀDA-VIDHI.

BYAṄ-SEMS THIGS-PAḤI MAN-ṄAG CES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BODHICITTA-BINDŪPADEŚA-NĀMA

BYĀPĀDA. See VYĀPĀDA.

BYIN-BRLABS MI-ZAD-PAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AKṢARĀDHIṢṬHĀNA-VIDHI.

BYIN-GYIS-BRLAB-PAḤI RIM-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ADHIṢ-ṬHĀNA-KRAMA.

BYIN-GYIS BRLABS-PAḤI NAG-PO-CHEN-POḤI GSAṄ-PAḤI SGRUB-THABS SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ADHIṢṬHĀNA-MAHĀKĀLA-GUHYA-SĀD-HANA-NĀMA.

BYIN-GYIS BRLABS-PAḤI NAG-PO CHEN-POḤI SGRUB-THABS SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See ADHIṢ-ṬHĀNA-MAHĀKĀLA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA.

BYIṄS-KYI TSHOGS, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See DHĀTU-KĀYA.

BYIS-PA ḤJUG-PAḤI RTOG-GE SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BĀLĀVATĀRA-TARKA-NĀMA.

BYŌDŌ-IN, a temple founded in the eleventh century A.C. at Uji, five miles southeast of Kyoto, Japan. Originally a large compound of buildings, its chief antique relic today is the Amida-dō dedicated to Amitābha Buddha, one of the finest examples of the aristocratic art and architecture of the Fujiwara period. (See *EncyBsm.*, Vol. I, Pl. XLIII.)

The Byōdō-in was built at a time of profound religious anxiety, when it was believed that the final decline of the Buddhist Law (*mappō*) had set in. During the period of the *mappō*, it was thought that only the Lotus Sūtra (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) and the saving grace of Amitābha Buddha could bring men to Nirvāṇa. The extent to which such ideas actually motivated the temple's patrons is difficult to judge; but the name Byōdō is the translation of the Sanskrit term *sama* or *samatā*. This refers to the fundamental Mahāyāna conception of sameness or universality, according to which Buddhist compassion is extended equally to all beings; the basic principle of the cosmos is present equally in all things; each man bears Nirvāṇa within himself and is potentially a Tathāgata. He who believes with all his heart in Amitābha Buddha will be received after death into Sukhāvatī, the Western Paradise, where he will receive perfect instruction leading to final release. The Amida-dō of the Byōdō-in was considered to be a model of Amitābha's heavenly palace, and it resembles depictions of that palace in East Asian painting as early as the eighth century.

The site of the temple, along the cool and rustic banks of the Uji River, had long been favoured by the aristocracy as a refuge from the summer heat of Kyoto. In 998, Fujiwara Michinaga, the most powerful political figure of his time, restored a rural villa there. In his later years he retired there to practise Buddhist meditation and austerities. This villa was converted into a temple in 1052 by his son Yorimichi, who had then entered his sixtieth year. Yorimichi built a Hondō and commissioned the leading sculptor of Kyoto, the master Jōchō, to carve the central cult image of Mahāvairocana Buddha (Dainichi Nyorai) and two attendant statues of Śākyamuni and Bhaiṣajyaguru (Yakushi Nyorai).

In the following year, 1053, the Amida-dō was brought to completion; the installation of the main immage of Amitābha was celebrated with a lavish vegetarian feast for one hundred invited monks. Yorimichi was subjected to severe criticism for the great expense of these projects; nonetheless, during his lifetime a Hokke-dō was built and also a large Tahō pagoda with gilded images of the Gochi Nyorai. In 1066, a godai-dō (Hall of the Five Great Ones) and bell tower were added—the latter still extant—along with a two-storey monks' dwelling and a hall in honour of Vimalakīrti. A hall enshrining Fudō Myō-dō (Acala) was built in 1073.

In recent centuries the Amida-dō has been popularly called the Phoenix Hall (Hōō-dō), because of the bronze birds which ornament the roof and the bird-like shape of the ground plan. The two-sided wings and the end pavilions are small in scale and serve no practical purpose other than to create the illusion of the heavenly palace. The lake

in front was originally larger than its current size and was given the shape of the Sanskrit letter (*a*). Water completely encircled the hall by means of a small canal which still runs under the rear corridor, enhancing the symbolic role of the buildings as a place of purity removed from the mundane world. It is thought that originally the aristocracy worshipped in a small pavilion (now lost) which looked on the front of the building from across the lake: the common folk saw the hall from the far bank of the Uji river. Indeed, the intricate splendour of the interior was usually sealed from view.

The Amida-dō still retains its aesthetic coherence even though it has often been damaged and restored, especially in the roof and canopies. The dais of the main image was once inlaid with lacquer, mother-of pearl and silver; traces of the design are still visible. The ornamental canopies over the head of Amitābha are intricately carved with openwork floral motifs. Attached high on the inner wall around the Buddha image are fifty-two small wooden images of bodhisattvas, monks and music-making angels standing on clouds. The majority of these date from the Fujiwara period. The doors and walls of the main hall were painted on the inside with scenes of the nine levels of Sukhāvatī in the midst of which Amitābha and his bodhisattvas are shown descending to receive the dying. These have been attributed to Takuma Tamenari, head of a well-known painting workshop active at this time. The paintings are too poorly preserved to confirm or deny this attribution; but the extant fragments of landscape scenes are done in the native Japanese Yamato-e style, which is thought to have flourished in court circles at this time.

Dominating the interior of the hall is the large statue of Amitābha, one of the masterpieces of its age (See *EncyBsm.* Vol. I, Pl. XLIII). It, too, was carved by Jōchō and was the last major product of his workshop before he died in 1056, three years after it was installed. Its great size was made possible by the use of the so-called *yosegi* (assembled wood-block) technique; but despite its scale, the statue has an abstracted, refined, even withdrawn quality which is felt to be a distinctly Japanese interpretation of the Buddha image. Its nine-level lotus pedestal is from the workshop of Jōchō, as is the halo with thirteen small bodhisattvas carved in a delicate tracery of clouds and drapery. In the halo over the head of Amitābha is a small image of Dainichi Nyorai, which is technically the *honzon* of the temple, since the original statue of this deity in the Hondō was lost in fire. When the Amitābha statue was repaired in the Meiji period, in its hollow stomach was found a small, brightly painted lotus pedestal on which was written a dhāraṇī formula in Sanskrit. This object is thought to date back to the time of the image's dedication.

The temple's original affiliation was with the Tendai sect (the Jimon branch), and it was administered by the aristocratic Enman-in, a sub-temple of Onjo-ji in Otsu. The first resident monk was Myōson from the Enman-in. As an example of the role the Byōdō-in played in the religious life of the Fujiwara period, the Fusō-ryaki (October 4, 1068) describes a ceremonial visit of the emperor Goreizei. Crossing the Uji river-bridge to the accompaniment of musicians in flower-laden boats, he came to worship the Amida-dō. As in mediaeval paintings of Buddhist paradises, before him on the lake were rafts holding tents of gilt brocade; boats floated by with prows in the shape of dragons and fabulous sea-birds, as sūtras were recited. The emperor spent the night at the temple; poems were offered to him; after his return, he added to the temple's rich endowment of land.

In the Kamakura period, a Kannon-dō was built to enshrine a Fujiwara period statue of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, both hall and image are still extant. The position of this hall may have been that of the original Hondō built by Yorimichi. To the rear of the Amida-dō are dwelling quarters in the Shōin style, one of which, the Yōrin-an is said to have been brought from Hideyoshi's castle at nearby Fushimi.

The Byōdō-in is jointly administered by both Tendai and Jōdō sects, but the Amida-dō no longer serves in the performance of regular Buddhist ceremonies.

J.M.R.

BZAṄ-PO SPYOD-PAḤI SMON-LAM-GYI ḤGREL-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-ṬĪKĀ.

BZAṄ-PO SPYOD-PAḤI SMON-LAM-GYI RGYAL-PO, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-RĀJA.

BZAṄ-PO SPYOD-PAḤI SMON-LAM-GYI RGYAL-PO CHEN-POḤI BŚAD-SBYAR, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHADRACARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-MAHĀRĀJANIBANDHANA.

BZAṄ-PO SPYOD-PAḤI SMON-LAM-GYI RGYAL-POḤI RGYAL-CHER ḤGREL-PA, a translation intc

Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHADRA-CARYĀ-PRAṆIDHĀNA-RĀJA-ṬĪKĀ.

BZAṄ-SPYOD-KYI ḤGREL-PA BSHIḤI DON BSDUS-NAS BRJED-BYAṄ-DU BYAS-PA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See BHADRACARYĀ- CATUṢṬĪKĀ- PIṆḌĀRTHĀ-BHISMARAṆA.

BZLAS-PAḤI PHREṄ-BAḤI MTSHAN - ÑID, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See AKṢASŪTRALAKṢAṆA.

BZLOG-PAḤI ḤKHOR-LO SHES-BYA-BA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NIVARTANA-CAKRA-NĀMA.

BZLOG-PAḤI THABS, a Tibetan text referred to in *TM*. No. 3088, as occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. The text does not appear in the *TT*. collection. The author and the translator are unknown.

BZLOG-PAḤI ZOR-BYA-BAḤI CHO-GA, a translation into Tibetan from the Sanskrit text. See NĪVARAṆA-LAVĀKA-VIDHI.

CA, in its mystic sense, is significant as a phonetical sound and as a symbolical character as well. By chanting the phonetic *ca* or by meditating on the symbol *ca*, one would obtain in relation to its mystic sense that miraculous power which in the scriptures has been called *siddhi* (Pali : *iddhi*) ; one would thereby become a superhuman being in factual life or attain a supramundane stage in real life. As is true of many other sounds, the force *ca*, too, existed before meanings were interpreted into it. Thus, from the very early days of Buddhism, *ca* occurred in mantra and dhāraṇī as well as in *siddham*, the script of India on which all Indian scripts are based.

In Tantrism, more correctly in Mantrayāna, it is believed that by visualizing *ca*, one can evoke the gods whose *bījākṣara* is *ca*, namely, Ketu in the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* and Sahacittotpādadharmacakra of *Ākāśagarbha-cakra*, also Cakravajradhara of *Vajrapāṇi-cakra* in the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*. '*Caṃ*' is the *bījākṣara* of Jayoṣṇīṣa of *Śākyamuni-cakra* in the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham*, Sarasvati Vihara Series, Vol. 36, Nagpur, 1956).

In Mahāyāna scriptures, *ca* is interpreted as *caryā*, *cyuti* and *caturāryasatya*, being the first letter of these terms. Thus, in *Yoga-vajraśekhara-sūtra-akṣaramātrika-vyākhyā-varga* (a text that gives a certain meaning to each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Chinese : *Yu-chieh-chin-kang-ting-ching-shih-tzŭ-mu-p'in*, *Taishō*, Vol. 18, No. 880) *ca* is to be understood as transcending all practices (*caryā*) and all transience (*cyuti*) as well. And, when one hears this letter *ca*, as stated in *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(sūtra-) śāstra* (a commentary by Nāgārjuna on some of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts : Chinese : *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, *Taishō*, Vol. 25, No. 1509), at that moment, one realizes that all practices are non-practices ; and when one visualizes this letter *ca*, as stated in *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra* (Chinese : *Ta-pi-lu-chê-na-ch'ang-fo-ching-chu*, *Taishō*, Vol. 39, No. 1976) one realizes that all practices are transient and non-permanent. In other words, the letter *ca* makes one realize that all actions are factual and not real.

According to *Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā Sūtra* (Chinese *Wên-shu-shih-li-wang-ching*, *Taishō*, Vol. 14, No. 468), the letter *ca* is the symbol of the Four Noble Truths (*caturāryasatya*).

S. H.

CABURAMUKTIKARAṆAṂ UPĀYAṂ, the title of a text extant in its Tibetan translation, as quoted in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (*TT*. Vol. 69, No. 3255). See AṢṬA-BHAYA-MŪḌHA-KARAṆOPĀYA-NĀMA.

CADENCE, rhythmical movement on its downward trend or way out ; the final phase of a mental movement (*cittakkhaṇa*) in the process of a thought. See CITTA.

CĀGA, generosity, liberality, an ethical quality stimulated by one of the radical moral urges of the human mind (*kusala-mūla*), namely, non-greed (*alobha*). *Cāga* is not a mental force (*saṅkhāra*) listed in the texts, but is connected with a wholesome force (*kusala-saṅkhāra*), i.e., non-greed. Its opposite quality is avarice (*macchariya* or *macchera*), an uhwholesome force (*akusala-saṅkhāra*) the characteristic of which is ' holding on to one's own possessions ', i.e., being averse to share one's own possessions with others, a mental corruption (*Vism*. p. 398). Thus, *cāga* is a morally good quality which makes one well disposed towards giving away one's possessions to others, or sharing them with others.

Cāga, in its practical application, refers to constant practice of giving and sharing. When there is anyone to receive, one practising generosity does not, for example, eat even a mouthful without having made a gift. He gives according to his means and his ability (*Vism*. p. 184).

In answer to a question by Mahānāma, the Sākyan, the Buddha explains the nature of the person who practises generosity (*cāgasampanna*) as follows : ' He is one whose mind is free from the taint of

avarice (*macchera-mala*), who is freely generous, open-handed and pure-handed, who delights in relinquishing and expects to be besought, i.e., always looks for opportunities to give (*S.* V, p. 395).

Avarice (*macchariya*) is one of the dark states that destroys the natural transparency of the mind (*A.* I, p. 10); avarice is rooted in greed (*lobha*); and, to be freed from it also amounts to being released from greed to some extent (*Vism.* p. 184).

There is something more. The giver must also be benevolent towards the recipient. Without benevolence no one can be liberal or generous. As benevolence is the opposite of hatred (*dosa*), another basic passion (*kilesa*) that defiles the human mind, the presence of the former means the absence of the latter.

The practice of generosity, therefore, eliminates greed (*lobha*) as well as hatred (*dosa*), while promoting their opposite good qualities, i.e., greedlessness (*alobha*) and hatelessness (*adosa* : *Vism.* p. 184).

Very often we find *cāga* mentioned in the texts in association with several other good qualities. It occurs, for instance, together with faith (*saddhā*) in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*S.* V, pp. 351, 391). Another list of good qualities in which *cāga* is mentioned is found in the same text. This list includes truthfulness (*sacca*), restraint (*dama*) and steadfastness (*dhiti*), besides *cāga* (*S.* I, p. 215; *Sn.* *v.* 188). Sometimes, forbearance (*khanti*) is given in place of *dhiti* (*Sn.* *v.* 187). The well known list in which *cāga* occurs consists of four qualities, besides *cāga*, namely, faith (*saddhā*), morality (*sīla*), learning (*suta*) and wisdom (*paññā* : *S.* I. p. 231 f.; IV. p. 250; V. pp. 369–70; *A.* III, pp. 44, 80).

As a moral quality, *cāga* is very often commended by the Buddha. It is sometimes described as a flood of merit and good things that brings happiness (*S.* V, p. 391f.). Sometimes it is described as a treasure (*dhana* : *D.* III, pp. 163, 251; *A.* III, p. 53; IV, 5; and *sampadā*, *A.* I, p. 62; II, p. 66; III, p. 53; IV, p. 221 etc.). With reference to bestowing of food, the Buddha says that it is like giving life; he who gives life shall have either divine life or human life after death (*A.* III, p. 42). A giver is loved and resorted to by many (*A.* III, p. 40); he is ever loved according to the rule of good men (*A.* III, p. 41).

The importance of *cāga* is explained in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* as follows: 'it is a practice greatly beneficial to the giver himself, he be a recluse or a layman. There are two persons, it says, with *saddhā*, *sīla* and *paññā* in equal proportions: one who has practised generosity; the other who has not. The former excels the latter in longevity (*āyu*), in beauty (*vaṇṇa*), comfort (*sukha*), fame (*yasa*), and lordship (*ādhipateyya*) wherever he is reborn, inspite of the fact that both possess the other three qualities in equal proportions. This difference persists until the attainment of arahantship (*A.* III, p. 34). Other good results accruing from *cāga* include a favourable state of existence after death; those who have practised it do not grieve after death (*Sn.* *v.* 188); they are very often reborn in heaven (*S.* 1, p. 231).

Accompanied by *saddhā*, *sīla*, *suta* and *paññā*, *cāga* becomes a quality which elevates its possessor to a higher spiritual level (*S.* V, pp. 369–70). Even the first fruition (*sotāpatti-phala*) is assured to those who practise generosity and develop faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*S.* V, p. 351).

Compared to *dāna*, giving, *cāga* looks more fundamental and psychological, than the former. To be devoted to the bestowing of alms to the poor (*dānasaṃvibhāgarato*) is one among the many aspects of *cāga* (*S.* V, p. 395; *A.* III, p. 287; *Vism.* p. 184). See further DĀNA.

Mention may be made of the fact that the word *cāga* is also used in its developed sense of giving up, abandoning, renunciation of everything mundane that a man possesses, material, emotional and psychological. It includes the elimination of latent egotism (*ahaṃkāra-mamiṃkāra-mānānusaya* : *M.* I, p. 486), of craving (*taṇhā* : *Vin.* I, p. 10; *S.* III, pp. 26, 158), of desire (*chanda*), lust (*rāga*), lure (*nandi*) and latent dogmatic bias (*adhiṭṭhānābhinivesānusaya*) towards the five aggregates (*S.* III, p. 13). In this context, the terms extinction (*nirodha*), relinquishing (*paṭinissagga*), release (*mutti*), absence of longing (*anālaya*), destruction (*khaya*) and detachment (*virāga*) are employed as equivalents of *cāga* (loc. cit.).

Cāga also constitutes a subject for meditation. See CĀGĀNUSSATI.

U. K.

CĀGĀNUSSATI (Skt. *tyāgānusmṛti*), recollection (*anussati*) of one's own generosity (*cāga*), the fifth of the six (or ten) 'recollections' that promote one's spiritual progress (*D.* III, pp. 250, 280; *A.* I, pp. 30, 42; III, pp. 284, 313, 452; V. p. 331; *Ps.* I, pp. 28, 48, 95; *Vism.* pp. 89, 162, 184; *Dhsmg.* p. 11; *BB.* XIII, p. 18; *ŚsP* p. 60; *Lal.* p. 23).

Recollection of generosity is the recollection arisen inspired by generosity (*Vism.* p. 162). Buddhagosa explains the method by which the

recollection of generosity is developed. One who wants to develop it should be naturally devoted to generosity and the constant practice of giving and sharing. Or, alternatively, if he is one who is starting its development, he should make the resolution: From now on when there is anyone present to receive, I shall not eat even a single mouthful without having made a gift. And that very day he should make a gift by sharing according to his means and his ability with those who have distinguished qualities. When he has apprehended the sign in that, he should go into solitary retreat and recollect his own generosity in its special qualities of being free from the stain of avarice, etc., (*Vism.* p. 184) as follows: It is gain for me; it is great gain for me that, in a generation obsessed by the stain of avarice, I abide with my heart free from stain by avarice, and am freely generous and open-handed, that I delight in relinquishing, expect to be asked, and rejoice in giving and sharing (*A.* III, p. 313; V, p. 331).

"As long as he recollects his own generosity in its special qualities of freedom from stain by avarice, etc., in this way, then on that occasion his mind is not obsessed by greed or by hate or by delusion; his mind has rectitude on that occasion, being inspired by generosity" (*A.* III, p. 313; V, p. 331).

When he has thus suppressed the hindrances, the *jhāna* factors arise in a single conscious moment. But owing to the profundity of the generosity's special qualities, or owing to his being occupied in recollecting the generosity's special qualities of many sorts, the state of meditation is only access-concentration (*upacāra-samādhi*) and does not reach full absorption (*jhāna*). And that access-concentration itself is known as recollection of generosity, too, because it arises with the generosity's special qualities as the means.

And when a monk is devoted to this recollection of generosity he becomes ever more intent on generosity; his preference is for non-greed; he acts in conformity with amity, he is fearless. He has much happiness and gladness. And if he penetrates no higher, he is at least headed for a happy destiny (*Vism.* pp. 184–5).

U.K.

CAIRN, a heap of stones raised as a monument over a grave, or to indicate an object or place of veneration. See CETIYA and STŪPA.

CAITASIKA. See CETASIKA.

CAITIKA, name of a king who uttered a lie and suffered its evil consequences.

The story given of him in the ***Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu*** says that Caitika's **chaplain** (***purohita***) had two sons; the elder son renounced the world and the younger one succeeded his father. Later on, when the elder brother, the ascetic, visited his home-town, the younger brother, out of fear that he would lose his post when his elder brother was there, persuaded the king to declare in public that the ascetic is the younger and the chaplain is the elder, thereby asserting the latter's right to the post. In consequence of the lie he uttered, Caitika was born in Avīci hell (*GM.* III, iv, pp. 245 ff.).

Probably he may be identified with the king Apacara, also called Cetiya, who uttered the first lie in the world. See APACARA.

U.K.

CAITYA, shrine. See CETIYA.

CAITYAPRADAKṢIṆĀ-GĀTHĀ, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the *Mdo-sna-tshogs* (sūtra miscellaneous works) section of the Tibetan Kangyur under the title *Mchod-rten bskor-baḥi tshigs-su bcad-pa*. The author and the translator of this work are unknown (*TT.* Vol. 39, No. 987; *TM.* No. 321).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to the Triple Gem.

Śāriputra is said to have requested the Buddha to explain to him the method of circumambulating a caitya (pagoda). The latter instructed him about the way it should be done. The Buddha has proclaimed that a cetiya should also be venerated by gods, demons, evil-spirits, gāndharvas, asuras and others. It is mentioned that those who circumambulate a caitya would be freed from the eight states of perpetual uneasiness, namely: those in the hells (Skt. *naraka*; Tib. *Sems-can-dmyal-ba*) animals other than human beings (Skt. *tiryak*; Tib. *duṅ-ḥgro*); the ghosts (Skt. *preta*; Tib. *yi-dwags*); the long-lived devas (Skt. *dīrghajīvadeva*; Tib. *hla-tshe riṅ-po*); men living in the outskirts of towns and cities (Skt. *pratyantajanapada*; Tib. *mthaḥ-ḥkhob-mi*); those that are defective or wanting in the organs of sense (Skt. *indriyavaikalpa*; Tib. *dbaṅ-po mtshaṅ-ba*); and those holding false doctrines (Skt. *mithyādarśin*; Tib. *log-pa lta-ba*).

The text consists of thirty-eight verses, of which some are of eight lines, some of four and some others of two. Each verse describes various benefits that one would obtain by circumambulating a cetiya. Thus, it is said that whosoever circumam-

bulates a cetiya would have a pleasant face, beautiful complexion, learning, happiness, wealth, wisdom, etc.

I.K.

CAITYASĀDHANA-VIDHI, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, the *Mchod-rten sgrub-paḥi cho-ga* of Shi-baḥi sñiṅ-po (Śāntigarbha), occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 77, No. 3476; *TM.* No. 2652).

The author begins the text with a salutation addressed to Mañjuśrī. The text describes the procedure of worship of a cetiya. The worshipper is enjoined to acquire the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), before worshipping the caitya. Thereafter he is asked to offer to the cetiya scented water, saffron and sandalwood. Having scattered the flowers everywhere he is asked to paint the cetiya with gold and silver. Further, the worshipper is asked to hoist the banners and, while holding an umbrella over the cetiya, he is also instructed to cover it with a canopy. It is also mentioned that the cetiya should be well decorated with various ornaments. While worshipping the cetiya the worshipper is expected to contemplate on all the bodhisattvas and on the doctrine of cause and effect (Skt. *hetuphala*; Tib. *rgyu-ḥbras-bu*).

Some of the mantras which are to be chanted while worshipping the cetiya are cited in the text: *Oṃ vajra sūtra samaya phaṭ; Oṃ vajrakīlikāliya sarva-phaṭ; Oṃ amṛte hūṃ phaṭ; Oṃ vajra pramadanāya svāhā: Oṃ sūkṣma sūkṣma sūkṣma anugate; Oṃ vajrodbhavāya svāhā; Oṃ vajradhātu garbha svāhā; Oṃ dharmadhātu svāhā; Oṃ sarvatathāgata dharmakāya mahāsukha surata samaya svāhāṃ: Oṃ sarva tathāgata sambhogakāya samaya svāhaṃ; Oṃ sarvatathāgata nirmāṇakāya samaya svāhaṃ; Oṃ dharmāratesvāhā.*

In the latter part of the text the author declares that a person who venerates a cetiya would be able to put an end to all suffering and overcome the cycle of birth and death.

I.K.

CAITYASĀDHANAVIDHIKRAMA, the title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TM.* No. 3104). In the Tibetan Tripiṭaka this occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra-commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 3925). The Tibetan title is given as *Mchod-rten sgrub-paḥi cho-gaḥi rim-pa shes-bya-ba.* The work is attributed to Candragomin and the translator is known as Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsa-ba.

First of all the author addresses his salutation to Śākya-thub-pa (Śākyamuni) and then gives a description of the method of erecting a pagoda which, he says, should be done at daybreak, having obtained permission from the God of Earth (Tib. *sa-yi bdag-po*). According to the author's opinion the erection of a pagoda should be done for the benefit of others.

I. K.

CAITYASĀDHANAVIDHI-PIṆḌITA, the reconstructed title of a work, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Mchod-rten-gyi sgrub-paḥi cho-ga mdor-bsdus-pa* (*TM.* No. 2605; *TT.* Vol. 75, No. 3432). The authorship of the work is attributed to Avadhūti, and the translator is unknown. There are no corresponding Chinese or Mongolian titles.

The author addresses his first salutation to Mañjuśrī.

The text is very short and contains stanzas used for venerating a cetiya which is described as a symbol of wisdom. The dhāraṇī '*Oṃ vajra tīkṣaṇaḥ hūḥ . . . prajñā jñāna mūrti ye jñāna kāya vāgīsvara arapacaniya*' occurs at the end of the text.

I. K.

CAITYAŚAILA, name of a school of early Buddhism, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghika. See CAITYIKA.

CAITYASIDDHIVIDHIPIṆḌIKṚTA, a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *Mchod-rten bsgrub-paḥi cho-ga mdor bsdus-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2790; *TM.* No. 1927). The authorship of this work is attributed to Lalitavajra and the translator is known as Ḥgos Hi Lhas-btsas. The work, which begins with a salutation addressed to Yama, the destroyer (Tib. Gśin-rje gśed), gives a concise description of performing the worship of a cetiya.

According to the author this ceremony has to be performed in a cemetery. Instructions as to how the worshipper should get ready, after a bath etc., to perform the ceremony are stated. Incantations to be chanted in the course of the performance of the ceremony are interspersed in the text. These appear to be quotations from the original Sanskrit work. The following example may be given: *Oṃ hrīḥ śrī vikritān na hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ ābrite kuru svāhā; sarva pāpa śānti kuru yo kuru svāhā.* It is mentioned that by chanting

these incantations one's evil traits would be dispelled and that one would begin to prosper.

I.K.

CAITYIKA, (var. Caityakīya, Caitīya, Caitika, Cetiyavāda) name of a school of early Buddhism, an offshoot from the Mahāsaṅghika, according to Bhavya, parallel to the Pūrvaśaila (Pali: Pubbaseliya) and the Avaraśaila (Pali: Aparaseliya). It is also referred to as Caityaśaila. Vasumitra ranks them as parallel offshoots with the Uttaracetiya and the Aparacetiya. The Sammatīya tradition makes them a branch of the Gokulika.

All these 'Cliff-men' (*śailiya*) belong to the Andhakas, who have been located about Kāñcipura and Amarāvatī not far from the south-east coast of India.

The date of their origin cannot be fixed precisely, although the north-western tradition places them towards the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha, i.e., about 280 B.C. According to Paramārtha, a certain Mahādeva—not the one whose five propositions on arahantship were rejected by Sthaviravādins at the council of Pāṭaliputta—was the cause of some doubts about the validity of ordination. He was banned and expelled from the Ganges valley, and withdrew with his disciples to the mountains. There he founded the great cultural centre of Buddhism in Andhra.

The commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*, however, does not establish any connection between the Andhakas and the Cetiyavādins.

Vasumitra relates the origin of the School as follows: Towards the end of the second century a certain heretic gave up home-life, renounced his heretical views and submitted himself to the rules of discipline. His name was Mahādeva. He received full ordination among the Mahāsaṅghikas, was learned and zealous in his religious practices, while residing on the 'Temple-mountain' (*Caitya-śilā*). Together with that community he examined afresh the five propositions (of the earlier Mahādeva) which led to controversies and a split into three sects: Caityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila. This tradition is followed by the Sammatīyas, as reported by Bhavya.

According to Paramārtha, the controversy appears to have centred on the validity of ordination. If the teacher violates the precepts, how can his pupil be virtuous? This would have resulted in a fivefold split, aggravated by the fact that some self-ordained heretics had infiltrated into the community. Rejected by all and excommunicated by the Mahāsaṅghikas, the new Mahādeva retired with his disciples to the mountains, where they divided themselves into two groups, occupying different cliffs, the Caityaśaila and the Uttaraśaila.

K'uei-chi (Ki) speaks of a king of Magadha named Sumegha (Hao Yun), otherwise unknown, under whose reign some heretics joined the Order without ordination. They seriously impaired the purity of the teaching of the Buddha by putting their erudition to the wrong purpose. Their leader was called Mahādeva, and he resided in a mountain temple. He is said to have re-opened the controversy regarding the five propositions of the earlier Mahādeva, which resulted in the origination of three other sects.

This story of a second Mahādeva causing a new split with his controversy over the five propositions of the earlier Mahādeva, seems to be entirely due to a confusion of the two schisms. Moreover, the information of Paramārtha, according to whom the controversy was centred on 'virtue' (*śīla*), appears to be based on a mis-spelling of the word *śilā* (rock) in the interpretation of the names Pūrvaśaila and Uttaraśaila.

A fragmentary stone inscription in Prakrit of the time of Rāja Vasiṭhiputa-sāmi Siri Pulumāvi, (i.e., of the first half of the second century A.C.) at Amarāvatī records a gift of a Wheel of the Law at the western gate to the Mahācetiya by the householders Kahūtara and Isila and wife, as the special property of the school (*nikāya*) of the Caityakīyas (*EI.* X, 1912, No. 1248). This school, therefore, would have been one of the earliest branches of the Mahāsaṅghika in the south, even though Buddhaghosa does not mention them among the Andhaka schools.

It could be inferred, therefore, that this school was responsible for the spread of Buddhism in those districts and that it was this school which founded the important centre of Buddhist culture there, known to us through archaeological and epigraphical discoveries.

It would also appear that the other schools, Andhaka, Aparaśaila, Pūrvaśaila (or Uttaraśaila), Rājagirika and Siddhārthika, were offshoots at different times of the Caitiya school.

One would also be justified in drawing conclusions about their connection with the Bahuśrutīyas, whose presence in that region is equally attested by epigraphical records, and in tracing their origin to this latter school, or at

least to the Gokulika school, according to the tradition of the Sammatīyas.

Nothing is known about their specific literature but if they formed the mother school of the various branches discussed in the *Kathāvatthu*, it is probable that they subscribed at least to the majority of the 72 theses attributed to the branches by Buddhaghosa. It is only Vasumitra who, without distinguishing them from the Aparaśaila and the Uttaraśaila, gives a few details of their doctrine.

(1) A bodhisattva is not exempt from rebirth in an evil destiny (*durgati*). It is, however, not quite clear in which way this view differs from that of the Theravādins according to whom the bodhisattva was born sometimes in the animal world, as a lion, a snake, etc., unless the entire range of infra-human births, not excluding rebirth in purgatory and hell, was indicated by the Andhakas (*Kvu*. xxiii, 3).

(2) The act of making an offering to a stūpa does not produce much merit.

(3) The five propositions of Mahādeva (q.v.).

A. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit Véhicule*. Saigon, 1955 ; P. Demiéville, *L'Origine des Sectes bouddhiques d'après Paramārtha*, Bruxelles, 1932.

CAKKA, meaning circle or wheel, is an important term occurring in Pali Buddhist literature, both in the literal as well as in the figurative sense. The term is frequently used in phrases such as *Dhamma-cakka* (Wheel of Law), *bhava-cakka* (Wheel of Existence), *brahma-cakka* (lit. Wheel of Brahma) etc. Its usage is very similar to that found in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. See CAKRA.

S. K. N.

CAKKADAHA, the lake from which the *cakka-ratana*, the wheel treasure of the Universal Monarch appears (*J*. IV, p. 232).

CAKKANA, name of a lay-devotee (*upāsaka*) in Ceylon, mentioned in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (*SA*. II, p. 150), the *Papañcasūdanī* (*MA*, I, p. 203) and the *Atthasālinī* (*DhsA*. p. 103). He is noted in connection with a story of his boyhood, which, but for slight variations, runs as follows : Cakkana's mother being ill, the physicians recommend hare's flesh as the only medicine which could save her. Cakkana is sent out by his brother to capture a hare. Having caught one, the boy is moved to compassion by the innocence and harmlessness of the little creature who was to lose his life to save his mother's. In this crisis of conscience, Cakkana chooses to let the hare go. But on his return, his brother chastises him. This is given as an illustration of an act of *sampatti-virati*, abstinence from opportunity, a renunciation of a chance for the sake of doing the right thing, and suggests an important Buddhist ethical concept.

The rest of the story seems to be less interesting and goes on to say that Cakkana saved his mother's life by an act of truth (*saccakiriya*).

B.J.

CAKKĀNUVATTANA SUTTA, title of the first two suttas of the *Rājavagga* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (A. III, pp. 147-9). This sutta compares and contrasts the career of a world-ruler (*rājā cakkavattī*) with that of the Buddha. Both persons hold suzerainty righteously (*dhammena cakkaṃ pavatteti*). In his commentary to the sutta (*AA*. III, p. 283 f.) Buddhaghosa explains the term *dhammena* as 'by means of the ten wholesome actions' (*dasakusala-dhammena*). Although he does not enumerate what these ten are, he apparently means the well-known group of ten wholesome actions (*kusalakammapatha*) which are the three bodily actions of avoidance of killing, stealing and unlawful intercourse with persons of the other sex ; the four verbal actions of true, conciliatory, mild and wise speech and the three mental actions of unselfishness, goodwill and right views (Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary*, p. 69 ; cp. *A*.I. p. 110). Both the king and the Buddha wield their authority without violating these ten virtues. Their authority is inviolable (*appaṭivattiya*) and this inviolability of their sway is due to the possession of five characteristics. Five Pali words are commonly used (but with different meanings) both in the case of the king and the Buddha to describe these qualities. This shows that these terms convey different concepts in the two contexts. The five descriptives are *atthaññu*, *dhammaññu*, *mattaññu*, *kālaññu* and *parisaññu*.

These words describing the rule of the king and the Buddha are quite meaningful, regarding not only the concept of kingship in ancient India but also the purely Buddhist concept of kingship. The term *atthaññu*, when applied to the king, could easily mean that he knows what conduces to the welfare (*attha*) of his subjects. However, Buddhagosa, in his commentary (*AA*. III, p. 283 f.) merely comments "he knows the reason" (*hetuṃ jānāti*). What he meant by the term *hetu* here is far from clear. However, it seems justifiable in this context to take the term *attha* to mean 'welfare' as explained above. In his explanation of *atthaññū*, when applied to the Tathāgata, Buddhaghosa comments " he knows the five *atthas*" (*pañca atthe jānāti*). But here, too, he does not say what these five are. However, in his *Visuddhimagga* (xiv, 22) Buddhagosa gives a

five-fold division of *uttha* as anything conditionally produced (*yaṃ kiñci paccayasambhūtaṃ*), Nibbāna, the meaning of what is spoken (*bhāsitattha*), kamma-result (*vipāka*), and functional consciousness (*kiriyā*).

Buddhaghosa explains the term *dhammaññu,* when applied to the king, as 'he knows the traditional observances' (*paveṇidhammaṃ jānāti*). This way an indispensable qualification for an ideal king for the efficiency of his judicial functions depended on this knowledge. The unwritten traditional laws served as his legal code. The term's application in relation to the Buddha is explained as 'he knows the four dhammas' (*cattāro dhamme jānāti*). Here, too, what is meant by this four-fold division of the Dhamma is not clear. One may surmise that it means the Four Noble Truths.

The third term, *mattaññu* when applied to the king is explained as 'he knows the limit in punishments and impositions' (*daṇḍe vā balimhi vā pamāṇaṃ jānāti*), which, obviously, is a necessary qualification of a good king. The Buddha is *mattaññu* in a different way, in that he knows the measure in accepting and using the four monastic requisites (*catupaccaya*). He does not accept anything more than what is barely necessary for him.

Buddhaghosa says that the king is *kālaññu* because he knows the proper time for pleasure, for official work and for touring the country (*rajjasukhānubhava, vinicchaya, janapadacārikā.*). The Tathāgata is *kālaññu* because he knows the correct time for rest (*paṭisallāna*), for meditation (*samāpatti*), for preaching (*dhammadesanā*) and for missionary work (*janapadacārikā*).

The term *parisaññu,* when applied to both the king and the Buddha means, according to Buddhaghosa, that they know whether a particular assembly is composed of any of the four castes (*khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa* or *sudda*) or of the monks. This might mean that the knowledge about the composition of an assembly (i.e., his subjects) on this basis would help the king in treating them accordingly and would help the Buddha in preaching accordingly. In other words the king has a good knowledge of his subjects while the Buddha knows the psychology of his audience.

It would be interesting as well as useful to note the distinctions observed between the two concepts of kingship and Buddhahood. It is noticeable that the two concepts penetrate into each other. The king is made a moralist and the Buddha is made a king. In this two-way process, however, a distinction had to be made and is preserved, for, whereas the king's rule is temporal, the Buddha remains a spiritual ruler. This is singularly significant because it is clearly seen how the temporal rule of the king is sublimated to the spiritual rule of the Tathāgata. The latter, which is incomparable (*anuttara*), far transcends the former. Accordingly, whereas the king's rule cannot be reversed by any human being (*manussabhūtena pāṇinā*), the Buddha's rule cannot be reversed, not only by a human being but even by a god, Māra, Brahmā or anyone. The Buddha's rule is unique (*anuttara*) and it is the most excellent (*seṭṭhacakka*), says the commentary. The king remains a human being or even a god, whereas the Buddha is above both gods and men. However, the important fact remains that this concept of kingship is made so Buddhistic that the king becomes an ideal moralist rather than a practical administrator.

In the sutta that follows is also found the same theme applying the comparision to the eldest son of a cakkavatti king and to Sāriputta, who is called the General of the Dhamma (*dhammasenāpati*).

Finally, it may be mentioned here that this comparison of the careers of the cakkavatti and of the Buddha is directly connected with the Buddhist concept of the Great Man (*mahāpurisa*) who becomes a Buddha if he renounces the world but becomes a world-ruler if he decides otherwise.

A.G.S.K.

CAKKARATANA (Skt. *cakraratna*), the Treasure of the Wheel, the first of the seven treasures of a world-ruler (*cakkavattirāja*). See RATANA.

CAKKA SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Cakkavagga* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* II, p. 32), which enumerates four means of success, i.e., dwelling in a suitable locality (*paṭirūpadesavāsa*), association with the good (*sappurisūpassaya*), perfect self-adjustment (*attasammāpaṇidhi*) and accumulation of merit in the past (*pubbe katapuññatā*). These same are given as the four most helpful things (*bahukārā dhammā*) at *D.* III, p. 276. The *Mahāmaṅgala sutta* includes them in its enumeration of boons (*Sn. vv.* 259–60).

The *Cakka sutta,* together with the *Dīgha-nikāya* reference given above, calls these the 'four wheels' (*cattāri cakkāni*). In this particular context the term *cakka* conveys the sense of the means or the vehicle of success, which sense is meant by Buddhaghosa when he explains it by the term *sampatti* (*Dialogues of the Buddha,* III, p. 254, n. 1).

It is said that for all those gods and men who are endowed with these four qualities, there rolls on a four-wheeled prosperity (*catucakka*)

and in no long time they attain greatness and increase in prosperity (*bhoga*). Thus, this is a metaphor rather than a simile, for these four things are themselves collectively called the four-wheeled prosperity or the lucky tetrad (*catucakka*). This implies the necessity of the presence of all the four together, simultaneously.

Buddhaghosa, in the *Atthasālinī* (*Expositor*, *PTS*., 1958, I, p. 77), says that although four wheels have been declared, they should be regarded as one moment in the sense that all these four are the indispensable pre-requisites and therefore provide the occasion for the production of merit. This also explains the metaphorical use of the term *catucakka*.

A.G.S.K.

CAKKA VAGGA of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. II, pp. 32 ff.) contains ten suttas: Cakka (wheel), Saṅgaha (sympathy), Sīha (lion), Pasāda (faith), Vassakāra, Loka (world), Aparihāniya (incapable of falling away), Paṭilīna (withdrawn), Ujjaya and Udāyi. Each sutta usually mentions four things that would lead to the well-being of mankind. The chapter is named after its first sutta.

H.R.P.

CAKKAVĀKA JĀTAKA, (*J*. IV, p. 70), a birth-story of the bodhisatta as a ruddy goose (*cakkavāka*, *anas casarca*). It relates his encounter with a greedy crow whom he admonishes. A crow, dis-content with feeding on corpses of elephants, leaves Bārāṇasī for the forest, where, spotting a pair of ruddy geese on the bank of the Ganges, he is struck by the beauty of their bodies. He asks them how they obtained their fine colour and such beauty of form, supposing that it was the good result of the food they took. The goose replies that it was not the food he took, nor the richness of it that gave him such a fine colour, but the righteousness they practised and the purity of their hearts. The goose then advises the crow to give up his evil ways, a statement in which is the implied assumption that the black of the crow is due to his evil ways. The crow, however, does not respond to the advice, but flies back to his wonted food.

This Jātaka is stated to have been related by the Buddha on the occassion when a monk was found to be greedy and discontented.

The two geese are identified with the Buddha and Yasodharā, and the greedy monk with the crow.

B.J.

CAKKAVĀḶA, a world-system or sphere in Buddhist cosmology. In the *cakkavāḷa*, in which the earth (*manussaloka*) is situated are also several brahmalokas, heavens and hells, but there are numerous other *cakkavāḷa*, each with its brahma-lokas, heavens and hells. The Tāvatiṃsa heaven is described as being in our *cakkavāḷa*, with Mt. Sineru at the centre, and Sakka as the ruler of the Tāvatiṃsa gods. There are thousands of such world systems (*J*. I, p. 53), and according to the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (*J*. I, p. 203) there are Sakkas ruling each of them, or so at least the asuras believe. The *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhpA*. II, p, 15) refers to *cakkavāḷa* deities, but this probably is a reference to the gods who inhabit the *cakkāvaḷa* and not the name for a species of deity.

B.J.

CAKKAVATTI, universal king, world-ruler. See CAKRAVARTIN,

CAKKAVATTISĪHANĀDA SUTTA, the twenty-sixth sutta of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D*. III, pp. 58–79), containing advice given by the Buddha to the monks regarding their conduct. The Buddha admo-nishes the monks to find security (island) and refuge in themselves (*attadīpā*, *attasaraṇā*) and in the Dhamma (*dhammadīpā*, *dhammasaraṇā*) and not to seek refuge in other external forces (*anañña-saraṇā*). Explaining how this should be done, the Buddha says that they should always be conscious regarding the body, the feelings, the thoughts and other phenomena (*dhammā*) and observe with meticulous care their origin and cessation, having dispelled covetousness and discontent in the world. Also, the Buddha emphasises the importance of treading the path of virtue, pointing out to them that the Evil One (Māra) would not find an opportunity to harm such a person. To substantiate his statement the Buddha relates a story to show how a country could perish because of the ignorance of a king of the traditional ways of good government.

In the past lived a virtuous world-ruler, Daḷhanemi who reigned over his kingdom righteously providing ways and means for all his subjects to earn a reasonable living. Then one day, the divine wheel, the chief symbol of authority of a world-ruler, slipped from its place (an indication that the king would pass away soon), and when the matter was reported, the king abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son and took to the life of a religious mendicant. On the seventh day after his abdication, the wheel disappeared. The new king was dismayed and annoyed. The royal ascetic explained to him

that the divine wheel was not a hereditary thing coming from father to son and that it appeared only to him who followed the correct mode of conduct of a world-ruler. The son then learnt the correct mode of conduct of a world-ruler and lived accordingly, and the wheel re-appeared. Strengthening his kingdom with its aid, without resorting to any evil means, he brought about peace and prosperity to the country. When he reached maturity he, too, renounced the world like his father and on the seventh day after his abdication the wheel disappeared again. Unlike his father, the new king did not take the trouble to find out the reason for its disappearance and, without listening to the advice of his ministers, he ruled the kingdom in a very irresponsible manner, which resulted in chaos and discontentment in the country.

The ministers intervened and requested him to keep on the path of virtuous government followed by the good kings of old. Paying heed to this advice the king re-organised the administration of the country, but did not think of providing the people with ways and means of earning a respectable living ; and when there was no source of income for the people, poverty increased and a man stole the property of another. The culprit was produced before the king and questioned. When he explained why he had to steal, the king gave him some wealth and sent him away.

When the news that the king was rewarding thieves spread in the country, more and more people began to steal, and the king commanded that all robbers be impaled thereafter.

The thieves thereupon resorted to weapons so that they could fight the king's men or the wealthy people when they come to obstruct their trade. Thus due to maldistribution of wealth, poverty increased ; on account of poverty people began to steal ; when stealing increased it led to the spread of the use of weapons, which in turn resulted in various crimes. Formerly, men enjoyed a life-span of eighty-thousand years but with the degeneration of morals the life-span was halved and they lost their complexion.

Later, a man, brought before the king with a charge of theft, denied the charge and falsehood was born leading to a further shortening of the life span, and a further loss of complexion.

Again, a man stole the property of another and a second man sneaked his name to the king ; and thus backbiting (*pesuñña*) was born in the world. The life-span of the people was further reduced and there was a futher loss of complexion. Among these people some were fairer than others in colour and the darker ones coveting the fairer ones misbehaved with the wives of others, and thus sexual misconduct was born in the world and their life-span now stood at five thousand years and they lost their complexion further. Among men two other things gained ground, namely, harsh speech and frivolous talk, leading to a further shortening of the life-span. Then covetousness and ill-will arose resulting in a further shortening of the life-span and a further loss of complexion. Now false-views spread rapidly, resulting in a further shortening of the life-span. Three other things became manifest in the world, namely, homosexuality (*micchā-dhamma*), incest (*adhamma-rāga*) and excessive greed (*visama-lobha*). This led to a further shortening of the life-span which now was reduced to a hundred and fifty years. In this manner with the gradual deterioration of morals, the life-span was shortened more and more till it was reduced to a brief period of ten years.

Now, among these people with a life-span of ten years, women of five years could bear children. Delicious food were unheard of among them, and their best dish was a kind of rough grain (*kudrūsaka*). Among them the ten paths of meritorious activities were unknown and only the ten paths of sinful activities were known and followed. The word 'skilful' was unheard of, not to speak of skilful workers. The most respected among them were those who were most disrespectful towards parents and elders. They misbehaved promiscuously. They hated one another and were ill-disposed towards one another. During one week they killed one another considering them to be animals. During that period some of them hid themselves. When after a week they came out and saw one another alive, they exchanged greetings. Pondering over their plight they realised that it was due to their moral degeneration and decided to refrain from evil and to do good.

The rest of the story describes how, with the gradual restoration of morals, the life-span of the people gradually increased and how their complexion was restored.

The sutta also mentions the appearance of the future Buddha, Metteyya, during the time of the world-ruler Saṅkha, in Ketumati. It also states that king Saṅkha would renounce the world under the future Buddha and attain arahantship.

The purpose of the sutta as a whole is to stress the indispensability of a life of virtue for the attainment of arahantship. This is further emphasised by saying that one should depend on one's own self for one's progress and that one cannot depend

on another for one's emancipation. The main story in the sutta clarifies another point, namely, that everything is causally connected (*paticca samuppanna*) and that to solve a problem successfully one has to attack the root cause of it. Further, it hints at yet another social aspect, that by merely having a good army or other forces to maintain law and order or by having an efficient judicial system to meet out punishments for various crimes, law and order cannot be properly maintained, and that peace in a country can be secured only if a ruler is wise enough to plan and execute a program of work in such a way that all sections of the people would have ways and means of earning income righteously and be happy and content. Also, in an indirect and subtle way the story seems to maintain the Buddhist theory that the full blame for the actions of an individual cannot be thrown on that individual alone and that society has to bear a good portion of it, for the Buddhist teaching is that though an individual is responsible for his activities to a very great extent, each individual is a product of circumstances that are beyond his control. The commentary to this sutta (*DA*. III, p. 846) says that it was preached to a multitude of people consisting of both monks and laymen, in the shade of a tree by the roadside. At the end of the discourse twenty thousand bhikkhus attained arahantship and eighty-four thousand beings tasted the nectar of the Dhamma (*dhammāmata*).

W.G.W.

CAKKAVATTI SUTTA, two discourses by that name, one in *Cakkavatti Vagga* of the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*. V, p.99) and the other in the *Rathakāra-vagga* of the *Tika Nipāta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. I, p. 109). In the *Cakkavatti Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* the Buddha enumerates the seven treasures that appear when a world-ruler is born and also the seven that appear when a Buddha is born. The wheel, the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the wife, the housefather and the heir-apparent are the seven treasures that appear at the birth of a world-ruler. Mindfulness, search for the Dhamma, energy, zest, tranquillity, concentration and equanimity are the seven that appear at the birth of a Buddha. The *Saṃyutta* commentary (*SA*. III, pp. 152 ff.) gives explanatory notes on the sutta.

The other *Cakkavatti Sutta*, in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, refers to the *rājā* (king) that rules over world-ruler, namely, the Dhamma, because a world-ruler is in dependence on the Dhamma, honours the Dhamma, and the Dhamma is his overlord. The *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA*.II, pp. 178 ff.) gives explanatory notes on this sutta.

H.R.P.

CAKKAVATTI VAGGA, the fifth chapter (*vagga*) of the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*.V.pp.98–102). It contains the following ten suttas: (1) *Vidhā*, (2) *Cakkavatti*, (3) *Māra*, (4) *Duppañña*, (5) *Paññavā*, (6) *Dalidda*, (7) *Adalidda*, (8) *Ādicca*, (9) *Aṅga*, (10) *Aṅga*. Woodward translates *Cakkavatti* as 'Roller of the Wheel' (*Kindred Sayings*, *PTS*. 1930, V. p. 81).

B.J.

CAKKHU literally means eye, the sense-organ of sight (*cakkhunā rūpaṃ disvā* : *D*. I, p. 70 ; *M*. I. pp. 111–112 etc.), the first and most important of the five physical sense-organs (*indriya*, q.v. ; *āyatana*, q.v.). As the primary awareness of the world we live in comes largely through sight and this marks the beginning of knowledge, and also since, according to Buddhism, knowledge is of vital importance in attaining absolute freedom in Nibbāna, *cakkhu* acquired much significance in Buddhist thought ; and, it is made the symbol for knowledge in its highest and widest application (. . . *pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi ñāṇaṃ udapādi* . . . : *Vin*. I, p. 11).

Thus, the term *cakkhu* has been employed in the texts in its metaphorical sense of knowledge, and its function, i.e., seeing, considered synonymous with knowing. Since knowledge has thus come to be described as 'seeing,' the two terms, *jānaṃ*, 'knowing' and *passaṃ*, 'seeing' are used as complementary to each other.

The Buddha who has knowledge and insight into all things (*sabbesu dhammesu ca ñāṇadassi* : *Sn*. *v*. 478) is described as one who knowing knows and seeing sees, and has become sight and knowledg (*jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇa bhūto* : *M*. I, p.111) ; and, it is usually said of wha he claims to know that he both knows and sees (*tamahaṃ jānāmi passāmi* : *M*. I, p. 329). The religious life is lived for the knowledge, insight attainment, realisation and comprehension of what is not known, not seen, not attained, not realised and not comprehended (*yam aññātaṃ adiṭṭham appattaṃ asacchikataṃ anabisametaṃ tassa ñāṇāya dassanāya pattiyā sacchikiriyāya abhisamayāya* : *A*. IV, p. 384).

The comprehension of the central truths of Buddhism is called seeing ; one comprehends them and sees them (*ariyasaccāni avecca passati* : *Sn*. *v*. 229). Even Nibbāna is seen (*nibbānam*

passeyyam : M. I, p. 511), in a sense analogous to the seeing of a man born blind after a physician has successfully treated him (loc. cit.).

Thus, we find the term *cakkhu* being used in the texts in conjunction with several other concepts, namely, *Buddha, dhamma, dibba, paññā and samanta* thereby making the compounds stand for different aspects and intensities of knowledge and vision. Consequently, there are terms like *Buddha-cakkhu* (q.v.), a special knowledge possessed by the Buddha by which he sees, among other things, the spiritual potentialities of beings (*Vin.* I, p. 6); *dhamma-cakkhu* (q.v.), the knowledge by which one comes to realise the law of causality (*paṭicca-samuppāda, Vin.* I, p. 11); *dibbacakkhu* (q.v.), the knowledge by which the possessor sees, among other things, phenomena of death and rebirth of beings taking place according to their *kamma* (*D.* I, p. 82), *paññā-cakkhu* (q.v.), the knowledge by which the destruction of all passions and the attainment of arahantship is effected (*DA.* I, p. 183) and *samanta-cakkhu* (q.v.)which is originally an attribute of the Buddha (*Vin.* I, p. 5) and is later identified with his omniscience (*DA.* I, p. 183; *Ps.* I, p. 133; *Nd.* I, p. 354; *DhsA.* p. 306).

The concept of *paññā-cakkhu* and the new definition of *samanta-cakkhu* both appear to be products of post-canonical commentarial tradition.

To distinguish these five types of knowledge symbolised by *cakkhu* from the sense-organ of sight the latter is termed *maṃsa-cakkhu,* the physical eye (*Nd.* I, p. 354; *DhsA.* p. 306), its sentient or sensitive aspect being indicated by the technical term *pasāda-cakkhu* (*DA.* I, p. 183).

Cakkhu as the physical sense-organ is said to be constituted of derivative material elements (*upādā-rūpa : Dhs.* pp. 124 ff.; 167 ff. 211, 255; cf. *upādāya-rūpa*, q.v., *M.* I, p. 185). On its nature as a species of matter, the Nikāyas are less informative although it figures oft and again in many a sutta. Sometimes the term *cakkhu* occurs in stock formulae where the causality of sense-perception is explained (*M.* I, pp. 111–112; 259–60; *S.* IV, pp. 39–40; 67ff.). It also occurs in discourses where the Buddha is exhorting his disciples not to become victims to sense-pleasures lest they should fall short of the highest ideal (*M.* I, pp. 92ff.; II, p. 220; III, 62 ff.; *S.* IV, p. 225; *A.* II, pp. 16 ff.). In these suttas the purpose is more to indicate the impermanent nature of matter rather than to set forth the constituent elements of the eye-organ.

In the Pali Abhidhamma Piṭaka and the commentaries *cakkhu,* together with the other four physical sense-organs, comes to be described as *pasāda* (*Dhs.* pp. 134 ff.; *DA* I, p. 183; *DhsA.* p. 306). In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, too, it is described as *prasāda* (*Abhk.* i, 16; *Abhkvy.* I, p. 24). The origin of this technical use is traceable to the context at *Mahāvedalla Sutta* where, in describing the difference between the dead person and the person who has entered *saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti* (q.v.), it is said of the latter that his sense-functions remain extremely lively and bright (*indriyāni vippasannāni : M.* I, p. 296), the term *vippasannāni* being the past passive participle of *vi-pa-sad* of which *pasāda* is the action noun. The term *pasāda* literally means clearness, brightness, serenity or satisfaction. "Taken causatively it may conceivably have meant either that which makes clear—a receiver as it were or that which gratifies or satisfies" (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, XII, London, 1923, p. 159, n.2). It is in fact suggestive of both meanings, for the first indicates the receptive, reactive and sensitive nature and therefore clarifying function of the eye, and the second brings into relief the part it plays in the gratification of sense pleasures.

Considering the contexts in which the term *pasāda* occurs, it could also be said that in using this term the Buddhists are intent on showing that *cakkhu* is of very subtle and delicate matter. This is borne out by the fact that, according to Pali Abhidhamma, *cakkhu* as well as other *pasādas* such as *sota* (ear) cannot be known by any of the sense organs other than the mind, *mano* (*Dhs.* p. 178). The Vaibhāṣikas, too, conceive it in a similar way: it is supra-sensory (*atīndriya : Abhk.* i, 15; *Abhkvy.* I, p. 24) and translucent (*accha : Abhk.* i, 67).

Since *cakkhu*, together with other *pasādas*, is thus conceived as a variety of extremely subtle matter, it is explicitly stated that it should not be understood according to its popular conception. Buddhaghosa says that the very purpose of using the term *pasāda* is to dismiss such a popular conception (*DhsA.* p. 306 f.). Both Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra remark that what in common parlance is known as eye (*cakṣu*) is the support (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the real sense-organ (*Abhk.* i, 56, 65; *Abhkvy.* I, p.24).

According to the Theravādins, *cakkhu* consists of two parts, the compound (i.e., physiological) organ (*sasambhāra-cakkhu*) and the sentient organ (*pasāda-cakkhu*). The first is what we ordinarily mean by eye; the second is the real sense-organ and has the first as its basis (*vatthu : DhsA.* pp. 306–7).

In pursuance of this distinction, the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Atthasālinī* give, in almost indentical words, a long disquisition on the nature and constitution of *cakkhu*. The compound or physiological eye (*sasambhāra-cakkhu*), which is linked to the brain (*nahārusuttaka*), with a nerve is white owing to the abundance of phlegm, black owing to bile, red owing to blood, rigid on account of the element of extension (*pathavī-dhātu*), fluid on account of the element of cohesion (*āpo-dhātu*), hot on account of the element of heat (*tejo-dhātu*), and oscillating on account of the element of mobility (*vāyo-dhātu*). The sentient eye (*pasāda-cakkhu*) is situated in the centre of the compound eye. It permeates the ocular membranes as sprinkled oil permeates a cotton wick. It is served by the four great elements (*mahābhūta*, q.v.) doing the functions of sustaining, binding, maturing and vibrating, just as a princely boy is tended by four nurses doing the functions of holding, bathing, dressing and fanning him. It is not bigger in size than the head of a louse (*Vism.* pp. 445–46 ; *DhsA.* p. 307 f.).

The eye has the characteristic of being sensitive only to the sphere of visibility (*M.* I, p. 295 ; *S.* V, p. 218), its function being to draw attention to visual objects only ; and it manifests itself as the physical basis of visual consciousness (*cakkhu-viññāṇa* : *Vism.* p. 444, *DhsA.* p. 312). As far as the contact between the sense-organ of the eye and its object is concerned, light (*āloka*) has been considered the medium in which its sensory stimuli travel (*DhsA.* p. 282).

Much importance is attached in Buddhism to the sense-organs since the whole system of Buddhist ethics concerns itself with our reaction to sense-perception. *Cakkhu* occupies the foremost position in this connection because a major part of our experience comes through sight. In this respect the terms *indriya-saṃvara*, restraint as regards the senses and *indriyesu guttadvāratā*, guarding the doors of the senses are of primary importance.

Path to freedom in Buddhism begins with morality (*sīla*) which concerns itself only with the realm of word and deed and the next higher step in the path is the restraint as regards the senses. This is important because man's reaction to external stimuli depends entirely on attitudes he adopts towards objects he cognises. It is in these attitudes that the cause of good or bad lies. If these attitudes are adopted after wise contemplation (*yoniso manasikāra*), the reactions will be healthy and bear good results. If on the other hand, the attitudes are ill-considered (*ayoniso manasikāra*), the reactions will be unhealthy, and the results bad.

Man may consider, for instance, a particular object he has seen to be either desirable or undesirable, beautiful or ugly, attractive or repulsive, depending on the outward appearance (*nimitta*) of the object with its minor characteristics (*anuvyañjana*). Covetousness (*abhijjhā*) arises in his mind if he considers the object to be desirable ; and, in like manner, resentment (*domanassa*) arises if he considers it to be undesirable (*D.* I, p. 70). *Abhijjhā* is greed (*lobha*) in action and *domanassa* is hate (*dosa*) in action. These are basic passions that stand in the way to freedom. How this process leads to numerous unhealthy states (*akusala-dhamma*) in normal day-to-day life is explained step by step in the *Mahānidāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* II, p. 58 ff.).

Grasping of the outward appearance of the objects of perception together with their minor characteristics is the source of this entire process and the remedy suggested is not to grasp them in that manner and this is what is meant by restraint as regards the senses (*indriyasaṃvara*). It helps one to contemplate on the impermanent nature (*anicca*) of the objects and this contemplation leads to the knowledge of them in this proper perspective (*yathābhūtañāṇa*) which is a prerequisite to perfect freedom.

U.K.

CAKKHULOLA BRAHMADATTA, king of Bārāṇasī. He took great delight in watching dance performances. There were three dancing halls where girls and women of various ages danced for his pleasure. One day, he saw the wife of another, who had come to watch the dance, and developed a great desire to possess her. Later, he realised the gravity of his wicked thought and, having renounced his kingship, became a paccekabuddha (*SnA.*I, p. 115 ; *ApA.* p. 190). His joyful utterance is included in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* (*Sn. v.* 63 ; *Ap.* I, ii, *v.* 37).

I. K.

CAKKHUPĀLA, an arahant thera and author of *Thag. v.* 95. He was the son of Mahāsuvaṇṇa, a land-owner of Sāvatthi, and was named Pāla. Later he became known as Mahāpāla while his younger brother was called Cūḷapāla. Once, Mahāpāla, having heard the Buddha preach at Jetavana, handed over the family property to Cūḷapāla and became a bhikkhu. After five years as a novice he received a topic of meditation from the Buddha and along with sixty other bhikkhus went to a woodland spot near a suburban village to practise meditation. There Mahāpāla became afflicted with an eye disease. A physician pres-

cribed him medicine. But, concentrating on the development of insight, he did not heed the physician's instructions and his eyes became worse. He attained arahantship before long and at the time his defilements (*kilesa*) were destroyed he lost his eye sight too. Hence his name Cakkhupāla.

Later, the other sixty bhikkhus also became arahants and made preparations to return to Sāvatthi. Cakkhupāla persuaded them to go without him and sent a message to his brother asking him to send someone to look after him. Cūḷapāla, deeply grieved to hear of his brother's blindness, had his nephew Pālita ordained, because the road was not safe for a layman, and sent him to fetch Cakkhupāla. The elder set out for Sāvatthi with his nephew. On the way Pālita became attracted by the song of a woodcutter's wife, excused himself from the elder for a while and sinned with her. When he returned to Cakkhupāla, the latter refused to be led by one who had broken his precepts, even if he should die in the forest. Sakka, who became aware of the elder's plight, appeared in the guise of a traveller, and that same evening brought Cakkhupāla safely to Sāvatthi. He was looked after by his brother for the rest of his life (*ThagA*. I, pp. 206 ff.). This account is repeated in much greater detail in the *Cakkhupālattheravatthu* of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (*DhpA*. I, pp. 2 ff.). There we are told that Cakkhupāla's parents were childless for a long time and he was named Pāla as he was born through the favour of a tree-sprite. The cause of his blindness despite the fact that he was fortunate enough to win arahantship is also narrated. In a previous life he had been born as an eye-physician in Bārāṇasī. He treated a woman who promised to become his slave along with her children if he cured her eyes. With the very first medicine her eyes were restored to normal, but having no wish to keep to her promise she lied saying that they were much worse. He saw through her ruse and next gave a medicine which destroyed her sight completely (*DhpA*. I, pp. 16 ff.).

It is said that in the time of Siddhattha Buddha he was born in a high family and, after the Buddha's demise, he offered an *ummā* flower at the Buddha's thūpa. Thereafter he enjoyed birth among devas and men (*ThagA*. I, p. 206). Ummāpupphiya (q.v.), a thera mentioned in the *Apadāna* (I, p. 172), is to be identified with Cakkhupāla.

L.R.G.

CAKKHUPĀLATTHERA-VATTHU, the first story in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* dealing with the life of Cakkhupāla (q.v., *DhpA*. I, pp. 2–20). It illustrates the truth of the first verse in the *Dhammapada*—"…. if with an evil mind a man speaks or acts, suffering follows him even as a wheel follows the hoof of the ox that bears the yoke."

L.R.G.

CAKKHU SUTTA, four discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and one discourse in the *Itivuttaka* are known by this name.

The *Cakkhu Sutta* of the *Rāhula Saṃyutta* (*S*. II, pp. 244, also 249) is preached to Rāhula at Jetavana. Here it is shown how the eye and all other senses are fleeting and how they lead to unhappiness. The well-taught disciple, should, therefore, be repelled by the senses and thereby he becomes one who will not be born again and who has lived the divine life.

The *Cakkhu Sutta* of the *Okkantika Saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 225), preached to monks at Jetavana, states that the eye and all other senses are impermanent. He who has faith in these doctrines or has seen them moderately with insight is assured of protection. He who has realised them is a stream-winner bound for Enlightenment. He would not be born in an evil state.

The *Cakkhu Sutta* of the *Uppāda Saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 228), preached to monks at Jetavana, states that the origin of suffering, diseases, decay and death lies in the arising and rebirth of the eye and the other sense organs. The cessation of the birth of these senses brings about the cessation of these states.

The *Cakkhu Sutta* of the *Kilesa Saṃyutta* (*S*. III, p. 232), preached to the monks at Jetavana, states that desire and lust arising in the eye and other senses mean corruption of the heart. By putting away such corruption can the truth be realised.

The four suttas are named after the first sense organ, namely, the eye (*cakkhu*).

The *Cakkhu Sutta* of the *Itivuttaka*(*It*. p. 52) is the second discourse in its *Tikanipāta*. Beginning with a prose passage and ending in two stanzas the sutta mentions three types of eyes, namely, the physical eye (*maṃsacakkhu*), the divine eye (*dibbacakkhu*) and the intellectual eye (*paññācakkhu*). One who obtains the last of them will free himself from all ills. The sutta is said to have been preached to the monks by the Buddha.

H. R. P

CAKRA

Significance and usage. Literally meaning a circle or a wheel, it is frequently used both in Pali (as *cakka*) and Sanskrit Buddhist texts, but not always with a religious significance. The usage is, for the most part, similar in both languages. Even when used as a religious technical term it is not completely detached from its literal meaning.

When used singly, in Sanskrit (*cakra*) as well as in Pali (*cakka*), the term is often to be taken in its literal meaning. Thus, the term could mean the wheel of a vehicle (*DA*. III, p. 1058) or a weapon which is either in the form of a discus or a sharp wheel (*J*. I, p. 74 ; cp. Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.). The term is also employed to denote one of the characteristic signs of a Great Being (*Mahāpuruṣa : Lal*. p. 75 ; *D*. II. p. 17). The wheel of a World-ruler (*cakravartin : cakkavatti*), too, is sometimes referred to as *cakra*.

It is also used, though not often, with a deeper meaning attached to it, to denote a circle or a sphere of existence of gods and men which is characterised by the four blessings, namely, dwelling in a fitting place, association with the good, perfect application of the self and merit done in previous lives (*catvāri devamanuṣyāṇām cakrāṇi pratirūpa-deśavāsaḥ, satpurusāpāśrayam, ātmanaḥ samyak-praṇidhānaṃ, pūrve ca kṛtapunyatā* (*Mhvyut. BB*. XIII, p. 28). The exact parallel of this is found in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 32), but its commentary defines the term *cakkāni* as *sampattiyo* (kinds of prosperity).

In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, and occasionally in Pali texts, too, it is more often used as the first or the second member of a compound. This is seen in proper names such as *Cakrapāṇi* (a bodhisattva), *cakra-vimala* and *cakra-śatapattra* which are names of two plants referred to in Buddhist texts (*Mhvyut. BB*. XIII, p. 80 ; Monier-Williams, op. cit. s.v. *cakra*). *Cakra-vāḍa* (*cakkavāḷa*) is mentioned in Buddhist texts as a mountain range encircling the earth. The wheel of a World-ruler (*cakravartin*, i.e., he who sets rolling the wheel) is also referred to as the *cakra-ratna* (*cakka-ratana*: wheel-gem). Numerous similar references are found scattered in Buddhist texts.

An applied sense of the term is seen in the phrase *cakra-bheda* (*cakka-bheda*). Here it could probably mean a collection or a group, specially of the Saṅgha, and the phrase means, a discord in the Saṅgha (Order). In the *Abhidharmakośa* (*AbhK*. p. 121) this phrase is regarded as a synonym for *saṅgha-bheda*. In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vin*. III, p. 171) also, it is used in the sense of *saṅgha-bheda* when it is said, *etha mayaṃ āvuso samaṇassa gotamassa saṅghabhedaṃ karissāma cakkabhedan ti* (now we, your reverences, will make a schism in the Order of the recluse Gotama, a breaking of the concord). In the *Vinaya Texts* (*SBE*. XX, p. 251) this very sentence is translated as, " Let us stir up a division in samaṇa Gotama's Saṅgha and in the body of his adherents " and adds a note that in *cakka-bhedaṃ* the first word no doubt connotes kingship, lordship, as in *dhamma-cakka*. *cakkavatti* etc. I. B. Horner (*SBB*. X, p. 296 n. 3) observes, " But it can also mean breaking a wheel, and symbolically *cakkabheda*, has the special meaning of ' breaking up the peace, sowing discord'. "

The symbolical sense of the term is more prominent in phrases such as *dharma-cakra* (*Lal*. pp. 295 ff.) and *dhamma-cakka* (*A*. I, p. 23) meaning, the wheel of law ; *brahma-cakra* (*AbhK*. p. 181) and *brahma-cakka* (*M*. I, p. 71) which literally mean, the wheel of Brahmā, but defined in the *Abhi-dharmakośa* (*AbhK*. p. 18) as *dṛṅ-mārga* (path of dis-cern-ing). Often, this phrase is treated as a synonym for *dharma-cakra*. This figurative sense is seen also in the phrase *bhava-cakra* (ibid. p. 57), the Wheel of Existence where birth and death take place (cp. *bhava-cakka* ; and also *saṃsāra-cakka* ; *Vism*. pp. 163 and 451).

In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*. I, p. 16) the term *cakka* is used in the phrase *catucakkam* (lit. four-wheeled) to denote the four types of deportments of the body, viz., standing, sitting, lying, and going, and this is taken to be synonymous with the phrase *iriyā-patha-cakka* (*DA*. I, p. 249 ; III, p. 1058). The term *catucakka* occurring in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 32) is defined in its commentary as *cattāri sampatticakkāni* (lit., four wheels of prosperity). The phrase *cakkaṃ kātabbaṃ* or *bandhitabbaṃ* is frequently used in the *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna* of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* to mean, " the cycle of formulated words is to be here repeated " (*PED*. s.v. *cakka*).

The phrase *vidyuc-cakra-aśani* occurs in the *Śik-ṣāsamuccaya*, (*Śikṣ*. p. 105) in comparision with something destructive when it is said, *vidyuccakrāśa-nisadṛśo lābhasatkāraḥ* (gain and honour comparable to a wheel of a flashing thunderbolt).

Cakra is an important technical term in Tantric Buddhism. Tantricism speaks of certain circles or depressions of the human body (=plexes) which are considered to be psychic centres, and generally refers to them as *cakra* and sometimes also as *padma* or *kamala* (lotus). According to Lama Anagarika Govinda, "These *cakras* are the points in which psychic forces and bodily functions

merge into each other or penetrate each other. They are the focal points in which cosmic and psychic energies crystallize into bodily qualities, and in which bodily qualities are dissolved or transmuted again into psychic forces" (*Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, London, 1959, p. 135). Indian Buddhist tantras mention four such *cakras*, viz. *nirmāṇa-cakra* (navel-centre), *dharma-cakra* (heart-centre) *sambhoga-cakra* (throat-centre) and *mahāsukha-cakra* (head-centre) which is also known as *uṣṇīṣakamala* (crown-lotus). Tibetan tantras speak of six *cakras*, viz., *mūlādhāra-cakra* (root-centre) *svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra* (abdominal-centre), *manipura-cakra* (navel-centre), *anāhata-cakra* (heart-centre) *viśuddha-cakra* (throat-centre). *ājña-cakra* (eye brow-centre). To this is added the *sahasrāra-padma* (crown-centre). These bear close resemblance to the *cakras* cited in the Hindu-tantras. By combining the two upper centres (i.e., *sahasrāra-padma* and *ājñācakra*). into one and the two lower centres (i.e., *mūlādhāra-cakra* and *svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra*) into another, the number of separate *cakras* is reduced to five.

Sometimes the term *cakra* is used as a synonym for the word *maṇḍala* (circle). While meditating, a yogin considers the whole body to be a large maṇḍala (circle) consisting of smaller maṇḍala (i.e., *cakras*).

The details of description, location and order of arrangement of the *cakras* are not dealt with uniformly in all the Tantric texts. In some of these tantras the *cakras* are taken to correspond to the main elements (*mahābhūta*), i.e., modifications of space (*ākāśa*). The three bodies (*kāya*), namely, *nirmāṇa-kāya* (body of transformation), *dharma-kāya* (body of law) and *sambhoga-kāya* (body of enjoyment) are located in the three *cakras* of the same names, while the *sahaja-kāya* (innate body) is located in the *mahāsukha-cakra* (see TRIKĀYA). An aspirant for omniscience has to make his thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) flow upward through these *cakras* until it reaches the highest *cakra* at the crown of the head.

Each *cakra* has a separate seed-syllable (*bījākṣara*) and a god or goddess called *cakra-nāyaka*, *cakra-īśa* (i.e., lord of the circle) or *cakra-yoginī* (yoginī of the *cakra*). The *cakras* are also associated with one of the four moments (*kṣaṇa*). symbols (*mudrā*) and joys (*ānanda*).

In Tantric literature, when the term is used in its literal sense of wheel, it could also denote the symbol of the Buddha-family of Vairocana.

Connected with the *Sarvakhaṅgottama-samādhi* of Tantricism are the term *cakra-kāya* (lit. wheel-body), *cakra kula* (lit. wheel-family) and *cakra-vidyā* (lit. wheel knowledge: see *Gst.* pp. 52, 53). *Cakra-yoga* is a form of meditation prevalent in Tibetan Tantricism, in which psychic centres (*cakra*) play an important role.

Origin and Symbolic Importance: As indicated earlier, the symbolic concept of *cakra* (wheel) is of great significance in Buddhism. It is evident that the wheel was used, from very olden times, as a symbol of great importance both in the east and the west. Where, when and how this symbol originated is a problem, yet to be solved. As it is widely prevalent among different races, it could be surmised that it originated in the Indo-European period and migrated into different regions along with the people. India has known the symbolic importance of the wheel, at least, from the time of the *Ṛgveda* (i, p. 164).

Most authorities agree that the wheel was used, from olden days, to represent the sun. Even the *svastika* is regarded as another form of the solar wheel, its movements being indicated by the crampons. The circumambulation of sacred places is also considered as being based on the circular motion of the sun and, therefore, having the same symbolic importance as that of the wheel (see W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-wheel*, London, 1896). It should also be noted that praying-wheels are turned in the direction followed by the sun (see *ERE*. X, p. 213 f.). In India, too, the wheel seems to be the first symbolic representation of the sun and, later, of the regular course of the sun (*ṛta*).

It is quite obvious that the sun is regarded as a wheel on account of its shape and that the wheel on earth is projected on to the natural phenomena of the sun. In the *Ṛg-veda* the sun is often referred to as a wheel (i, 175, 5 and iv, 30, 4); occasionally it speaks of the wheel of the sun (iv, 28, 2 and v, 29, 10). The sun is also referred to as the wheel of *ṛta*[1] (ibid. i, 164, 11) which shows us that the sun and *ṛta* are closely connected. In the *Ṛgveda* itself one could see a close connection between the sun, its course and the god Varuṇa. Varuṇa belongs to the older order of the gods and, before

1 Cp. R. T. H. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, p. 285, n. 11, where he says that this wheel of *ṛta* formed with twelve spokes is the year with its twelve months. But the context seems to suggest that it refers to the sun. It is said that this wheel of *ṛta* rolls round the heaven. This strengthens the view that it refers to the sun. This is an instance which shows that the succession of time is caused by the rolling of the wheel of *ṛta* (i.e., the sun).

the rise of Indra, he was regarded as the highest god. Above all, he is regarded as the most ethical god in the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon. He prepared the sun's path which is the same as the *ṛta*. Varuṇa is the supreme lord who controls the physical as well as the ethical aspects of the world, which again are indicated by the term *ṛta*. Varuṇa, much more often than Indra, is called the universal monarch (*samrāj*). These references make it clear that at a very early period Varuṇa was regarded as the universal monarch who establishes righteousness and order in the world.

When viewed in this light, the wheel-jewel (*cakra-ratna* : Pali, *cakka-ratana*) seems to have a close connection with the sun, which is the wheel of *ṛta* (*ṛtasya cakra*) and subsequently to *ṛta* itself, though later the all-conquering wheel of Indra influenced this concept considerably. According to the Buddhist concept the *cakravartin* (Pali, *cakkavatti*) is the ideal king, a World-ruler who conquers the world not by war but by righteousness and also rules it by righteousness. Like Varuṇa he brings about law and order in the world, upholds righteousness and decries unrighteousness, sets people on the right path by making them follow his ordinances.

A *cakravartin* asks the wheel to precede him and in whatever place it stops his authority and law is established there. The wheel-jewel thus represents not only his authority and majesty but also his righteousness. Therefore, the righteous law of a *cakravartin* is the same as that which is symbolised by the wheel. Similarly, the law of Varuṇa is the same as the law of the *ṛta*.[2] The wheel-jewel which a *cakravartin* sets rolling is most probably, the same as the wheel of *ṛta*, i.e., the sun, which Varuṇa caused to roll on by preparing a path for it (see CAKRAVARTIN and also *ERE*. III, pp. 336 f.).

Not only the wheel-jewel but almost all the major aspects of the wheel-symbol in Buddhism seem to have a close connection with the sun and the *ṛta*. The concept of *ṛta*, in a wider sense, denotes the physical and the moral laws of the world. All activities in the world take place in accordance with the law of *ṛta*. All the changes in natural phenomena such as the change of days weeks, months, seasons and years are caused by it. The whole drama of the universe is represented by it. The succession of time is a feature which is clearly depicted by this concept. These changes affect, as it is quite evident, not only natural phenomena but also living beings, for, with the succession of time they, too, become subject to different changes such as birth, old age, decay and death. The most prominent aspect of the working of the *ṛta* is represented by the daily movement of the sun, which, in fact, is the basis of the concept of *ṛta*. Thus, the changes brought about by the law of *ṛta* are the same as those brought about by the movement of the sun.[3] The sun measures the days (*Ṛgveda*, i, 50, 7), thus bringing about the succession of time. It prolongs the days, of life (ibid. viii, 48, 7). All the beings in the world rest on it. It is really the foundation of all that exists. It is undecaying and unweakened by the length of time. Its nave remains unbroken from ancient time. It resolves endlessly. Such is the working of the wheel of *ṛta* (the sun).

When considering these points one could see a resemblance between the wheel of *ṛta* and the wheel of Saṃsāra (existence)[4] or *bhava* (becoming : i.e., *saṃsāra-cakra* or *bhava-c°*). Like the wheel of *ṛta*, the wheel of Saṃsāra, too, rolls on and on, not weakened by the length of time. Though the Buddhist concept of the wheel of Saṃsāra or *bava* does not seem to be as wide a concept as that of the wheel of *ṛta*, the basic idea of the former seems to be the same as this aspect of the latter concept. The limitation in the sphere of application, which is seen in the Buddhist concept, may be a change that was brought about by the Buddhists who adopted it from the brāhmans. However, it could be surmised that the wheel of *ṛta*, by its daily movements, represents the law of nature as affecting all things, i.e., natural phenomena and living beings, while in its Buddhist adaptation much emphasis is laid on how it affects living beings and specially human beings.

Some parallelism could also be seen between the concept of the wheel of *ṛta* and the Buddhist concept of the wheel of Dharma (*Dharma-cakra*, q.v.). The term *dharma*, as used in the *Ṛgveda*, has many shades of meaning, of which many are parallel to those connoted by the term *ṛta*. The term *ṛta*, as denoting the course of the sun, gained the

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2 See W. Simpson, op. cit. p. 91, where be cites an extract from Max Müller (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 239–44) " What in some places is called the law of Varuṇa, is in others called the law of *ṛta*."

3 See *Ṛgveda*, i, 164, 2, 11–14.

4 Note that the sun is also described as whereon are resting all these worlds of beings (*Ṛgveda* i, 164. 2): upon this five-spoked wheel revolving ever all living creatures rest and are dependent (loc. cit) : " On him dependent rest all living creatures " (ibid. i, 164, 13 and 14).

idea of right path, truth, righteousness, law and also the foundation of righteousness. It is quite clear that the term *dharma* also connotes these shades of meaning. The wheel of *ṛta* is described in the *Ṛgveda* as the ancient wheel which ever rolls on, unimpeded, on which all existence depends. The description of the wheel of *dharma* as, 'the wheel which not by any samaṇa or brāhman, not by any god, not by Brahmā or Māra, not by anyone in the universe can ever be turned back' (*SBE*. XI, p. 153 f.) seems to have been based on this. However, it should be noted that though the same symbolism was applied, the Buddhists gave it a different interpretation with a deeper significance.

Yet another view attempts to seek a lunar origin for the concept of *cakra*, specially when it is conceived as the wheel of the *cakravartin*. L. A. Waddell (*ERE*. VII, p. 553 ff.) compares the list of treasures, as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, produced at the churning of the ocean, with the list of the seven treasures of a *cakravartin* as found in Buddhist texts, and concludes that the *cakra* cited in the second list symbolises the moon. Though Waddell is convinced of the positive identity of the majority of items in the two lists, it is quite evident that the two lists are only parallel and not identical. It may be that the list mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* influenced the formation of the list of treasures of a *cakravartin*. Evidence put forward by Waddell to prove the lunar origin of the *cakra* is far from convincing. The agreement seen in the numerical order of the two lists in the case of the first jewel is no positive indication of the identity of the *cakra-ratna* of a *cakravartin* with the moon. The fact that the wheel-jewel appeared to king Mahāsudassana on a full moon day is no positive evidence to conclude that it is the symbolic representation of the moon. It should be noted that it is customary with the Buddhists to associate all the important events connected with Buddhism with the full moon day (cp. the three major events connected with the life of the Buddha, the preaching of the first sermon, etc.).

The list of *ratnas* of the *cakravartin* seems to have changed from time to time. There are, in Sanskrit texts, lists which include moonlight as one of the *ratnas* but not the *cakra* (see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, cix, pp. 19 ff; the *Bṛhat-Kathā-mañjari*, ed. Sivadatta and Parab, p. 595, *v.* 11); and yet there are others which include neither of these items (*ERE*. III, p. 336). It is quite evident from the concept of *cakra* as found in Buddhist literature that the moon could not have been the source of its origin, for the moon does not possess any of the important characteristics represented by the wheel-symbol. As shown earlier the *cakra* of a *cakravartin* represents royal authority, majesty, righteous law and order. These are the characteristic features of the sun and its *ṛta*. Therefore, it seems more plausible to conclude that the *cakra* symbolises these and not the moon (cp. O. H. de A. Wijesekara, 'The Symbolism of the Wheel in the Cakravartin concept', in *S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 262-7).

S.K.N.

CAKRĀNTARA, name of a future pratyekabuddha, mentioned in the *Avadānaśataka* (*Avś*. p. 61).

CAKRAPĀṆI, name of a bodhisattva connected with Tantric Buddhism. The five Dhyānibuddhas of Tantric Buddhism are each assigned a particular consort, colour, posture (*mudrā*), vehicle, bodhisattva, etc. Cakrapāṇi is the particular bodhisattva associated with the Dhyānibuddha Vairocana. Sometimes, Cakrapāṇi's place is taken by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (S. B. Das Gupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Second Edition, p. 87).

S.K.N.

CAKRASAMBARODAYA - NĀMA - MAṆḌALA - VIDHI (var. *Cakrasamvarodaya - nāma - maṇḍalopāyikā*), a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥkhor-lo bde-mchog ḥbyuṅ-ba shes-bya-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga* (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2249; *TM*. No. 1538; *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime*, ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1409). The authorship of the work is credited to Dbus-pa blo-ldan (Ariṣṭadhīmat). But the translators are unknown.

The opening salutation is addressed to Vajrasattva. It is a long text of which the formula of adoration is addressed to Cakrasambara (The union of Heruka with Vajravarāhī: B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 103). There is a long description of how the priest should enter the maṇḍala and proceed with the rite. This text also describes at length the worship of Vajravarāhī who is also designated as Buddhaḍākinī and Vajravairocanī. She is also being described at length.

The following are some of the mantras quoted as those to be chanted in the course of the performance of the rite :

Oṃ śrī Herukāye vidmahe vidyā rājāya dhīma he svāhā. Oṃ sarva buddha ḍākinīye varṇanīya hruṃ phaṭ svāhā. Oṃ namo bhagavatī bīre śāya hrīṃ hūṃ phaṭ—Oṃ mahā kalpaya . . . . . hrīṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ jaṭāmakuṭotgātūya hrīṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ daṅṣṭrā-kārālogra bhīṣana-mukhāya hrīṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ kara kara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ kuru kuru hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ bhakṣa bhakṣa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ sapta pātālagta . . . . sarvaṃ . . . . . phaṭ. Oṃ kili kili hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ sili sili hūṃ hāṃ phaṭ. Oṃ dhili dhili hūṃ hā phaṭ. Oṃ hili hili hūṃ hāṃ phaṭ.

The author mentions that the meditator should perform this ceremony with a happy mind.

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARA-BAHIṢAPŪJĀ-VIDHI, (var. *Cakrasaṃvara-pūjā-megha-mañjarī*) the reconstructed title of a text occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The Tibetan title is given as *Ḥkhor-lo sdam-paḥi phyi-ral-gyi mchod-paḥi cho-ga.* The author of the work is Prajñārakṣita and the translation is attributed to Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 218 ; *TM.* No. 1466).

After the initial salutation to Vajrasattva, the author worships the feet of the lamas and seeks their advice.

The text deals with the procedure of worship of the deity Cakrasaṃvara and it describes in detail how the magic circle should be drawn in a quadrangular figure, with twenty letters, and how various offerings should be made to this particular deity. The meditator is requested first of all to utter the magical formula '*Oṃ sumbhāni sumbha.*'

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARA-BALIVIDHI, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur in the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* No. 1467) and in the Rgyud ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section in the Peking edition (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2184). Both editions give the same Tibetan title : *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi gtor-maḥi cho-ga.* The Sanskrit title as quoted in the Peking edition is *Cakrasaṃvara-bali-mañjarī* while the *Sde-dge* edition has *Cakrasaṃvara-balividhi.* The latter is a more accurate rendering of the Tibetan. The author of the work is Prajñārakṣita and the translators are Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab. This text is also mentioned in the *Catalogue de Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1346).

This short text describes the method of offering oblations to the deity Cakrasaṃvara. After describing how the magic-circle should be drawn and oblations offered, the author mentions some of the magic formulas which should be uttered during the ceremony. They are as follows: "*Oṃ anyonya anugata sarvadharmā : Oṃ anyonya anugata sarvadharmā : atyantamanupraviṣṭha sarva-dharma hāṃ hūṃ.* The meditator is expected to utter the following magic formulas twice, before the oblations are offered. They are : *Oṃ kha . . . . khāti khāti ; sarva yakṣarākṣa . . . hā preta piśāśa . . . ; imaṃ baliṃ grihnantu ; samaya rakṣantu ; mama sarva siddhimme . . . pibatha . . . mātikram-atha ; mama sarva kartaya ; satsukhaṃ viśuddhaye sahayikā bhavantu ; hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARĀBHISAMAYA, the reconstructed title of a Tibetan text, a Tibetan translation of which entitled (*Dpal*) *ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi mṅon-par-rtogs-pa* occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author is named as Abhayākaraguptapāda, and the translator is Ratnarakṣitapāda (*TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2213). The *Sde-dge* edition mentions the name of another translator, namely, Shaṅ grub-pa (*TM.* No. 1498). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1373).

The author's first salutation is addressed to Vajrasattva (Tib. *Rdo-rje-sems-dpaḥi-bo*). The text gives a detailed description of Cakrasaṃvara, a form of Heruka. He is said to have twelve arms. He embraces Vajravarāhī with two hands, and with the other hands he holds a diamond, a bell, a skin of a white elephant, an axe (Skt. *paraśu* ; Tib. *dgra-stra*), a short crooked sword (Skt. *kartari* : Tib. *gri-gug*), three baskets (Tib. *tse*), a club with a skull at the top (Skt. *khaṭvāṅga*), and a skull filled with blood, etc.

The text gives a description of the maṇḍala which is expected to be drawn by the meditator and of how he should proceed with the ceremony. He is asked to meditate upon the 'voidness' of all phenomena (Skt. *śūnyatā* ; Tib. *stoṅ-pa-ñid*) and mutter the formula, '*Oṃ śūnyatājñānavajra-svabhāvakohaṃ*'.

The meditator is asked to repeat the following formula four times. *Oṃ sumbhaṃ sumbha huṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ graṃhna graṃhna hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ ānaye ho bhāgo bāna vidyā rātsa hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ.* The following are some of the other formulas which are mentioned in this text.

Oṃ ghaḥ ghahe ghātaya. ghātaya sarva duṣṭaṃ praduṣṭana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ kīlaya kīlaya sarva pāpaṃ hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ.

In the middle of the text Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravarāhī are being praised eight times each. The following formula is said to be in praise of Cakrasaṃvara : '*Oṃ namo vīre śaya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ mahākalpaya .... sannibhāya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ jaṭā makuṭotkhaṭvāṅgāya hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ karālogra vibhīṣaṇa mukhāya hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ sahasra bhuja bhāsurāya hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ paraśu pāśod..........śūlakhaṭvāṅgadhāriṇī hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ........ nāmbaradharaya hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ mahā dhumbarāntrākara .... phaṭ.*

The formula in praise of Vajravarāhī runs as follows: '*Oṃ namo bhagavatī Vajravarāhī hāṃ hūṃ ....phaṭ. Oṃ namārya parājite trilokyam te mahāvidyeśvare hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ namaḥ sarvabhūta bhaya bahema vajra hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ namo vajrāsanaya jite aparājite vaśaṃkarī netra bhramaṇī hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ namaḥ strasa ni maraṇī suprabodhaṇī parājaye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ namo jayatsobhanīstambhanī mohanī hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ namo vajravarāhī mahāyoginī kāmeśvarī khage hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ.*

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARĀDVAITA - DHYĀNOPADEŚA - YOGA-CAṆḌĀLĪ (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text written by Dge-baḥi mgon-po (Subhanātha). It has been translated into Tibetan by Vāgīśvara and Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug, and included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi gñis-su-med-paḥi bsam-gtan-gyi man-ṅag rnal-ḥbyor-gyi gtum-mo* (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2223).

The text gives instruction on the procedure of acquiring monistic knowledge, which results from the union of Means (*upāya*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*).

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA - GARBHA - TATTVA - SIDDHI (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a text by Jālandhara, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sñin-poḥi de-kho-na-ñid grub-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2173; *TM*. No. 1456).

The text discusses the means (*upāya*, Tib. *thabs*) for a clear understanding of the supreme mystical experience, which is a matter for self experience (*svasaṃvedya*, Tib. *raṅ-rig*).

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA - GUHYA - ACINTYA - TANTRA - RĀJA (*Śrī cakra°*), the name of a tantra text containing an esoteric doctrine preached by Sambara (Heruka). A Tibetan translation of this text by Gayadhara and Śākya-ye-śes, called *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi gsaṅ-ba bsam-gyis-mi-khyab-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kanjur (*TT*. Vol. 3, No. 30).

The preamble to the text states that the Blessed One once dwelt in bliss with Vajrayoginī, who is the Body, Speech and Mind of all the Buddhas. Those assembled on the spot at the time had feelings of aversion regarding the nature of conditioned existence (Tib. *kun-rdzob ḥkhor-baḥi chos*). Vajrapāṇi Guhyakādhipati then questioned Heruka about the nature of the phenomena of conditioned existence. Heruka said that the nature of such phenomena is unthinkable (*acintya*). Being requested by Vajrapāṇi to explain this further, Heruka preached the doctrine set out in this text.

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-HASTAPŪJĀVIDHI, the reconstructed title of a text occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. The Tibetan title is given as *Dpal ḥkhor-lo-sdom-paḥi lag-mchod-kyī cho-ga shes-bya-ba*. The author of the text is Prajñārakṣita and the translation is attributed to Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab (*TM*. No. 1468; *TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2185). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1347).

After the initial salutation addressed to Vajraḍākinī (Tib. Rdo-rje mkhaḥ ḥgro-ma: a celestial female deity), the author discusses a number of methods by which one should worship Cakrasaṃvara with clasped hands.

Some of the magic formulas to be uttered by the worshipper during the course of this worship are as follows:

Oṃ ha na mahi svāhā hu; bau ṣa ṭa he; hāṃ hūṃ hāṃ hūṃ hoh phaṭ haṃ; Oṃ yoga śuddha sarva dhammā yoga śuddhohaṃ; Oṃ vajra muḥ.

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARA - HOMAVIDHI, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which entitled *Bde-mchog ḥkhor-loḥi sbyin sreg-gi cho-ga*, occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. This text appears in duplicate form (*TM*. Nos. 1447, 1537; *TT*. Vol. 52,

Nos. 2248, 2165 ; *Cordier*, p. 103). The Chinese version is not available, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1327). The authorship of this work is attributed to Nag-po and the translators are named as Dhammaśrībhadra and Rig-pa gshon-nu. According to Cordier this work was compiled by Pundarinanda (var. Sundarinanda).

The author has begun the work with a salutation addressed to Dpal mkhaḥi-ḥgrol (Ḍākinī ?).

The text deals with the burnt-offerings (Skt. *homa* ; Tib. *sbyin-sreg*) offered to Cakrasaṃvara and the advantages that one would obtain thereby. Among the many advantages mentioned are, that one would be devoid of sickness (Skt. *roga*, Tib. *nad*); of misery (Skt. *kleśa*, Tib. *ñon-moṅs*) ; of sin (Skt. *pāpa*, Tib. *sdig-pa*) and one's power of meditation (Skt. *samādhi*, Tib. *tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdzin*) would be improved.

A description of the god Cakrasaṃvara is also given. He is said to be possessed of three eyes, ten faces and two arms, carrying with one arm a diamond (Skt. *vajra* ; Tib. *rdo-rje*) and a bell (Tib. *dril-bu*), and with the other eight emblems (of Buddha or of deities ?).

Some of the magical formulas uttered during the course of this ceremony are as follows :

> *Oṃ Heruka mahāvajra dza-la...... hāṃ hūṃ ; Ehyeḥi mahadhūta, devi...... gri hi......, aha huti maha rasmi asmin man-nihito bhava ; Oṃ Heruka mahāvajra bhāraka ; agnaye mama śānti kuru svāhā ; Oṃ Heruka mahāvajra mahendra agnaye mama puṣṭi kuru boyi śat ; Oṃ Heruka mahāvajra Krodha agnaye amokaṣya śānti kuru svāhā ; Oṃ sarva pāpa han........ svāhā ; Oṃ vajra anala mahābhūta.......... sarva basmiṃ kuru sarva......hāṃ hūṃ phaṭ ; amokaṣya śānti kuru svāhā ; Oṃ sarve saṃbadi svāhā ; Oṃ apratihata vajra ye svāhā ; Oṃ vajra āyuḥ ye svāhā ; Oṃ mahābala ye svāhā ; Oṃ mahābala ye svāhā ; Oṃ vajra puṣṭa ye svāhā.*

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARAIKAVĪRA-SĀDHANA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *Ḥhkor-lo sdom-pa dpaḥ-bo gcig paḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TM.* No. 1536 ; *TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2247). The Chinese version is not available, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1407). The authorship of the work is attributed to Manikaśrī (var. Manikaśrī) and the translators are named as Sumatikīrti and Prajñākīrti.

The first salutation is addressed to Ḥjam-paḥi rdo-rje (Mañjuvajra). The text describes the procedure of worship for the invocation of the god Cakrasaṃvara. The meditator is asked to worship at first the lamas and the Buddhas and then worship Cakrasaṃvara. He is also instructed to take refuge in the Triple Gem (Tib. *dkon-mchog-gaum*). The meditator is asked to be seated on a mountain and contemplate on Heruka, whose description is given, and chant the Svabhāvaśuddha mantra, viz., *Oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho ahaṃ* and meditate on the doctrine of soullessness (*anātmatā*). He should utter *Oṃ śūnyatājñāna vajrasvabhāva ātmakohaṃ.*

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARA - MAṆḌALA - DEVAGAṆA STOTRA, a Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation, *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi lha-tshogs-la bstod-pa*, mentioned in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. While this text is not mentioned in the *Sde-dge* edition, it is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1400).

It is a short text dealing with the methods of drawing a magic circle in the name of the deity, Cakrasaṃvara. During the course of this ceremony a large number of deities are praised. Some of them are as follows :

1. Khrag-hthuṅ (a class of terrifying deities of Bon and Tantric schools).
2. Rdo-rje phag-mo (Skt. Vajravarāhī, a popular goddess of the Karmapa sect who is said to have frightened and vanquished, the enemies of Buddhism by manifesting herself in the form of a sow.)
3. Gzugs-can-ma (Rūpavatī).
4. Rtsa-daṅ rgyus-pa.
5. Dad-poḥi dbaṅ-po (Lord of faith).
6. Lambaka.
7. Rta-mgrin (Skt. Hayagrīva, name of a deity with a man's body but having a head of a horse and which neighs fearfully to frighten beings who are hostile to Buddhism).

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARA - MAṆḌALA - MAṄGALA - GĀTHĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a

Tibetan text occurring in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor bkra-śis tshigs-su bcad-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2196). This work is not mentioned in the *Sde-dge* edition. Although the Chinese version is not available, the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1356). The authorship of the work is attributed to Rin-chen rdo-rje (Ratnavajra) and the translator is known as Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba.

The author's first salutation is addressed to Cakrasaṃvara. This is a short text containing a number of stanzas which are meant to be uttered by the meditator during the course of the drawing of the magic circle in the name of Cakrasaṃvara, a form of Heruka. Almost at the end of each stanza the meditator makes a proclamation thus : " By the act of this truth, may some auspicious thing happen (Tib. *bden-pa bdes-kyaṅ bde-mchog-la gnas-bkra-śis-śog*).

I. K.

CAKRASAMVARA-MANDALA-STOTRA, the title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the tilte *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi bstod-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2239). In the *Sde-dge* edition this text is included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TM.* No. 1530). The Chinese version is not available. But the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1339). The authorship of this work is attributed to Śūrakalaśa and the translator is named as Bsod-nams bzaṅ-po. The Tibetan edition of the text is similar to that of the original Sanskrit text, mentioned in the *Niṣpannayogāvali* (ed. Bhattācaryya, Baroda, 1949, pp. 44-46).

The author's first salutation is addressed to Vajraḍākinī (Tib. *Rdo-rje mkhaḥi-ḥgro-ma*). Then the central deity of this magic circle, namely, Cakrasambara, who has four faces and twelve arms is saluted. He is said to be accompanied by his śakti, Vajravarāhī, of single face and red complexion, carrying with her a short, crooked sword (Skt. *kartari*; Tib. *gri-gug*). Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravarāhī are said to be surrounded by the following four deities in the four directions respectively.

(1) Ḍākini (Tib. Mkhaḥi-ḥgro-ma) in the North,

(2) Lāmā (Tib. Lha-ma) in the East,

(3) Khaṇḍārohā (?) in the West,

(4) Rūpavatī (Tib. Gzugs-can-ma) in the South.

This Maṇḍala has three circles of deities who are called *Citta-cakra*, *Vāk-cakra* and *Kāya-cakra*. In each of these circles there are sixteen deities.

I. K.

CAKRASAMVARA-MANDALA-VIDHI, the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkyil ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 82, No. 4638). The authorship of the work is attributed to Ye-śes-kyi Ḍākiṇī Nigu-ma (Jñānaḍākiṇī Nigu) and its translator's name is given as Darma-blo-gros. Two works by this name appear in the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM.* Nos. 1469, 1477). The first was compiled by Prajñārakṣita and translated into Tibetan by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab entitled, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo-sdom-paḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga mdor-bsdus-pa śes-bya-ba.* The second was compiled by Rgyal-ba-bzaṅ-po and translated into Tibetan by Ḥjam-dpal and Bari, entitled *Dpal bde-mchog-gi dkyil-ḥkhor bya-baḥi thabs shes-bya-ba.* Both translations are included in the Tibetan Tengyur. The Chinese version of this work is not available, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1326).

The author's first obeisance is paid to Cakrasaṃvara. This short text deals with the method of drawing the magic-circle of Cakrasaṃvara, a form of Heruka and also the method of worshipping him, etc. The advantages that the beings of the three worlds would enjoy by performing this ceremony are also described.

I. K.

CAKRASAMVARA - MANDALA - VIDHI - RATNA-PRADĪPODDYOTA, the reconstructed title of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur, under the title, *Ḥkhor-lo bde-mchog-gi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga-rin-po-che rab-tu-gsal-baḥi sgron-ma shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 1444). The author of the work is Lwa-ba-pa. The translators are Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug. This work is not mentioned in the Peking edition (*TT.*) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I. K.

CAKRASAMVARA - MANDALA - VIDHI - TATTVĀVATĀRA-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text written by Dpal Dārika-pa (Śrī Dārikapāda). A Tibetan translation of it,

attributed to Kumāravajra, Ñi-ma rdo-rje and Thog-gar dge-mdses is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2146 ; *TM*. No. 1430).

The text describes the procedure of worshipping Sambara and his circle of deities. Instructions for drawing the maṇḍala, invoking deities, making offerings to them and requesting favours from them are given in the text. Formulae to be chanted in the course of the ceremonies are quoted. For instance, the deity is to be entreated to partake of the offerings and to destroy sin with the following mantra : *Oṃ vajraḍāka kha kha khāhi khāhi sarvapāpaṃ daha bhasmī kuru svāhā*.

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA - MŪLATANTRA - PAÑJIKĀ (*Śrī-cakra*°), the Sanskrit title of a commentary of a tantra text relating to Saṃvara. A Tibetan translation of it called, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-pa rtsa-baḥi rgyud-kyi dkaḥ-ḥgrel* is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The colophon of the text gives Ryal-ba bzaṅ-po (Jayabhadra) as the name of the commentator (*TT*. Vol. 49, No. 2122 ; *TM*. No. 1406).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-NĀMA-SATĀṢṬAKA-STOTRA, a Sanskrit text in its Tibetan translation (*Dpal*) *ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi mtshan brgya-rtsa brgyad-paḥi bstod-pa*, in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2142). This text is found in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur, too, according to the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM*. No. 1425). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1304).

The first salutation is addressed to Vajraḍākinī (a class of celestial deities who in their attributes resemble superior fairies).

This is a short text dealing with a description of a form of Heruka.

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVARAPAÑCAKRAMA, a Sanskrit text found in its Tibetan translation (*Dpal*) *ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi rim-pa-lṅa-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2142) and in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the *Sde-dge* edition (*TM*. No. 1433). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1312). The authorship of the text is attributed to Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa (Vajraghaṇṭa) and the translators are known as Kṛṣṇa-pa and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba. The revision of this text was done by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan-shes-rab.

After the first salutation is addressed to Pad-ma gar-gyi dbaṅ-phyug (Avalokiteśvara), the author discusses the five-fold method of bestowing blessings on Cakrasaṃvara whose description is given. He is said to be of blue complexion, seated on the *Sūrya-maṇḍala* (Tib. *Ñi-ma dkyil-ḥkhor*), carrying with him a club with a skull at the top (Skt. *khaṭvāṅga*) and a thunderbolt (Skt. *vajra*) etc.

I.K.

CAKRASAṂVARAPAÑCAKRAMA - VṚTTI, a Sanskrit text in its Tibetan translation (*Dpal*) *ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi rim-pa lṅa-paḥi ḥgrel-pa* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2152). In the *Sde-dge* edition this text is included in the Rgyud (tantra) section (*TM*. No. 1435). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1314). Its authorship is attributed to Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa (Vajraghaṇṭa) and the translators are known as Sumatikīrti and Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug.

The author's first salutation is addressed to Cakrasaṃvara. This work is a commentary on the text *Cakrasaṃvarapañcakrama*.

I.K.

CAKRASAṂVARA-PAÑJIKĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Dpal-ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel shes-bya-ba*, incorporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. The authorship of the work is attributed to Bāpabhaṭi and the translators are known as Mi-mñam rdo-rje and Rin-chen grags (*TT*. Vol. 48, No. 2119 ; *TM*. No. 1403). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this text, but the Mongolian edition is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongol Imprime* (ed. Rintchen, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1281).

The author's first salutation is to Cakrasaṃvara. At the beginning of the text the author says that one should not nourish nor be playful with the poisonous serpent, namely, the god of love or desire (Skt. *Kāmadeva* ; Tib. *Ḥdod-lha*) and thereby rouse the

rage of Viṣṇu (Tib. *Khyab-ḥjug.*). He also says that one should seek protection from the four-faced Heruka.

This text is a very long commentary on the *Cakra-saṃvara Tantra.* The author's opinion is that this document is perfect and eminent and that it cannot be compared with any other. He also says that by studying this document one would be protected from misery.

I.K.

CAKRASAṂVARA-PAÑJIKĀ-ŚŪRA-MANOJÑĀ, a Sanskrit text extant in its Tibetan translation. See CAKRASAṂVARASYA-PAÑJIKĀ-ŚŪRA-MANO-JÑĀ-NĀMA.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA (1), the title of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs.* The author of the sādhana is Rgyal-ba bzaṅ-po (Jayabhadra). The translators are Dan-yod rdo-rje and Bali (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2191).

The sādhana describes the procedure for the invocation of Sambara, a form of Heruka. The devotee is instructed to perform purificatory rites such as washing his hands, feet and mouth, and then to sit at a suitable spot, facing the south. He should then meditate on specified topics such as the mystic significance of the three syllables of the name Heruka, and invoke him.

The form of Sambara, described in the text, has four faces, each with three eyes. He has twelve arms. With the first pair of hands he carries a *vajra* and a bell and embraces Vajravarāhī. With the second pair of hands he carries an elephent skin from which blood trickles down. In the remaining four right hands he holds a trident, a knife, a battle axe and a drum (*ḍamaru*). With the four left hands he carries a *vajra* marked magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*), a skull, a noose, and the head of Brahmā (compare the description of Sambara, the principal deity in the *Sambara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949; see also, B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 2nd ed., June 1958, pp. 161 ff.).

The sādhana continues to describe other deities who form the circle (*cakra*) of Sambara. Formulae to be chanted in the course of propitiating the deities are quoted in the text.

R.H.

CAKRASAMVARA-SĀDHANA (2), (*Śrī cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-paḥi thabs.* The author of the text is Dpal dril-bu (Śrīghaṇta). The translators are Prajñābhadra and Blo-gros grags (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2149; *TM.* No. 1432).

The text describes the procedure for propitiating Heruka whose form and retinue are described. It is the four-faced, twelve-armed Sambara form of Heruka that is described in the text (cp. CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA 1). Surrounding the central deity and his partner in the four directions are the four goddesses, Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarahā and Rūpinī. Surrounding this central group are three circles (*cakras*) of deities, viz., the *Kāya-cakra, Citta-cakra* and *Vāk-cakra.*

The deities of the *Kāya-cakra* according to this text are Khaṇḍakapālī, Pracaṇḍā, Mahākaṅkolā, Pracaṇḍākṣī, Kaṅkāla, Prabhāvatī, Vikaṭadaṃṣṭrī, Mahānāsā, Suravairī, Vīramatī, Amitābha, Kharvarī, Vajraprabha, Laṅkeśvarī, Vajradeha and Drumacchāyā. (According to the description of the *Sambara-maṇḍala* in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949, these deities form the *Citta* circle. But compare the *Cakra-saṃvara-sādhana-nāma* (q.v.) which agrees with the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*).

The deities of the *Citta-cakra* are Aṅkuraka, Airāvatī, Vajrajaṭila, Mahābhairava, Mahāvīra, Vāyuvegā, Vajrabhūṅkāra, Surābhakṣī, Subhadra, Śyāmādevī, Vajraprabha, Subhadrā, Mahābhairava, Hayakarṇī, Virūpākṣa and Khagānanā. The same deities form the *Vāk* circle in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Cakra-saṃvara-sādhana-nāma* (q.v.).

The deities of the *Vāk-cakra* are Mahābala, Cakra-vegā, Ratnavajra, Khaṇḍarohā, Hayagrīva, Śauṇḍinī, Akāśagarbha, Cakravarmiṇī; Śrī Heruka, Suvirā, Padmanartteśvara, Mahābalā, Vairocana, Cakravartinī, Vajrasattva and Mahāvīryā. (These deities form the *Kāya* circle of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and *Cakra-saṃvara-sādhana-nāma*–3, q.v.)

The text contains some mantras to be chanted in the course of invoking deities, e.g. *Oṃ Sarva-tathāgata abhiṣeka-samaya-śriye hūṃ ; Oṃ śrī vajra heheruru-kaṃ hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ ḍākini-jāla saṃbara svāhā ; oṃ vajravairocanīye, oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākinīye vajravairocanīye hūm hūṃ phaṭ.*

The mantra to be recited for making offerings and invoking blessings in return is as follows: *Oṃ kha kha khāhi khāhi sarva-yakṣa yakṣa-rākṣasa-bhūta-preta-piśāconmāda-apasmāra-vajraḍākaḍākinyādaya imaṃ balin gṛhnantu samayaṃ rakṣantu sarvasiddhiṃ me prayacchantu. Yatthaivaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ bhuñjatha*

jigṛhnātha pibatha mātikramatha mama .... viśuddhaye sahāyikā bhavamtu hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA (3), (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The author of the text is Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. The translators are Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin-chen bzaṅ-pa (*TT*. Vol 52, No. 2206).

The text describes the procedure of worship of the Sambara form of Heruka. It is the four-faced, twelve-armed form of Sambara who is described in this sādhana (for details see CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA—1). Vajravarāhī, whom he embraces with two of his arms is described as being red in colour, one-faced, three-eyed and two-armed. In her right hand she carries a knife marked with a *vajra*. In her left-hand she carries a skull filled with blood. She is nude and has dishevelled hair.

The formula for invoking Sambara and Vajravarāhī is as follows: *Oṃ śrī vajra he he ru kaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Ḍākinijāla-sambaraṃ svāhā. Oṃ sarvabuddhaḍākiniye vajra-varṇaniye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ vajravairocaniye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ.*

The text also has formulas for invoking goddesses who surround these two principal deities. These formulas contain the names of the goddesses invoked. The group of four goddesses who surround the central pair in the four directions are to be invoked thus: *Oṃ Ḍākiniye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ. Oṃ Lāme...... oṃ Khandarohe......Oṃ Rūpiniye......* The mantra for invoking the four goddesses Kākasyā etc. all who appear as door-keepers is: *Oṃ Kākasye hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ oṃ ulūkasye......oṃ śvānasye......* Another group of four goddesses, appearing in the four directions, Yamadāhī et. al. is to be invoked with the formula, *Oṃ Yamadāhye hūṃ Oṃ Yamadaṃṣṭriṇiye hūṃ oṃ Yamadūtiye hūṃ oṃ Yamamathaniye hūṃ.*

All the goddesses mentioned above have one face and four arms each. In their left hands they carry magic wands (*khaṭvāṅga*) and skulls (*kapāla*). In their right hands they carry small drums (*ḍamaru*) and knives (*kartari*). They have pretas as their seats. Compare the description of Ḍākinī and her group in the *Vajravārāhī-sādhana* of the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh*. p. 425).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA-AMṚTĀKṢARA-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text by Mi-thub zla-ba (Durjayacandra). A Tibetan translation of it called *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs bdud-rtsi ḥdsag-pa shes-bya-ba* occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2179; *TM*. No. 1462).

The text gives detailed instructions on the method of performing rites pertaining to the worship of Sambara and the goddesses who surround him, e.g., those forming the three circles, *Kāya, Vāk,* and *Citta*, whose names are enumerated in the text. The description of the four-faced, twelve-armed Sambara in this text is the same as that given in *Cakrasaṃvara-sādhana* 1 (q.v.). The method of invoking deities and the ceremony of consecrating them is described in the text. The worshipper is instructed regarding sins that he should abstain from and the virtues that he should cultivate. The seven factors of Enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*) and the eight sections of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ārya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) are enumerated and explained.

The dhāraṇī invoking the principal deity of the maṇḍala, viz., *Oṃ namo bhagavate vireśāya......*etc. (See CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA-3) describes his appearance, while the following dhāraṇī addressed to his *śakti*, Vajravarāhī, describes her: *Oṃ namo vajravarāhī mahāyoginī kāmeśvarī.... hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ tad yathā....vajrahaste śoṣaya śoṣaya Vajra-khaṭvāṅga-kapāla-dhāraṇī mahāpiśita-māṃsāśani....nara - siromālā - granthitadhāriṇī sarvapāpasatvānāṃ sarvapaśūnāṃ mahāmāṃsacchedani krodhamūrti daṃṣṭrakarālini mahāmudre Śrī Heruka-devasya agramahiṣi sahasraśire sahasrabhave sata-sahasra-anane jvalatitejase jvalamukhe piṅgala-locani vajraśarīre....advaitamahāyogini.. ....trailokya-vināśani sata-sahasra-koṭi tathāgata-parivārite hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ....*

The text quotes other mantras to be chanted while making offerings, etc.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA (1), the name of a short Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Bde-mchog ḥkhor-loḥi sgrub-thabs shes-bya-ba.* Bhūsuku (Bhusukha) is the author (*TT*. Vol. 82, No. 4663).

The text states that Heruka and the deities who surround him, such as the four youthful yoginīs in the four directions, the twenty-four deities who are arranged in three circles, and the eight deities who serve as guardians of the directions and corners should be circumambulated. The names of these deities are not mentioned.

Heruka is described as standing in a dancing attitude on a seat on the head of Viṣṇu, on the surface of Mt. Meru. He is embraced by Vajravārāhī.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA - SĀDHANA - NĀMA (2), (*Śrī-cakra°*) the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-pa myur-du sgrub-pa shes-bya-baḥi thabs.* The colophon has yet another Tibetan title, viz., *Bcom-ldan-ḥdas bde-mchog sku gsuṅ thugs-kyi sgrub-thabs.* Ye-śes-kyi mkhaḥ-ḥgro Niguma (Jñāna ḍākinī Nigu) is the author of the text (*TT.* Vol. 82, No. 4637).

Instructions on the procedure of reflecting on Sambara, his partner and his retinue form the main theme of this short text.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA - SĀDHANA - NĀMA (3), (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs ih the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-pa shes-bya-baḥi sgrub-thabs.* Brtul-shugs-kyi spyod-pa (Vratacaryā) is the author (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2162).

The text describes the procedure for the worship of Heruka. The form of Heruka described in the text is that of the four-faced, twelve-armed Sambara. The following dhāraṇī occurring in the text describes his appearance and indicates some of the symbols he carries: *Oṃ namo bhagavate vīreśāya mahākalpāgni-saṃnibhāya jaṭāmakuṭotkaṭāya daṃṣṭrā-karālogra-bhīṣaṇa-mukhāya sahasra-bhujabhāsurāya paraśu-pāśu-pāśa-triśūla-khaṭvāṅga-dhārine vyāghrājina-ambara-dhāraya. . . . . bandha bandha trāsaya trāsaya kṣobhaya kṣobhaya. . . daha daha. . . . bhakṣa bhakṣa,* etc.

The four goddesses, who surround him in the four directions are named, viz., the blue-complexioned Ḍākinī in the east, the yellow Lāmā in the north, the reddish-yellow Khaṇḍarohā in the west and the yellowish-white Rūpini in the south. They are described as standing on corpses and carrying skulls and knives. The deities of the three circles, *Citta, Vāk* and *Kāya,* and the set of eight deities who appear as gate-keepers, are also named. These are identical with those named in the *Sambara-maṇḍala* of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949).

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA - SĀDHANA - RATNA - DĪPA, (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text written by Maitrī-pa (Maitrīpāda). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Vajrapāṇi and Thos-pa dgaḥ, occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs rin-po-cheḥi sgron-ma.* The text is said to have been revised by Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba and Gnubs Lo-tsā-ba (*TT.* Vol. 51, 2201, *TM.* No. 1484).

The text describes a rite for invoking and consecrating Sambara, and making oblations and burnt offerings to him. Sambara is four-faced and twelve-armed. A dhāraṇī occurring in the text viz., *Oṃ namo bhagavate vīreśāya . . .*(See CAKRASAMVARA-SĀDHANA-NĀMA-3), describes his appearance. Besides this dhāraṇī, several other mantras are quoted in the text.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA - SĀDHANA - SARVAŚĀLINO - ṬĪKĀ-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the title of a sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) on a sādhana text relating to Saṃvara. The writer of the *ṭīkā* is Lha-sbas (Devagupta). A Tibetan translation of it, called *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs gnas thams-cad rgya-cher-ḥgrel-pa shes-bya-ba* is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 49, No. 2123 ; *TM.* No. 1407).

R.H.

CAKRASAMVARA-SĀDHANA-TATTVASAṄGRAHA-NĀMA, (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text by Dpal Darika-pa (Śrī Dārikapāda), which describes in brief the nature of a rite for propitiating Sambara and his circle of deities. A Tibetan translation of it is called *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs de-kho-na-ñid bsdus-pa shes-bya-ba.* The translation is attributed to Kumāravajra and Ñi-ma rdo-rje (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2145 ; *TM.* No. 1429). The text contains descriptions of the principal deity, the four-faced, twelve-armed Sambara, his partner, Vajravarāhī, the groups of deities who occupy the directions and the corners, and the goddesses who form the three circles, *Kāya, Vāk* and *Citta.* Mantras to be chanted while invoking these deities and making offerings are quoted in the text.

R.H.

CAKRASAMVARA-SĀDHANA-TRIMŚIKĀ-PADA-PADDHATI, (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title, *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi sgrub-thabs tshigs-bcad sum-cu-pa.* The author's name is given as Sprin-gyi bshon-paḥi lha and the translator is known as

Dharmapālabhadra (*TM.* No. 1488). This work is not found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I.K.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SAHAJA-SĀDHANA-GURU-PARAMPAROPADEŚA-BHŪṢAṆĀṄGA-DAŚAKA-NĀMA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text. *Ḥkhor-lo bde-mchog lhan-cig skyes-paḥi bsgrub-thabs, bla-ma brgyud-paḥi man-ṅag-gis brgyan-pa yan-lag bcu-pa shes-bya-ba.* Saṅghamiṭa (Saṅghamitra) is the author of the work (*TT.* Vol. 82, No. 4621).

The text describes the procedure of worship of the Sambara form of Heruka. Sambara, as described in this text, has one face, three eyes and two arms. He carries a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell in his left. He has a grinning expression. The crown of his head of plaited tufts of matted hair is adorned with the wish-fulfilling gem (*cintāmaṇi*), the new moon, a head-ornament of five *vajra*-marked skulls of human beings, and an effigy of Akṣobhya. His body is adorned with bone ornaments. He wears a garment of tiger-skin and embraces his partner, Vajravarāhī, who is red in colour. She has a grin on her face. She is three-eyed and two-armed. In her right hand she carries a knife and shows the sign of threat. In her left hand she carries a skull filled with blood and has dishevelled hair. (For a description of the two-armed Sambara elsewhere, see the *Dvibhuja-sambaropadeśa* in *Sādh.* p. 504 and also CAKRASAṂVARA-STOTRA–1.)

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SAHAJA-TATTVĀLOKA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text by Dpag-med rdo-rje (Amitavajra). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Dīpaṃkararakṣita and Chos-kyi bdaṅ-phyug, is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi lhan-cig-skyes-paḥi de-kho-na-ñid snaṅ-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2219).

The text gives instructions on meditations leading to that supreme knowledge which is innate (*sahaja*), a matter for self-experience (*svasaṃvedya,* Tib. *raṅ-rig*) and a state of great bliss (*mahāsukha, saṃvara,* Tib. *bde-mchog*).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SEKA-KRIYĀ-KRAMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text by Rtag-paḥi rdo-rje (Śāsvatavajra). A Tibetan translation of it by Bu-ston and Dharmaśrībhadra occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dbaṅ-gi bya-baḥi rim-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 51, No. 2187; *TM.* No. 1470).

The text describes in detail the manner of performing a consecration ceremony pertaining to the worship of Sambara.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-SEKA-PRAKRIYĀ, a Sanskrit text written by Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (Akṣobhyavajra). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Ye-śes-kyi mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma (Jñānaḍākinī) is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dbaṅ-gi bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 82, No. 4657; *TM.* No. 1431). The text describes the ceremony of consecrating Sambara and his partner, Vajravarāhī.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-STOTRA (1), (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi bstod-pa.* Maitri-pa (Maitrīpāda) is its author (*TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2243; *TM.* No. 1520).

The text contains stanzas in which the author pays homage to the Sambara form of Heruka, his partner and the goddesses who surround them.

Heruka is described as having one face, three eyes and two arms. He tramples Bhairava and Kālarātri with his feet. He is blue in colour and wears a garment made of tiger-skin. He bears a grin on his face and his forehead is distorted through anger. He moves with the speed of lightning. His matted hair is marked with the half-moon, a *vajra,* a skull and the effigy of Akṣobhya. He is embraced by a red-complexioned goddess, who is nude and has dishevelled hair. She carries a *vajra* and a *kapāla.* (For a description of the two-armed Sambara elsewhere, see the *Dvibhuja-sambaropadeśa* in the *Sādh.* p. 504; B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography,* Calcutta, 1958, p. 161).

After paying homage to Heruka, the author implores the god to be gracious to him, to effect the accomplishment of his desires, to endow him with virtue and to discipline him.

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-STOTRA (2), (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text in praise of the Sambara form of Heruka, composed by Rin-chen rdo-rje (Ratnavajra). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Mahājñāna and Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug, is found in

the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-pa-la bstod-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2241 ; *TM*. No. 1532).

The author pays homage to the four-faced, twelve-armed Sambara, who is said to have overcome deities like Brahmā, Indra, Agni and Ganeśa. Likewise, he addresses his partner, Vajravarāhī, a red-coloured goddess who has one face and two eyes, and other goddesses who surround this pair, e.g., the four ḍākinīs, who stand on the petals of a lotus in the four directions and the guardians of the quarters.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-STOTRA (3), (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text in praise of Sambara, composed by Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (Akṣobhyavajra). A Tibetan translation of it is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-pa-la bstod-pa* (*TT*. Vol. 82, No. 4656).

The author pays homage to Heruka, whose form as Sambara, is described. He has four faces, the principal one of which bears the colour of the sky. The face on the right is of the colour of refined gold, that on the left has the colour of the *priyaṅgu* creeper, while the face at the back has the colour of a ruby (*padmarāga*). Sambara is twelve-armed. The symbols he carries in his hands as given in this text are the same as those given in *Cakrasamvara sādhana*–1 (q.v).

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-STOTRA (4), (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text in priase of the deity Sambara, composed by Indrabhūti. A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi bstod-pa* (*TT*. Vol 51, No. 2157 ; *TM*. No. 1440).

Sambara, to whom the author pays homage is four-faced and twelve-armed. The author offers his salutations to his partner and other goddesses who surround him, such as Ḍākini and her group who occupy the four corners, the goddesses who form the *Citta*, *Vāk* and *Kāya* circles around him, and the deities who serve as gate-keepers.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-STOTRA-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi bstod-pa shes-bya-ba*. Maitripa (Maitrīpāda) is the author (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2248). The text is the same as *Cakrasamvara-stotra*–1 (q.v.).

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-STOTRA-SARVĀRTHA-SIDDHI-VIŚUDDHA-CŪḌĀMAṆI-NAMĀ (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text, composed by Dārika-pa (Dārikapāda). A Tibetan translation of it made by Dharmavajra and Brtson-ḥgrus seṅ-ge, and revised by Kumāravajra and Ñi-maḥi rdo-rje is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi bstod-pa don thams-cad ḥgrub-pa rnam-dag gtsug-gi nor-bu shes-bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 51, No. 2147 ; *TM*. No 1428).

The author eulogises and pays his salutations to the four-faced, twelve-armed form of Sambara, his partner, Vajravarāhī, and the deities who surround them.

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-SUPRATIṢṬHĀ, a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, under the title, *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi rab-gnas*. The author's name is given as Gñis-med rdo-rje and the translators are named Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban Chosḥbar (*TM*. No. 1487). This work is not mentioned in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I. K.

CAKRASAMVARASYA - PAÑJIKĀ - ŚŪRA - MANOJÑA-NĀMA, (*Śrī-cakra°*), a commentary in Sanskrit, on a text relating to Samvara, by Skal-ldan grags-pa (Bhavyakīrti). It has been translated into Tibetan by Dharmaśrībhadra and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po and included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi dkaḥ-ḥgrel dpaḥ-boḥi yid-du-ḥoṅ-ba shes-bya-ba* (*TT*. Vol. 49, No. 2121).

R. H.

CAKRASAMVARA-TANTRA (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Buddhist Tantric text (ed. Kazi Dawa-Samdup, Luzac, London, 1919 ; vide p. xiv, *The Hevajra Tantra*, D. L. Snellgrove, Part I, London, 1959).

CAKRASAMVARA-TANTRARĀJA-ADBHŪTA-ŚMAŚĀNA-ALAMKĀRA-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit tantra, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kanjur under the title, *Dpal ḥkhor sdom-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dur-khrod-kyi rgyan rmad-du byuṅ-ba shes-bya-ba*. This translation is attributed to Gāyadhara and Śākya-ye-śes (*TT*. Vol. 3, No. 57).

The text states that once the Blessed One dwelt in bliss with Vajrayoginī, who is the Body, Speech and Mind of all the Buddhas. Then gods, such as Vajragarbha, and goddesses made offerings to him. Vajragarbha then addressed the Lord Vajradhara and asked him the nature of each of the words *Śrī*, *Cakra*, *Saṃvara*, *Tantrarāja* and *Śmaśāna*. He further asked for an explanation of the terms, the *Blessed One*, *Body*, *Speech* and *Mind*, and *dwelling in Bliss*. The text contains the explanations given by the Blessed One to these questions and to others raised by a goddess on the nature of the mind and tantras.

R. H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-TANTRARĀJA-SAṂVARASAMUCCAYA-NĀMA-VṚTTI (*Śrī-cakra°*), a commentary by Indrabodhi on a tantra text relating to Sambara. A Tibetan translation of it called *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po bde-mchog bsdus-pa shes-bya-baḥi rnam-par bsad-pa* occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 49, No. 2129).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-TATTVAGARBHA-SAṂGRAHA (*Śrī-cakra°*), a text by Kusali-pa (Kuśalipāda). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Nag-gi dbaṅ-phyug (Vāgīśvara) and Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug, is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra-commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2220).

The text discusses the nature of that supreme monistic knowledge which is a matter for self-experience (Tib. *raṅ-gis rig-paḥi ye-śes*).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-TATTVOPADEŚA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a text by Kusali-pa (Kuśalipāda). A Tibetan translation of it, attributed to Vajrabodhi and Chos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug, is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi de kho-na-ñid-kyi man-ṅag* (*TT*. Vol. 52, No. 2222).

The text contains instructions for the acquisition of the state of supreme bliss (*saṃvara*, Tib. *bde-mchog*).

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA-ṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed title of the Tibetan text, *Bde-mchog ḥkhor-loḥi ti-ka* found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 83, No. 4662). The work is a commentary on *Cakrasaṃvara-sādhana-nāma*-1 (q.v.) of Bhusuku.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVARA - TRAYODASĀTMAKĀBHIṢEKA-VIDHI, the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur, under the Tibetan title, *Ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi bcu-gsum-maḥi bdag-ñid-kyi dbaṅ-bskur baḥi cho-ga shes-bya-ba* (*TM*. No. 1486). The work is attributed to Gñis-med rdo-rje and the translators are known as Jñānavajra and Shaṅ Shuṅ. This text is not included in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I.K.

CAKRASAṂVAROPADEŚA (*Śrī-cakra°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi man-ṅag*. The author of the work is Dril-bu Shabs (Ghaṇṭāpāda). The translators are Dpal Nags-kyi rin-chen and Gshon-nu dpal (*TT*. Vol. 82, No. 4654).

The text gives instructions pertaining to the worship of Heruka and his maṇḍala. After performing some initial ceremonial rites and meditating on topics like *śūnyatā*, the worshipper is instructed to meditate on Śrī Heruka, whose form as Sambara is described. His colour is blue. He has four faces, black, green, red and yellow. Each face has three eyes. He wears a garment of tiger-skin. He stands with his right leg stretched. His head is decked with five skulls. He has twelve arms (for the symbols he carries in his hands, see the description of Sambara in CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA-1). The following dhāraṇī occurring in the text contains a description of his appearance: *Oṃ namo bhagavate vīreśāya mahākalpāgnisannibhāya jaṭāmakuṭotkaṭāya daṃṣṭra-karāla-bhīṣaṇa-mukhāya sahasrabhujabhāsurāya paraśu-pāśodyata-triśūlakhaṭvāṅgadhāriṇe vyāghrājināmbaradharāya mahādhūmrāndhakāri vapuśāya hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ bandha bandha trāsaya trāsaya trāsaya kṣobhaya kṣobhaya daha daha bhakṣa bhakṣa* ....

The devotee is also asked to contemplate on Vajravarāhī, who is embraced by Sambara with two of his arms. Vajravarāhī is red in colour. She has one face and three eyes. She is nude and has dishevelled hair. In her right hand, with a pointing finger, she holds a *vajra* as a symbol. In the left, she carries a *kapāla* (cp. the description of Vajravarāhī in the *Sādh*. p. 425).

The devotee is asked to meditate further on Ḍākinī and her group of deities, the four door-keepers and the goddesses of the four corners. Besides several mantras to accompany offerings, etc., the text contains mantras to invoke the principal deity and his partner and these goddesses. They are the same as

those occurring in CAKRASAṂVARA-SĀDHANA-3 (q.v.). The text advocates the worship of the *Kāya*, *Vāk* and *Citta* circles of deities as well. See CAKRASAṂVAROPADEŚA-NĀMA.

R.H.

CAKRASAṂVAROPADEŚA - MUKHAKARṆA - PARAMPARACINTĀMAṆI, the reconstructed title of a text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, under the title *Hkhor-lo sdom-paḥi man-ṅag shal-nas sñan-du-brgyud-pa yid-bshin nor-bu shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 2337). Naropa is said to be the author of the work and the translators are Naro and Chos-kyi blo-gros. This is not found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I. K.

CAKRASAṂVAROPADEŚA-NĀMA (*Śrī-cakra°*), the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title, *Dpal ḥkhor-lo sdom-paḥi man-ṅag shes-bya-ba*. The author of the text is Gñis-med rdo-rje (Advayavajra). The translators are Varendraruci and Rma-bar chos-ḥbar (*TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2202).

The text appears to be a translation of the same original as that translated in *TT.* Vol. 82, No. 4654, viz., Cakrasaṃvaropadesa (q.v.).

R.H.

CAKRAVĀḌA, a mountain-range supposed to surround the earth. See CAKKAVĀḶA.

CAKRAVĀḶAGUPTA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139) *BHS.* s.v.

CAKRAVARMIṆĪ, name of one of the eight yoginīs of the *Kāya-cakra* (body sphere), connected with the *Prajñālokasādhana*, the propitiation of the light of wisdom (*Sādh.* II, p. 427).

CAKRAVARTI-CINTĀMAṆI or Cintāmaṇicakra is one of the six forms of Avalokiteśvara and is held in high esteem in China and Japan. (C.: Ju-i-lun Kuan-yin : J.: Nyo-i-rin Kwan-non) He is often represented as having two hands, less frequently as possessing six hands, and also as being in a meditative posture with the head slightly turned to the right and the cheek resting on the right hand while the left hand is placed on the left knee. When represented with six hands he is said to carry a wishing-gem (*cintāmaṇi*), a wheel (*cakra*), a rosary and a lotus (*ERE.* VII, 764 b).

Sometimes he is regarded as one of the eight bodhisattvas who guides the dead to Amitābha's paradise. An incident illustrating his wish-yielding nature is found in the Japanese text called *Fuso-ryakki* where it is narrated how Ryōben obtained from Riku-oku province nine hundred *ryo* (unit of old Japanese coinage) gold for the great Buddha image of Tōdaiji. Gold was needed for the construction of the Daibutsu of Tōdaiji, and the oracle of Usa Hachiman had directed that the gold should be found from Japan itself. Another oracle declared that this gold could be obtained if prayers are offered to a Nyoirin Kannon image specially erected for this purpose. The image was erected at a selected spot and prayers offered, and within a few days in answer to the prayers Riku-oku province presented the gold (De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, II, pp. 555 and 643).

Perhaps, Cintāmaṇi-Lokeśvara, who, according to the belief of the Indian Buddhist represents one of the hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara, is the same as the above mentioned. But he, whose figure is painted on a panel in the Machhandar Vahal (or the temple of Matsyendranātha) in Nepal, is represented as standing on a lotus. His left hand is held near the navel and in the right he carries a small *caitya* (See B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 430).

S.K.N.

CAKRAVARTIDATTA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139)

CAKRAVARTIN (1) (Pali: *Cakkavatti*). This Sanskrit term is freely translated in different ways, a few of them being Universal Monarch, World-ruler, Wheel-king, Wheel-turner. The grammar of the term '*cakravartin*', too, has been explained in different ways, and from these explanations it becomes clear that the meaning of the compound varies in accordance with the grammatical importance attached to the latter half of the compound *°vartin*. H. H. Wilson explained this term as, 'he who abides in (*vartate*) or rules over an extensive territory called *cakra*.'[1] Jacobi agrees with Wilson

1 *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, I, ed. Hall, Trübner, 1840, p. 183, n. 1.

regarding the interpretation of the term °*vartin*, but points out that the meaning Wilson gives to *cakra* is not found in ancient Sanskrit literature, though it is mentioned by native lexicographers. According to H. Kern's explantion °*vartin* means *vartayati*, who rules.[3] E. Senart suggests a completely different interpretation. According to him '*cakravartin*' means, 'one who owns a *cakravāla*,' a term which he derives from *cakravarta*. But it should be noted that the term *cakravarta* occurs neither in Sanskrit nor in Prakrit.[4] However, at the end of his work he abandons this view and supports the theory put forward by Lassen who says that cakravartin is the sun-god who sets his adorable wheel in motion across the space.[5] Weber, too, seems to support this view.[6] By translating the terms as, 'king of the rolling wheel' and considering the wheel to be the disc of the sun, T. W. Rhys Davids also seems to have endorsed this view.[7] O. H. de A. Wijesekara takes °*vartin* to be the strengthened (*guṇa*) form of *vṛt* with a primary agent suffix *-in* added, and he concludes that this term originally meant, 'one who turns or rolls' (either transitively or intransitively), and translates the compound as, 'turner of the *cakra*' or 'wielder of the *cakra*.' Further, he compares this with a parallel Pali form *vasavatti* meaning, 'wielder of power.'[8] This last mentioned interpretation seems to be the most appropriate one when considering the real significance of the cakravartin concept.

There are, also, different views regarding the origin of the concept of cakravartin. When this term was first used to designate a universal monarch cannot be stated with certainty. The first occurrence of the term is in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (i. 4) where mention is made to fifteen cakravartins. Then the term occurs in the epics; in some episodes found in the *Mahābhārata*, as for example that of Bharata, son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. Here it is also said that the 'wheel' of Bharata met with no obstacles on his victorious march (i, 73, 30; cp. 74, 124 and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, cxxx, v. 6). The Purāṇas, too, speak of a number of cakravartins, the most prominent among them being Pṛthu Vainyu.[9] The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (I, p. 183) says that Brahmā saw in Pṛthu Vainyu's hand the *cakra*, sign of Viṣṇu, as found in every cakravartin. As stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (book iv, chps. xv, xvi), it is Viṣṇu who presents him with the *sudarśana cakra* at his coronation. These modifications show the Vaiṣṇavaite influence on this concept. It should also be noted that these references show that the connection between the wheel and World-ruler was already established by this time. The classical writers use this term in both meanings, as designating a World-ruler, or in its secondary meaning as denoting a prominent member of a class.

The concept of cakravartin could not have sprung all at once in the minds of the Indian people. There should be an allied concept from which this idea developed. The concept of a World-ruler is quite ancient in India. The term used to designate such a paramount lord, whose authority was acknowledged by the rest, is *samrāj*. The first occurrence of this term can be traced to the *Ṛgveda*. There it is exclusively applied to such important gods as Varuṇa and Indra, and of these two also it is more often used as the designation of Varuṇa.[10] There seems to be some connection between these Vedic concepts and that of the cakravartin.

The widely accepted view is that the carkavartin concept is based on a sun-god.[11] Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids does not seem to fully endorse this view. Writing on the origin of this concept she says, "we must by no means give all the credit to the sun as suggesting a wheel."[12] Further, she adds that the *cakra* here implies "the progressive discus, rolling on, as well as round, symbols of the procession of cosmic force or the advance of an

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2 Jacobi (*ERE*. III, p. 337) takes *cakra* to mean a 'circle' and equates it with the political *maṇḍala* as found in *Manu* (vii, 156 ff.) and the *Kāmandakī-nīti-śāstra* (viii, pp. 20 ff.). But Wijesekara (The Symbolism of the Wheel in the cakravartin concept, *Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 262–67) points out that this notion of *cakra* is post-Buddhistic and therefore cannot have been at the bottom of the symbolism of the wheel relavant to the concept of *cakravartin*.

3 *Der Buddhismus*, i. p. 27 n. ***

4 É. Senart, *Essai sur la legende du Buddha*, pp. 6 and 17.

5 ibid. p. 190.

6 *Indische Streifen*, III, p. 422.

7 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. III, pt. ii, p. 202 n. 2 and 3; See also *Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1897, p. 131.

8 op. cit. pp. 263–64.

9 He is said to have settled the earth and called it by his name.

10 A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 24.

11 Lassen, Senart, Rhys Davids are all in favour of such a theory.

12 *Wayfarer's Words*, London, 1941, II, p. 549.

aggressive conqueror."[13] Commenting on this, Wijesekara writes, "By 'cosmic forces,' presumably, she refers to the cyclic movement of nature such as those of the year, seasons and months, and by 'advance of an aggressive conqueror' this resourceful writer obviously alludes to the war-chariot of a victorious monarch in its militaristic progress."[14] Further, he cites an extract from Jacobi who says, "The first part of the compound word cakravartin being popularly referred to the discus of Viṣṇu, the symbol of the sun, the cakravartin assumed, in popular imagination, some traits which properly belong to the divine wielder of the *cakra*."[15] Basing his arguments on these observations Wijesekara tries to trace the origin of the cakravartin concept to the Ṛgvedic god Indra. He argues that the *cakra* of the cakravartin is the same as that of Indra, who in the *Ṛgveda* is often referred to as the wielder of the *cakra* (ii, 11, 20). He further observes that one cannot fail to note the striking similarity of some achievements of Indra to the career of the cakravartin as found mainly in Buddhist literature.

Indra, who, when compared with Varuṇa, falls into the newer category of gods, is a god of the conquering type. The essence of his character is the heroism of a warrior, very energetic in dispensing authority. He is the irresistible *soma* drinking monarch, who mercilessly vanquishes his foes. He, if not the most, is one of the two most important gods in the *Ṛgveda*. He attains universal sovereignty, not by right but by might and power, subduing his foes by fierce means. His attempt is, on the whole, not to establish righteousness, law and order, but to conquer and vanquish his enemies, to seize and plunder whatever wealth possible. He is the conqueror of men (viii, 16, 1), conqueror of peoples (i, 119, 10 etc.), all-conquering (iii, 47, 5). In the *Ṛgveda* itself he is referred to as, 'the hero, Indra, all-conquering, mightiest lord of all the tribes' (vi, 44, 4). From these references it is obvious that the stress is always on his warrior-like character. The moral side of his character is not very significant. His attributes are mostly those of physical superiority and of dominion over the physical world. It is very difficult to see a similarity between this oncept and that of the Buddhist cakravartin.

At the outset it should be noted that the *cakra* of Indra is a dreadful weapon, whereas that of the cakravartins, mentioned in Buddhist literature, is the wheel of righteousness. Righteousness is the most significant feature in a cakravartin's character, and this Indra lacks. The cakravartins, spoken of in Buddhist texts, are not merciless warriors, but majestic, pious kings who bring about law, order and righteousness in the world. It is impossible to conceive of a similarity between the *soma*-drinking, ruthless warrior Indra and the Buddhist cakravartins.[16]

However, it can be argued that Buddhism brought about a sobering effect on Indra's character and thus adjusted it to suit Buddhist ethics. But, there is no necessity to assume such a possibility. It is quite well-known that the *Ṛgveda* possesses a god, Varuṇa by name, the very essence of whose character is righteousness. He is the god, who is as important as Indra. He belongs to the older order of the Ṛgvedic gods and, therefore, is anterior to Indra. The title *saṃrāj* is applied to him more often than to Indra. He is the king of both men and gods (x, 132, 4 and ii, 27, 10), of the whole world (v, 85, 3) and also, of all that exists (vii, 87, 6). The attributes of sovereignty (*kṣatra*), ruler (*kṣatriya*)[17] and king (*rājā*) are often applied to him. He is the self-dependent ruler (ii, 28, 1), the guardian of law and order, *-ṛta* (*ṛtasya gopā*), observer of order (*ṛtāvan*), who by means of order upholds the order (1, 23, 5).[18] He is the cherisher of order (i, 2, 8), the great lord of the laws of nature. As the lord of morals he is far above all the other Ṛgvedic gods, including Indra. He punishes evil-doers and employs spies to find out the wrong-doings of men. His wrath is roused by sin, the infringement of his moral ordinances, which he punishes severely (vii, 86, 3 and 4). He is angered by falsehood; he forms a barrier against falsehood (vii, 65, 3). He binds with fetters the guilty ones.

The connection between Varuṇa and the sun is quite obvious in the *Ṛgveda*. There the sun is referred to as a wheel (i, 175, 4; iv, 30, 4) or as the wheel of order or righteousness (*ṛta* : i, 164, 11). Varuṇa, as the lord of the moral and the physical aspects of the world, is said to have placed the sun in the sky and is also said to have prepared

13 ibid. p. 540.

14 op. cit. p. 263.

15 *ERE*. III, p. 337.

16 This becomes more apparent when considering his ordinances which are mainly based on the five precepts.

17 Compare the epithets of Mahāsudassana, *khattiyo muddhāvasitto* (anointed *kṣatriya*), *D*. II, 169.

18 Mitra is also connected with Varuṇa in these accomplishments.

— CP 14744 (7/73)

a path for it to roll on, bringing about law and order in the world. *Ṛta* indicates the movement of the sun or, in other words, the path of the sun. The law of Varuṇa is the law of *ṛta*.[19] Therefore, by setting in motion the wheel of *ṛta*, he established his own ordinances. The most prominent feature of a cakravartin, as mentioned in Buddhist literature is his righteousness. He brings about law and order. He conquers the world not by war but by righteousness and rules it also by righteousness.[20] He makes the people accept his authority and also makes them abide in accordance with his ordinances. The state of cakravartin is not hereditary. It is to be acquired by following the *ariyan* duty of a cakravartin and not by waging war. The *cakra* is the symbol of righteousness of a cakravartin. The ordinances of a cakravartin are symbolically represented by the *cakra*. The cakravartin implores the *cakra* to roll forward and wherever it stopped, the authority and the ordinance of the cakravartin are established there. This clearly shows that the *cakra* symbolises his authority as well as the ordinances. Thus, the law of a cakravartin is symbolically represented by the *cakra*. Therefore, it seems probable that the Vedic concepts of Varuṇa and *ṛta* are the basis of the Buddhist concept of a cakravartin. (see also CAKRA).

However, the influence of the Indra-concept on that of the cakravartin cannot be completely denied. With the lapse of time, in the Ṛgvedic period itself, Varuṇa began to lose his pre-eminent position while Indra began to acquire prominence. The warrior-like character of Indra captured the heart of the Vedic Indians and soon he came to be regarded as the national god. This change in the pantheon of gods reflects a change of outlook among Ṛgvedic Indians. It shows that their notions regarding kingship, too, had changed. Instead of righteousness, heroism, the conquering spirit, and ruthlessness were regarded as the essential qualities of a king, specially of a World-ruler and universal monarch. This change of the notions of kingship is reflected also in the later Vedic literature, for, the cakravartins spoken of in the *Brāhmaṇas*, epics and *Purāṇas* are more akin in character to Indra than to Varuṇa. In the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*, a king who aspired to attain over-lordship had to let loose a horse,[21] followed by the four-fold army, allowing it to roam about at will. Whichever region the horse wandered about without any opposition that region came under the authority of that particular king to whom the horse belonged. If by chance the people of a particular region happened to obstruct the progress of the horse, the king to whom that horse belonged had to wage war and defeat them. After the completion of this conquest of the regions, the king performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, which is performed only by World-rulers. However, none of these World-rulers mentioned in Vedic and post-vedic literature come close to the Buddhist ideal of cakravartin. It is true that some of their traits are found in cakravartins spoken of in Buddhist texts. For example, when a cakravartin sets the wheel of righteousness rolling, the four-fold army also follows it, just as was the case when the horse was let loose. Certain epithets that are applied, also, show the influence of the Indra-concept, e.g., *vijitāvī* (conqueror). But these are not the most prominent features of the concept as developed in Buddhist literature.

In Buddhist literature the cakravartin is regarded as the temporal counterpart of the Buddha who is the spiritual leader of men. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D*. II, pp. 12 ff.) makes it known that the birth of a child who is destined to be a cakravartin is attended by the same miracles as the birth of a Buddha. The youth of a cakravartin is the same as that of a Buddha. Both of them possess the thirty-two signs of a great being. At the birth of a child who possesses these signs the soothsayers are unable to predict with certainty which of the two, namely, a Buddha or a cakravartin, he will become. These are the two destinies that await such a child and the attainment of a particular destiny depends on the aspirations made in previous births. According to the Buddhist view, cakravartins are born only during the *kappas* in which Buddhas are not born (*SA*. III, p. 131).

As pointed out before, the state of cakravartin is not hereditary. Only those who are destined to become cakravartins can attain it. As the title signifies, a king attains to that state only after obtaining the wheel. The wheel is the first treasure to appear, of its own will, to a virtuous king, carrying out the *ariyan* duty. Its appearance is described in the *Dīgha nikāya* (*D*. II, pp. 61–2) as

19 The sun is the most prominent and the most striking feature in the whole concept of *ṛta*. Therefore, the movement of the sun became the symbolic representation of the working of the whole cosmic order.

20 *Adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijiya* (conquering not by scourge, nor by sword, but by righteousness), see *DPPN*. p. 1343. Compare also the titles *dhammiko* (righteous) *dhammarājā* (righteous ruler).

21 It should be noted that the sun is sometimes referred to as a swift horse in the *Ṛgveda* (vii, 77.3). Compare also the list of treasures, found at the churning of the ocean, as they are explained in *ERE*. III, p. 554.

follows: Even so sire, answered the anointed king, and obeying, carried out the *ariyan* duty of a sovran lord. To him, thus behaving, when on the feast of the full moon he had gone in due observance with bathed head to the chief upper terrace, the celestial wheel revealed itself, with its thousand spokes, its tyre, its navel, and all its parts complete. And seeing this it occurred to the king: "it has been told me that a king to whom on such an occasion the celestial wheel reveals itself completely, becomes a wheel-turning monarch. May I, even I, also become a sovran of the world." When it thus appears he implores it, sprinkling it with water, to roll on and he himself follows it with the four-fold army. It first rolls forwards the region of the east. Then it traverses the four continents, Pubbavideha, Jambudīpa, Aparagoyāna and Uttarakuru. In whatever place the *cakra* stops, there the cakravartin takes up his abode together with the four-fold army. Then all the kings in those quarters come up to him and declare their allegiance. He then advises the people in those regions to lead virtuous lives by following the five-precepts. Traversing the four quarters, it returns to the city and stands, as if fixed, in front of the judgement hall (*attha-karaṇa-pamukhe*) at the entrance to the inner apartments of the king, lighting up the façade of the inner apartment. After the *cakra*, appear the other six treasures namely, *hatthi-ratana* (the elephant-treasure) which is either the youngest of the *chaddanta-kula* (herd) or the oldest of the *uposatha-kula, assa-ratana* (the horse-treasure) named Valāhaka, able to fly through the air; *maṇi-ratana* (gem-treasure), Veḷuriya by name, with eight facets and shedding light for a league around; *itthi-ratana* (woman-treasure) belonging either to the royal family of Madda or Uttarakuru and perfect in stature; *gahapati-ratana* (treasurer) who has the power to discover hidden treasures and finally *pariṇāyaka-ratana* (advisor) who is generally the cakravartin's eldest son.[22]

As indicated by the *Mahāsudassana Sutta* (*D.* II, pp. 177 ff.), a cakravartin seems to have had four marvellous gifts (*iddhi*) which are not common to other men. Firstly, he was graceful in figure, pleasing in manner and most beautiful in complexion. Secondly, he had longevity. Thirdly, he was free from disease and physical suffering; his internal fire, which was neither too hot nor too cold, promoted digestion. The final gift was his immense popularity among all classes of men.

It is quite obvious from Buddhist texts, that righteousness is the foundation of the rule of a cakravartin. The *ariyan* duty of a cakravartin (*ariyaṃ cakkavatti-vattaṃ*), as mentioned in the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta* (*D.* III, p. 61), shows the superiority of right over might. Righteousness is the feature that is most stressed. Thus a cakravartin had to conduct himself in accordance with the *dhamma*, provide the right watch, ward and protection (*dhammikaṃ-rakkhāvaraṇa-guttiṃ*) for all and prevent wrong doings (*adhamma*). He had to advise his subjects regarding right and wrong, what is to be done and left undone, thus deterring them from evil. Further, the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*, too, points out how he should work for the well-being of the people.[23] When *ariyan* duty is not adhered to by the king the people do not prosper. It has to be carried out fully, for even when partially practised various calamities appear.

When a cakravartin is about to die the *cakra* gets dislodged from its place and sinks down slightly. A cakravartin knowing this sign should abandon household life and retire into a homeless life, handing over the kingdom to his eldest son. On the seventh day after he has gone forth into homelessness, the *cakra* completely disappears. Then his son, who is already appointed king, informs his father of its disappearance. The latter advises the son that the state of cakravartin is not a parental heritage and that he should follow the *ariyan* duty if he is to attain that state. At the death of a cakravartin the three treasures, namely, the elephant, the horse and the gem, return to where they came from. Of the three other treasures the woman loses her beauty, the treasurer his divine vision and the adviser his efficiency (*DA.* II, p. 635).

This is the normal pattern of succession. The *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta* mentions seven such World-rulers who succeeded one another. But when a king becomes devoid of virtue and does not follow the *ariyan* duty, the wheel disappears for ever.

In later literature three sorts of cakravartins are mentioned. They are *cakkavāḷa* or *cāturanta-cakkavatti* (ruling over the four continents), *dīpa-cakkavatti* (ruling over one continent) and *padesa-cakkavatti* (ruling over part of one, *DA.* I, p. 249).

22 When these particular treasures and the number seven became fixed is not exactly known. Jaina literature speaks of fifteen such treasures of a cakravartin. Senart thinks that many of the treasures of a cakravartin are analogous or identical with the treasures produced at the churning of the ocean (See *ERE.* VII, loc. cit.).

23 Consider also the epithet *janapadatthāvariyappatto*, (has established social and political stability in the land: *D.* III, p. 59).

No woman can become a cakravartin.[24] The obsequies of the Buddha, including the erection of a stūpa over the bodily relics, are, on the recommendations of the Buddha himself, modelled on those of a cakravartin (*D.* II, p. 141 f.).

The Jaina cakravartin concept, is, in all essential features, very similar to that of the Buddhists. The Jainas, too, consider him as having the highest temporal power, side by side with Jina, who has the highest spiritual power. There, too, the *cakra* is the most important treasure and thus the epithets *cakradhara* and *cakrin* meaning 'possessor of the *cakra*' have become synonyms of cakravartin. However, the number of *ratanas* is not limited to seven as in Buddhist literature (see *ERE.* III, pp. 336 f.).

S.K.N.

CAKRAVARTIN, (2)one of the *uṣṇīṣarājānaḥ* mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (*Mmk.* 41).

CAKRAVARTINĪ, one of the eight yoginīs of the *Kāya-cakra* (body-sphere), connected with the *Prajñālokasādhana*, (the propitiation of the light of wisdom : *Sādh.* II, p. 427).

CAKRAVARTI SŪTRA, a Sanskrit work, designated as part of the *Abhidharma* in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* (*Mahākarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, ed. S. Lêvi, Paris, 1932, pp. 59, 94, 102 and 103). According to these references, the Buddha is said to have explained in this sūtra the merits on account of which a World-ruler (*rājā cakravarti*) comes to possess his royal treasures such as the elephant, horse, gem, etc.

A.G.S.K.

CAKRAVEGĀ, one of the eight yoginīs of the *Kāya-cakra* (body-sphere), connected with the *Prajñālokasādhana*, the propitiation of the light of wisdom (*Sādh.* II, p. 427).

CAKRAVICITRA, a world system (*lokadhātu*), where the Tathāgata Dharmarāja appeared (*Gvyū.* p. 150).

CAKRAVYŪHA, a kiṃnara king mentioned in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (p. 3. *BHS.* s.v.).

CAKROPADEŚA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which is found in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (Tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Ḥkhor-loḥi man-ṅag shes-bya-ba.* The author of the work is Suvāgiśvarakīrti. The Tibetan translation is attributed to Dīpaṃkara, Rgya Lo (-tsa-ba) and Brtosn Seṅ-ge. Rin-chen-gse is said to have revised the work (*TT.* Vol. 79, No. 3696). The text contains instructions pertaining to maṇḍala ritual.

R.H.

CAKṢU, eye. See CAKKHU.

CAKṢURVIŚODHANA-VIDYĀ, known in Chinese as (*Fu-shuo-*)*chou-mu-ching,* is incorporated in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This was translated by Thân-wu-lan (Dharmarakṣa?) of the eastern Tsin dynasty, 317–420 A.C. (*Nanjio,* No. 483 and *Taishō,* No. 1328).

CAKṢURVIŚODHANA-VIDYĀ-DHĀRAṆĪ, known in Chinese as (*Fu-shuo-*) *mêng-ch'ing-i-ch'ieh-yen-chi-ping-t'o-lo-ni-ching,* is found in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The author's name is not known. However, this seems to be an earlier translation of *Nanjio,* No. 905 (See *Nanjio,* No. 982 ; cp. 483 ; *Taishō,* No. 1324).

S.K.N.

CAKṢURVIŚODHANĪ - NĀMA - VIDYĀ - MANTRA, (*Ārya-c°*), a text containing a mantra for the cure of ailments of the eye (lit. for the purification of the eye). A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title, *Hphags-pa mig rnam-par-sbyoṅ-ba shes-bya-baḥi rig-sṅags* (*TT.* Vol. 7, No. 302). According to *Sde-dge* edition this work occurs twice in the Kangyur, once in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section (*TM.* No. 619) and again in the Gzuṅs-ḥdus (dhāranī) section (*TM.* No. 1008). Amoghavajra (746–71 A.C.) of the T'ang dynasty, translated the work into Chinese. It bears the title *Fu-shuo-nêng-ching-i-ch'ieh-yen-chi-ping-t'o-lo-ni-ching,* which means 'Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the dhāraṇī of purifying all the diseases of the eye' and is included in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* (*Taishō,* No. 1324 ; *Nanjio,* No. 982).

The Buddha was once living in a large town among the Śākyans. At the time there was a Śākyan called Sukha (Tib. *bdo-ba*), who had faith in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and took refuge in them. In course of time, being afflicted with an ailment of the eyes, he lost his vision. As he had faith in the Buddha, he paid homage to him addressing him as the Enlightener, the Lamp-bearer and the Light-bearer, and prayed that his vision be restored (*lit.* that his eyes be purified). The Buddha heard this through his divine ear. Rising

24 Reasons for this are given in *AA.* I, p. 254.

from his state of meditation (*samādhi*) he asked Ānanda, to go to the Śākyan Sukha and afford him protection with the *Cakṣurviśodhanī* mantra; *Hi li mi li ki li mi li hi li te mi li hu ya hu yar.... cakṣur.... viśodhaya svāhā.*

The Buddha also asked Ānanda to confer the beneficial effects of this mantra on the four-fold congregation of monks, nuns and male and female lay-disciples. He spoke of the efficacy of this mantra against ailments caused by each of the three humours of the body, wind (*vāyu*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*śleshman*), or a combination of all three. The Buddha spoke further in praise of the mantra, which he said had been taught by six Buddhas prior to him. Ānanda, did as he was told, went to Sukha, taught him the mantra and asked him to recollect it three times a day. Sukha did so and his sight was restored.

R.H.

CAKṢUṢMATĪ, a goddess mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 60).

CĀLA, a thera, a son of Cālā and nephew of Sāriputta. He was ordained by his other uncle Khadiravaniya Revata (*Thag. v.* 42; *ThagA.* I, p. 117). He and some other eminent elders were once staying at the Kūṭāgārasālā in Vesāli and left the place when they were disturbed in their meditation by the Licchavis who visited the Buddha. For their action they received praise from the Buddha. Cāla is referred to as a notable disciple and was probably an arahant (*A.* V, 133 f.).

L.R.G.

CĀLĀ, (1), a therī. She was born in the Nālakagāma in Magadha as the daughter of Surūpasārī, a brāhmaṇī. Sāriputta was her elder brother. She had three more brothers, Canda, Upasena and Revata and two younger sisters, Upacālā and Sisūpacālā. Cālā with her sisters enterd the Order under the guidance of Sāriputta. They all became arahants. One day, when Cālā therī was resting in the Andhavana, Māra visited her and tried to tempt her, but in vain (*ThīgA.* pp. 162 ff.; *DhpA.* II, pp. 188 ff.). The conversation between Māra and Cālā is given in dialogue form in the *Therīgāthā* (*vv.* 182–8). The *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, p. 132) puts Cālā's reply to Māra into the mouth of Sisūpacālā and Upacālā's words are attributed to Cālā.

H.R.P.

CĀLĀ (2), one of the two chief female disciples of Phussa Buddha (*Buv.* xix, p. 20; *J.* I, p. 41).

CĀLĀ (3), chief lay woman-supporter of Sumaṅgala Buddha (*Buv. v.* 28).

CALAKALPĀ, name of a country near Magadha. See ALLAKAPPA (1).

CALAMAKUṬA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 137).

CALANA, vibration, has acquired a specialised technical meaning in later Buddhist psychology. A thought-unit (*cittuppāda*) has been analysed into a maximum of seventeen moments (*khaṇa*) which only occur, however, in a complete and full-grown (*atimahanta*) thought. But even when a thought does not reach the stage of maturity of consciousness (*viññāṇa*) and remains at the submerged level of sensation and perception, when thought is mere reaction, even then there is the vibration in the subconscious stream (*bhavaṅga-calana*) which is the impact, the disturbance, caused by the introduction of a new object or event.

Such vibration may be a weak impact and then the disturbance of the thought-current does not become an obstruction. But when the vibration, the impact, the disturbance, is great, it will force the mind into new lines of thought. Then the *calana* becomes *upaccheda*, interruption.

Therefore, although *calana* (as the second moment in a thought-unit) is there always at the arising of a new thought, such thought sometimes does not develop into full consciousness, and then the vibration subsides without its impact being felt at any of the sense-doors. Swept away by the current, it is received, but not perceived. And such a shortlived unit is called empty or vain (*moghavāra*).

H.G.A.v.Z.

CĀLĀ SUTTA, sixth discourse of the *Bhikkuṇī Saṃyutta* (*S.* p. I, 132 f.), records a visit of Māra to the bhikkhunī Cālā, his questions, her replies and the ultimate disappearance of Māra. When Cālā was seated under a tree in a grove at Sāvatthi for her noonday rest, Māra appeared before her and asked her what it was that she found no delight in, to which she replied, 'In rebirth'. Māra asked her again as to who put that idea into her mind since beings, when they are born, enjoy the pleasures of the senses. Cālā's answer was that beings when born see life's ills such as death, bonds and torments, and it was the Buddha, the All-wise One who taught this doctrine and established her in the truth. Māra then disappeared.

It is said in the *Saṃyutta* commentary (*SA.* I, p. 192) that by asking 'who put this idea into your mind', Māra's insistence was 'a fool'. Hence, her

emphasis on the teaching of the All-wise One. The stanzas attributed to Upacālā in the *Therīgāthā* (*vv.* 189-95) bear a close similarity in subject-matter to the *Cūlā Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.

H.R.P.

CALEFACTORY ELEMENT or the element of heat (*tejo-dhātu*), one of the four principal elements. See MAHĀ BHŪTA.

CALENDAR. Strictly speaking, a system of time-reckoning which is peculiarly Buddhist, either by origin or by characteristics does not appear to be, or to have been from the earliest times. What is referred to as the Buddhist calendar may be understood only as a term applied to those systems of time-reckoning which are mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures and/or utilized by Buddhist communities of the past and present for calculation and determination of time for purposes related to their religious activities. This article confines itself to the scriptural sources of information.

There seems to be sufficient evidence to believe that by the time the earliest Buddhist scriptures came into being, there was already current in the immediate social environment of the Buddhists a system of dividing time into periods of years, months and days. That this system might have been of considerably long standing may be inferred from the fact that the oldest known of Indian literature, the *Ṛgveda* (I, i, 164, 11 ;) had already these three divisions calculated in terms of numerical units, the year consisting of 12 months of 30 days each, totalling upto 360 days per year.[1] Even if Ṛgvedic knowledge remained esoteric, that knowledge would, in its application have percolated down to the ordinary society with which the Buddhists were in contact and from which they would have derived their own methods and practices in time-reckoning. A division of the year into seasons had also naturally been observed and come into pre-Buddhistic literature and the attempt, revealed in the *Ṛgveda* itself, to adjust the lunar and solar years by the intercalation of a " later-born " month discloses that the need was already being felt for a conventional calendar in preference to a natural one. These developments and concepts constitute the background to the emergence and evolution of calendrical notions among the Buddhists.

Most of the references in early Buddhist literature, particularly the canonical, to calendrical time-divisions seem to be incidental and fragmentary. Such a reference, which, inspite of being incidental, still enables us to infer the inter-relations between units of time-reckoning in vogue, is in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D*. II, p. 327) which speaks of a time unit of 100 years, each year containing 12 months of 30 days each, totalling upto 360 days. This passage in the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* (loc. cit.) refers to an event probably posthumous to the Buddha, but in all likelihood not later than 50 years from his demise. It places in the mouth of an immediate disciple, Kumāra Kassapa, a comparison of human time-divisions with those believed to be obtaining in the celestial word of the Tāvatiṃsa gods, which runs as follows :

" That which, in human reckoning, is a century (*vassa sataṃ*), this to the thirty-three gods, is one ' night and day ' (*rattin-diva*). Of such nights, thirty constitute the month (*māsa*), and of such months, twelve make the year (*saṃvacchara*)."

It is too obvious to point out that the comparison is with the time-divisions obtaining in the India known to Kumāra Kassapa and his contemporary Buddhists. There is, however, a similar incidental reference in an *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. IV, p. 252) passage which places an almost identical comparison of time-divisions, this time with several celestial worlds, in the mouth of the Buddha which indicates that Kumāra Kassapa was expressing a view already expressed by the Buddha himself, and that the former probably derived his information from that source. It is, therefore, possible to conclude that these time-divisions were already accepted by the

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1. Griffith in *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda* translates the relevant lines :

" Formed with twelve spokes, by length of time unweakened,
Rolls round the heavens this wheel of during Order.
Herein established, joined in pairs together
Seven hundred sons and twenty stand " (*Rv.* I,i, 164, 11).

The metaphor of ' the spokes ' obviously alludes to the twelve months of the year. So does the metaphor of the 'seven hundred and twenty sons'to the number of days contained in one year, the phrase 'joined in pairs' suggesting a calculation of two sons per day which makes the number of days 360. A similar metaphorical allusion is made in the lines :

" Twelve are the fellies, and the wheel is single.
Three are the naves, what man hath understood it?
Therein are set together three hundred and sixty
Which in no wise can be loosened " (*Rv.* I, i, 164, 48).

Neither the word 'month' (*māsa*) nor 'year' (*saṃvatsara*) are made direct reference to in this context, but both of them occur frequently in the *Ṛgveda*, the former, for instance, in the lines "Preserve us through many months and autumns" (*Rv.* I, vii, 912) while the latter occurs in *Rv.* I, i, 110, 4 ; 140. 2 ; etc.,

Buddhist community during the Buddha's life-time and that the Buddha made no alteration to the prevailing calendrical notions of the day but merely wished to accept them for his purposes. The Buddhist acceptance, then, was that basically the year was divided into 12 months of 30 days each, i.e., the time-divisions already observed to be accepted as far back as the *Ṛgveda*.

It is obvious too that these three time-divisions were based on the observation of natural phenomena, the apparent motion of the sun, moon and stars as were the Vedic time-divisions. That the Buddhists were conscious of this connection is supported by a statement in the *Aggañña Suttanta* (*D.* III, p. 90 f.), which proposes to explain the origin, among other things, of the time-divisions adopted by Man. Here, the first inhabitants of the earth, the Ābhassara (q.v.), having become earth-bound, after tasting of the earth, bemoan the loss of their self-luminance, thus: " As we did so, our self-luminance vanished away. When it was gone, moon and sun became manifest. When moon and sun became manifest, the constellations (*nakkhattāni tārakarūpāni*) became manifest. When the constellations became manifest, night and day were perceived. When night and day were perceived, months and half-months were perceived. When months and half-months were perceived, seasons and years were perceived."

It will be observed that this passage not only connects the calendrical time divisions with the natural movements associated with the moon and sun, but also notes the connection of the time-divisions with the constellations. Not only are the phases of the moon taken account of but also its journey throughout the year. The passage also adds two more natural divisions to the three mentioned in the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* (loc. cit), namely, the half-month (*addhamāsa*, var. *addhamāsa*) and the seasons (*utu*). The tendency towards a lunar bias in Buddhist time-reckoning, already seen, is thus further confirmed, particularly by the admission of the fortnight as a significant time unit as well as the noting of the moon's annual journey.

Nevertheless, the solar factor too, seems to have been taken account of, as is obvious from the passage including the seasons among its time-divisions. The seasons, in fact, seem to have played an important part in the Buddhist indications of time, and their distribution of it. Frequent mention is made in the canonical literature, especially for purposes of indicating time, of one or other of the seasons. Winter, summer, autumn as well as a rainy and a dry season are referred to (*e.g.*, *D.* II, p 183, *M.* I, pp. 79. 115; *S.* III, p. 155; V, 51; *A.* V, p 27; *Sn. v.* 233; *Vin.* I, p 253) in this manner, but a conception of three seasons, hot, rainy and wintry is found in the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, p 21) in connection with the seasonal abodes of Vipassī Buddha where the rainy season is separated out, as the context demands, to be described as consisting of four months. The possible surmise that the other two seasons were also divided into equal parts of four months is confirmed by an *Aṅguttara-nikāya* passage (*A.* IV, p. 138) which gives the exact distribution of the year in terms of the cycle of the seasons, not only into months but also fortnights, days and the number of meal-times, thus:

" . . . . . . though a man live a hundred years, he lives but three hundred seasons—a hundred seasons of winter, a hundred seasons of summer and a hundred seasons of rain.

" And though he live three hundred seasons, he lives but twelve hundred months, four hundred months of winter, four hundred months of summer and four hundred months of rain." (trsl. E. M. Hare, *Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 93).

The description goes on to show, in similar fashion, that these twelve hundred months imply eight hundred fortnights for each season and altogether consisting of six and thirty thousand days during which a man eats seventy two thousand meal. It is noteworthy that the word ***saṃvacchara*** is used in this context to stand for the word " year ".

It is plain, therefore, that for the Buddhists of that time the year consisted of three seasons of four months each, with each month containing two fortnights together equalling thirty days, each day containing two meal-times. These three seasons were distinguished as the hot (*gimha*), rainy (*vassa*) and wintry (*hemanta*). There are, however, references in the canonical literature to a fourth season, autumn (*sarada*: *D.* II, p 183: *M.* I. pp 1. 115; *A.* IV, p 102; *S* I, p 65; *It.* p 20, etc.) which is stated (*D.*II. p 183) as occuring in the last month of the rainy season and is, rather curiously, described as a time when the sun, springing up in the clear cloudless sky ' is hard to look upon and destructive to the eyes '. There are also some casual references to a dry season of six months (*S.* III, p. 155).

The order in which the three seasons are mentioned is never consistent and varies according to the context, though the tendency appears to have been to name them in the order : hemanta, gimha, vassa. But the main interest of the Buddhists

seems to have been in the rainy season whose anticipation was necessitated by the disciplinary rules of the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* I, p. 137) requiring monks to go into retreat during the rainy season. The greatest concern, in fact, with time-reckoning in terms of months, seems to have been evinced in the Buddhists in connection with the keeping of this rains-residence (*vassa*), obviously because of the great emphasis laid on it by the Buddha. (See further VASSA.)

The recognition of the cycle of the seasons as constituting a year, *i.e.*, of three seasons of four months as making up a year and the simultaneous reckoning of the year as composed of 12 months based on the phases of the moon, must have undoubtedly beset the Buddhists with the problem of reconciling the solar and lunar years. But there does not appear to be any direct reference in the canonical literature to any form of intercalation, and the Buddhists seem to have overcome the annual variation in the time of the seasons and their discrepancy with the lunar movements, at least when it became a practical problem to them with regard to the keeping of the rains-retreat (*vassa*), by offering alternative dates for the commencement of the vassa.

There also does not seem to be any reference in the early literature to the solstices, but definite paths for both the sun and the moon are recognized. The *Brahmajāla Suttanta* (*D.* I, p. 10 f.) is seen to refer to a usual course (*pathagamana*) and unusual course (*uppathagamana*) of the sun and moon, while the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* I, p. 75) speaks of the constellations and stars, as well as these two luminaries, as deviating from their normal courses, the deviation being described as putting 'the days, nights, months and seasons out of joint'. There also seems to have been an awareness of a regularity in the coldest days of the wintry season in the concept of the *antaraṭṭhaka*[2], the eight days falling in equal divisions of four on either side of the last day of the month of Māgha. The Buddha, speaking of the futile austerities he practised in his search for Truth, makes use of this concept to illustrate how equanimously he faced dire cold of the climate, as he did intense heat, during his quest (*M.* I, p. 79). A similar allusion is made to this period of time by Hatthaka of Āḷavī in a conversation with the Buddha (*A.* p. I, 136) which demonstrates that the word was in common parlance. But the most suggestive evidence is the test carried out by the Buddha at Vesāli (latitude 26° N, longitude 85°E.), when 'in the cold winter nights, during the eights', he tried to determine, before he laid down the *Vinaya* rule regarding the maximum number of robes permissible for a monk to keep in his possession, the minimum quantity of clothing an ordinary person would require to keep himself warm (*Vin.* I, p. 287 f.; cp. ibid p. 31).

To the natural divisions of time discussed above, the early Buddhists add a few conventional divisions, such as the seven days, *sattāha* (*D.* II, p. 248; *Vin.* I, p. 85) and the subdivisions of the day and night, but, usually, these conventional divisions were themselves directly or indirectly connected with natural occurrences. Thus, for instance, the day was subdivided into two parts by the noon which in turn was determined by the shadow which depended on the sun rising to its zenith (*majjhantika*). The "week", as the one-fourth part of a month, was obviously connected with the lunar phases rather than being a mere conventional division, *sattāha* or the seven-day unit not necessarily corresponding to this "week". It is noteworthy, in fact, that there is no separate word for "week", the seven-day unit being applicable to any seven days.

The Buddhists also speak of units of time larger, than the year, such as the decade (*vassadasa*, *J.* IV, 397), the century (*vassa sataṃ*, *A.* IV, p. 138; *Sn.* v. 589), and the aeon (*kappa*, q.v.), the two former; like the week, being designated by no single word but by one which suggests it to be a multiple of the nearest natural division, while the *kappa* or *mahākappa* is defined in terms of the *asaṅkheyya kappa*, four of which go to make it. These *asaṅkheyya kappas* denote 'durations of time' in the involution and evolution of the world. The century as a time-unit was probably suggested by the average

2. Woodward, following *PED.* interprets this word as between the eights and explains it as 'a week before and a week after the full-moon' (*Book of Gradual Sayings* (PTS), I, p. 119, fn. 7) taking it apparently as meaning the days between the two *aṭṭhami* (eighth days) of the lunar month, so that the *antaraṭṭhaka* would sum up to a fortnight, i.e., the last half of the bright fortnight and the first half of the dark fortnight. But there is no reason to overlook the interpretation of Buddhaghosa (*MA.* I, p. 48) that it was an eight days, the four at the end of Māgha and the four at the beginning of Phagguna, which would in fact place the coldest eight days in December or January of the Roman Calendar and give meaning to this incidental reference in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (loc.cit.). There does not seem to be any allusion to the full-moon in the context, but although it is not fully clear on what occasions the Buddhists ended their month with the full-moon and on which occasions with the new-moon, (it may however, be inferred that usually the Buddhist ended the month with the full-moon as demonstrated below) it could be said with certainty that it ended with the one or the other and four days fell on either side of it. Hence to translate this word as "the dark half of the month," as Woodward does (op. cit. I, p. 119) is erroneous, as, in fact, it includes four days of the waxing and four of the waning moon.

duration of human life at the time, which was considered to be, roughly, a hundred years (*S.* II, p. 95).

The Day

That the two natural units of day and night, distinguished by light and darkness, was emerging, however faintly, into a conventional unit of a "day" as a single concept including both periods, to function as the primary unit of time for calculating the month and the year, is evidenced in the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* passage already cited where *rattin-diva* seems to have been used as a single unit. However, for all ordinary purposes, the day and the night seem to have remained distinct, with the day divided into three periods and the night subdivided into three watches (*yāma*).

This natural day apparently commenced with the sunrise (*aruṇa, paccūsasamaya: Vin.* III, p. 204; *S.* I, p. 107; *It.* p. 20) and, although there does not appear to have been any fixed time which marked the beginning of the day except the rise of the sun itself (e.g., *S.* I, p. 107), the context of a reference (*It.* p. 20) to the *osadhī tārakā* and the description of its brilliance at dawn (*M.* II, p. 34) gives room for the conjecture that this star may have sometimes served as the signal of the morn. Thomas (*ERE.* Vol. 12, p. 72), identifies the *osadhī tārakā* with the planet Venus, substantiating his position by the evidence of the Sanskrit recension of a *Dīgha* passage in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (71) which substitutes Uṣānas, one of the Sanskrit names for Venus, for *osadhī tārakā.*

The end of the day was the natural phenomenon of the sunset (*Vin.* IV, p. 273), the evening being referred to usually as the *sāyaṇha* or *sāyaṃ*, but again having no fixed time to demarcate it, the latter word sometimes being used to define the time even between midday and sunset. The Buddha is often reported as opening the day with robing himself and as departing for alms (*D.* I, p. 226), of concluding the natural day with a break in his meditations (*S.* I, p. 146) and of retiring for a noon-day seclusion (*divāvihāra*) which is also a practice of his disciples (*S.* I, pp. 129, 132). The mid-day or noon (*majjhaṇha*) was obviously marked by the sun being right overhead or "right up" and not only bisected the day into forenoon (*pubbaṇha*) and afternoon (*aparaṇha, sāyaṇha*) but also became the standard by which the time of the day was measured, the length of the shadow being usually meted by finger-breadths (*Vin.* II, pp. 299, 294). Thus, when *majjhaṇha* was also taken as a unit, the day was considered to be of three divisions. Precision and care in noting the exact time of the noon seems to have engaged the greater monastic attention by the ascendance of the concept of wrong time (*vikāla: Vin.* II, p. 300; IV, p. 84 f.) which sprang up mainly in association with the Buddha's injunction to the monks against taking of meals after the turn of the shadow, i.e., after noon till the sunrise of the following day (*virato vikālabhojanā: D.* I, p. 64). In fact, the *Vinaya* (II, p. 299) refers to a clarification sought by certain monks as to whether it was permissible to take the mid-day meal once the shadow had passed two finger-breadths. *Majjhaṇha,* because, its passing could result in either an offence against the monastic discipline or a meal-less day, seems thus to have become a matter of practical importance as far as reckoning of time was concerned, so that, in fact, the latter part of the day came to be referred to in terms of the mid-day meal-time as *pacchābhatta* (literally, after the meal) which, though technically synonymous with *sāyaṇha*, was probably used to refer to the earlier part of the afternoon, *sāyaṇha* being applied more to the latter part of it. It may be added that *purebhattaṃ* was similarly used to refer to the forenoon.

The conventional day seems to have been divided into smaller units of time. A passage in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 137) refers to moments, instants and seconds, the passage concerned running: "Just as a mountain river, winding here and there, swiftly flowing, taking all along with it, never for a monent or an instant or a second (*natthi so khaṇo vā layo vā muhutto vā*) pauses, even so is the life of man" (trsl. Hare, *Book of Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 92). Here it appears that the words *khaṇa* and *muhutta* are used in the Pali texts to refer to infinitesimal portions of time, perhaps not very different from each other (*Dhp. vv.* 65, 239). However, a different system of reckoning seems to give *muhūrta* as one thirtieth portion of the 24-hour day (*Divy.* p. 643-5 ff.). It is probably the tradition contained in the *Divyāvadāna* that influenced the traveller Hsüan Tsang, who, sojourning in India in the 7th century

A.D., records the contents of these three notions and their inter-relationships thus: "The shortest portion of time is called a *t'sa-na* (*kshana*); 120 kshanas make a *ta-t'sa-na* (*takshana*); 60 of these make a *la-fo* (*lava*); 30 of these make a *mau-hu-li-to* (*muhūrta*); five of these make a 'period of time,' (*kalā*); six of these make a day and night (*ahoratra*), but commonly the day and night are divided into eight *kalās*" (trsl. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 1957, Vol. II, p. 130). That the *muhutta* was linked up with the day is also witnessed by the *Paramatthadīpanī* (III, p. 198) so that we may, in terms of Hsüan Tsang, deduce that 30 *muhuttas* made a day-and-night and a *khaṇa* was the 7080000th part of that day.

The Week and the Fortnight

As in the case of the Vedic Indian, or perhaps borrowing or inheriting his methods, the Buddhists noted the passage of the days and kept count of them by the nightly changes in the phases of the moon. The regularity of the recurrence, especially of the full-moon and new moon, obviously struck the Buddhist observer, as it did his contemporaries in his homeland and elsewhere, and these two events formed points of punctuation in his journey through the days, which might have otherwise been for him a mere alternating succession of darkness and light. Consequently, we have emerging the idea of two fortnights (*pakkha*) or half-months (*addhamāsa*), both together composing the lunar month of twenty-nine days, which was uncomfortably adjusting itself to the Buddhists' solar month of 30 days, arrived at by the division of the year into twelve equal parts. It is true that the Buddha used the 'week' or seven days (*sattāha*) as a convenient unit of time occasionally, as witnessed in the *Vinaya* rules for leave-taking from the Rains-Retreat (*Vin.* I, p. 138 f.) and the timing of his meditations in various places shortly after the Enlightenment (*Vin.* I, p. 2 f.), but the fortnight seems to have proved a more distinct and dependable (and therefore more frequently used) unit of time, with the natural phenomenon of the moon's waxing and waning by which to be easily guided. The two fortnights are distinguished as the light or bright sector (*sukka pakkha*), i.e., the moonlit nights, and the dark sector (*kaṇha pakkha*), i.e., the moon's waning period, the word *pakkha* being generally used in preference to *addhamāsa* when the two fortnights are being spoken of in relation to each other. The distinction between the two fortnights seems to have been familiar to and used by the Buddhists as early as the *Dīgha* (*D.* III, p. 182) and the *Aṅguttara* (*A.* II, p. 19) *Nikāyas*.

The days of the week or fortnight do not appear to have had any names attached to them, but they were numbered within each fortnight. Thus the fortnight beginning with the first day after the full-moon and waning to the new moon has its intermediate days known by ordinal numbers, e.g., the 1st, 2nd, 3rd day etc. of the dark fortnight. About half-way through the fortnight was the eighth day (*aṭṭhamī*), assuming some religious importance by that same reason, and then at the end of that fortnight was the fourteenth day (*cātuddasī*) which is the new-moon day. The numbering re-begins for the bright fortnight from the day after the new moon with another eighth (*aṭṭhamī*) about mid-way and ends on the fifteenth day (*pañcadasī*: *M.* I, p. 20) or (*paṇṇarasī*: *Pvu.* p. 38) which is the full-moon day. This system of numbering seems to have been particularly used for the noting of dates for the observance of the *uposatha* (q.v.) by both clergy and laity, as well as for the entry into the Rains-Retreat (s.v. VASSA), the Pavārana (q.v.) ceremony, the recitation of the Pātimokkha (q.v.) by monks, and other religious rituals and sacred observances of the Buddhist community in general.

There is no direct statement as to which of the fortnights was taken as preceding the other, probably because two systems[3] were in vogue in the Buddhist background, one, of beginning the month with the dark fortnight and the other with the bright, but as Thomas (*ERE.* Vol. 12, p. 727b)

3. Later Indian astronomical lore indicates the use of two systems: the *pūrṇimāntāvadhi* system with the month ending on the full-moon day, and the *amāntāvadhi* system with the month ending with the new moon. This tradition is, in all likelihood, very much older and was probably prevalent even in Buddhist times. The Buddhists, apparently, were aware of both systems and it may be suspected that the new-moon-ending system was occasionally made use of as suggested by the fact that *cātuddasī* and *aṭṭhamī* are usually referred to as "of the fortnight" (*pakkhassa* while no such qualification is made for *paṇṇarasī* (full-moon day) which merely passes as "the fifteenth day". Thus the fifteenth day would be understood to be the "fifteenth" calculating from the first day after the new moon, while the fourteenth (*cātuddasī*) and the eight (*aṭṭhamī*) would be calculated in relation to the fortnight (*pakkhassa*, "of the fortnight").

points out, the fact that the dark fortnight is usually mentioned first and that the months of retreat began a day after the full-moon (*Vin.* I, p. 137 and *VinA.* V, p. 1067) may be taken as suggesting that the full-moon-ending month was the more regular system used by the Buddhists, in which case, the *kaṇha pakkha* could be deemed to have been the first half of the Buddhist month.

An even more convincing piece of evidence for this conclusion is the myth of the Four Guardian Deities contained in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* I, p. 142) which designs to stress the relative importance of the four sacred days of a month. The sutta under reference tries to impress on the devotee that when there is virtue on earth, the gods are glad, learning that their numbers in heaven will be on the increase. For this reason, the Ministers of the Assembly of the Four Guardian Deities (or Four Great Kings : *cattāro mahārājāno*), the sons of these deities and the deities themselves survey the world of men in turn in order to report their findings to their subjects, the devas of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. According to the passage, the ministers survey the earth on the eighth day (*aṭṭhamī*), the sons on the fourteenth day (*cātuddasī*) and the Four Guardian Deities themselves on the fifteenth day (*pañcadasī*). Now there is no reason to think, as Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 139 f.) and Bateson (*ERE.* Vol. 5, p. 836) do (an error also occurring in the *PED.*), that the fourteenth and fifteenth day must be taken to mean the fourteenth day from the new moon in short months and fifteenth day in the long. It does not conform to the logic of the above myth to suppose that the Four Guardian Deities, the most important of the three groups, survey the earth in the long months only, in which case, the full-moon (*pañcadasī uposatha*) day of the long month must be considered a more important full-moon day than that of the short, an assumption for which there is hardly any evidence in this or any other part of the scriptures. As a matter of fact, the tradition, both literary and popular, seems to consider each full moon day as the most important day of a month, the new moon day second in importance and the two eighth days (*aṭṭhamī*) third. The argument of the myth must rather suppose that these celestial emissaries visit the earth at sufficiently regular intervals, the most important visiting is on the last and most important day of the month, the myth being built on the analogy of a royal court and its envoys responsible to its subjects. It is unlikely that it was imagined that the highest dignitaries visited the earth just one day after their sons had visited it or irregularly, only in " the long months, " for which concept too, in fact there is no traceable evidence in the texts.

It is legitimate, therefore, to infer that the days of the three visits are given, not only in order of their importance but also according to the order in which they occurred within the month, and if so, to conclude that the month began on the first day after the full-moon, advanced to the first eighth, then to the new moon, again to the second eighth and ended with the full-moon night, the dark fortnight then preceding the bright. The calendar-month then, lunar based as it is, would consist of four " weeks " of a varying number of days, the first and the third being each of eight days duration while the second week was comprised of only six days and the fourth of seven. In fact, the Buddhist lunar ' week ', as the period from one *uposatha* to the other, does not necessarily correspond with the seven-day unit of time (*sattāha*) frequently utilized by the Buddha in the framing of *Vinaya* rules (*Vin.* I, p. 138.) and the regulation of his own activities (*Vin.* I, p. 4.). The chart below gives us a view of the placing of the weeks and fortnights within the months, for one season of four months. However, according to a tradition preserved by Buddhaghosa, an uposatha coming at the end of a fourteen-day period, i.e., *cātuddasī* occurs only six times during an year of 12 months. According to him, they come in the third and seventh *pakkha* or fortnight of each of the three seasons, *hemanta*, *gimha* and *vassāna*. Thus the remaining 18 are invariably 'fifteenth day', i.e., *pannarasī* uposatha. What is interesting to observe is that these ' fourteenth day ' uposatha which we have indicated above to be days of the new moon, occurs every other month alternating with the ' fifteenth day ' new moon. Perhaps, inspite of the new moon days of both types the term *cātuddasī* came to be exclusively used for the new moon day, reserving the term *pannarasī* for the days of the full-moon (***Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, p. 3).**

VASSĀNA SEASON

(Reckoned according to Pūrṇimāntāvadhi system) †††

SĀVANA

*1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☾
9	10	11	12	13	●14	[15]	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☽
9	10	11	12	13	14	○15	

POṬṬHAPĀDA

**1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☾
9	10	11	12	13	●14		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☽
9	10	11	12	13	14	○15	

ASSAYUJA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☾
9	10	11	12	13	●14	[15]	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☽
9	10	11	12	13	†14	†○15	

KATTIKĀ

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☾
9	10	11	12	13	●14		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8☽
9	10	11	12	13	14	††○15	

††† The month commencing on the first day after the full-moon.

☽ ☾ aṭṭhamī ● cātuddasī ○ pañcadasī

* early vassa begins ** later vassa begins. † Kattikā temāsinī (pavāraṇa); early vassa ends.

†† Kattikā cātummāsinī (komudi), later vassa ends.

[15] although according to the name *cātuddasī* the new moon should fall on the fourteenth day, the tradition preserved by Buddhaghosa assures us that this happens only in alternate months.

The Months

Time-reckoning by months seems to have been in familiar parlance among the Buddhists as we note by the Buddha's using of the month as a time-unit when framing rules for the Order, such as those for the retention of gift-robes (*Vin.* III, pp. 203, 251, 261). Reference to any specific one of the months appears to have been in terms of their ordinal position, not in the year but in a given season (*utu*). Thus it is usual to speak of "the last month of the summer" (*gimhānaṃ pacchime māse*, e.g., *M.* I, p. 79; *S.* III, pp. 141, 155); "the last month of the rains" (*vassānaṃ pacchime māse*, e.g., *D.* II, p. 183; *M.* I, p. 115; *A.* IV, p. 102; V, p. 22); "the first month of the rains" (*vassānassa paṭhame māse*, e.g., *Vin.* IV, p. 117); "while a month and a half of the summer remains" (*diyaḍḍhamāsa seso gimhānanti*, e.g., *Vin.* III, p. 252 f.; IV, p. 117), "the first three months or last three months" (*purimaṃ vā temāsaṃ pacchimaṃ vā temāsaṃ*) of the rainy season' (*Vin.* I, p. 138). The tendency was to refer to any single season as a kind of quadruplet composed of consecutive months.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the months were known to the Buddhists by their names, two of which are already referred to in the *Vinaya*, viz., Āsāḷhī (*Vin.* I, p. 137) and Kattikā (*Vin.* III, pp. 260, 262), and although there is no single location anywhere in the canonical literature where a full list of the twelve months occurs, it is rather unlikely that the names were unknown to the earliest Buddhists when by this time their Brahmanical contemporaries, with whom they undoubtedly came into contact, were quite familiar with them. Brahmanical astrological learning by this time had not only evolved a system of twenty-seven or twenty-eight lunar mansions, but also had adopted a selected number of them in naming the twelve months of their calendar (Macdonnel and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. NAKṢATRA, MĀSA). We know that, although the Buddha discouraged the practice of astrological forecasting for monks (*D.* I, p. 10), he laid special stress on the importance of their studying the *nakkhatta* (q.v.) and that he even laid down a special rule in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* II, p. 217) that forest-dwelling monks should learn the lunar mansions (*nakkhattapadāni*). Nuns were expected to consult the monks for the determination of *uposatha* days, etc., so that a monk would have inevitably found it a prerequisite of his calling to familiarize himself with the current astrological lore. This astrological lore could have been no other than one or other of the Brahmanical systems, as there is absolutely no evidence of the Buddhists having had their own independent astrology. Occasional and incidental references to names of months other than Āsāḷhī and Kattikā but belonging to that same system, for instance Citta, Sāvana, Māgha and Phagguna, are found in the early tradition of the Pali commentaries (*KhpA.* p. 192; *VinA.* V, p. 1068; *SnA.* II, p. 456) which further supports this view. An added reason for suspecting the high probability is given by Thomas (loc. cit.) that several names of the months are found as proper names of personalities figuring in the earliest canonical literature.

It is, however, in the twelfth century Ceylonese work, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (ed. W. Subhuti, Mahabhodi Printers, Colombo, 1938, p. 13), that we find a complete list. Here the names given, beginning with Citta (Caitra), correspond with one of the Hindu systems. This list of Buddhist months, with their Sanskrit equivalents and their probable parallels, is given below.

	Pali	Sanskrit	Approximate Equivalents in the Roman Calendar (after Fleet)	(after Geiger)
1.	Citta	Caitra	part of Feb. and part of March	Feb./Mar. or Mar./April
2.	Vesākha	Vaiśākha	part of March and part of April	Mar./Apr. or Apr./May
3.	Jeṭṭha	Jyaiṣṭha	part of April and part of May	Apr./May or May/June
4.	Āsāḷha	Āṣāḍha	part of May and part of June	May/June or June/July
5.	Sāvana	Śrāvana	part of June and part of July	June/July or July/Aug.
6.	Poṭṭhapāda	Bhadrapāda (*Prauṣṭhapada*)	part of July and part of August	July/Aug. or Aug./Sep.
7.	Assayuja	Aśvina (*Āśvayuja*)	part of August and part of Sept.	Aug./Sept. or Sept./Oct.
8.	Kattikā	Kārttika	part of Sept. and part of Oct.	Sept./Oct. or Oct./Nov.
9.	Maggasira	Mārgaśirṣa	part of Oct. and part of Nov.	Oct./Nov. or Nov./Dec.
10.	Phussa	Pauṣa	part of Nov. and part of Dec.	Nov./Dec. or Dec./Jan.
11.	Māgha	Māgha	part of Dec. and part of Jan.	Dec./Jan. or Jan./Feb.
12.	Phagguṇa	Phālguṇa	part of Jan. and part of Feb.	Jan./Feb. or Feb./Mar.

The Year

The year, ecclesiastically, was a unit of time by which age and seniority was reckoned in the Order (*Vin.* I, pp. 59 f., 60, 86, 195), the former being very necessary for ordination which insisted on age-qualifications (*Vin.* I, p. 96 f.). The number of years, for those purposes, was generally counted by reference to the number of seasons experienced by the individual concerned. Thus a person would be reckoned as having lived a hundred years (*saṃvacchara, vassa*) if he had witnessed a hundred rainy seasons (*vassa satam*). In the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* (*D.* II, p. 100), the Buddha, shortly before his death, speaks of his age being eighty at the time, obviously meaning eighty years, which indicates that inspite of his many wanderings and the many vicissitudes and diverse experiences of his life, he had kept count of his age, and this in terms of years.

That the year was utilized as a regular unit of time even among the Buddhist laity is evidenced by a reference in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* III, p. 264) where certain laymen are said to have observed a custom of annual donation of robes.

The scriptures, however, do not bear evidence to a practice of numbering or naming the years and it is difficult to trace any hint or allusion which indicates or specifies an year by relating it to some memorable historical or social event which took place in a preceding year, until the death of the Buddha when we notice such a tendency at work in a reference in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* III, p. 294) where the framing of certain disciplinary rules is spoken of as having taken place "a century after the Lord's nibbāna". Perhaps in this we observe the first beginnings of the trend which culminated in the adoption of the Buddhavarṣa (See further ERA) which is later so freely utilized in the Buddhist chronicles such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa.*

Probably, the practice of indicating a month by its position in the season was sufficient and convenient enough that the date of the commencement of the year did not evince the particular attention of the time. Regarding the precise date or month on which the year was supposed to commence, direct evidence does not seem to be forthcoming from the canonical texts. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, *SBE*, p. 66, n. 1) notes a statement in the *Sāmaññaphala Suttanta* (*D.* I, p. 47) which refers to an incident concerning King Ajātasattu, contemporary of the Buddha, as having taken place 'on *komudi*', the fifteenth, the full-moon day of the fourth month (*komudī cātumāsinī*) and suggests that, at least for the compilers of that suttanta, the year began in Sāvana which he takes as falling between mid-July and mid-August.

Rhys Davids' inference is based on the fact that *komudī cātumāsinī* refers to the full-moon night of a fourth month which is recognized, as the commentary (*DA.* p. 139) informs us, by the bloom of the white lotus, *komudī*, and which, by the internal evidence of the *Vinaya* itself (*Vin.* I, pp. 137–154 and 175) signifies the month of Kattikā, counting backwards from which month, on the assumption that the Brahmanical list of months (see above) was in vogue, the first month would be Sāvana. But, as Thomas (*ERE.* 12, p. 73, n. 3) points out, "There is no reason for thinking that the year ever began with Sāvana. The recurring phrase (*komudī cātumāsinī* does not mean the full-moon of Kattikā 'in the fourth month,' but the Cāturmāsya festival. The Cāturmāsya festival is one of the four monthly festivals of the Vedic ritual which terminated a season (see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 195, s.v. CĀTURMĀSYA) and Rhys Davids' error seems to arise from the conclusion that the reference is to the fourth month of the year, overlooking the custom of indicating months by reference to their position in the quadruplet of a season.

Better, though still weak, ground for inferring the commencement of the year is the fact that usually, when the three seasons come to be mentioned together, the cold season (*hemanta*) is mentioned first and the rainy season (*vassa*) last, and this is striking particularly in that this order occurs in such an important discussion as that giving the date for the commencement of the Rains-Retreat (*Vin.* I. p. 137 f.). But this would then place the date of the beginning of the year as the day after the full-moon day of the month of Kattikā.

On the other hand, Fleet (*JRAS.* (CB) 1909, p. 6) and Geiger after him (*Mhv.* trsl. Colombo, 1953 p. 2, n. 3) apparently assume the year as commencing with the month of Citta, which conclusion is also supported by the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* list (loc. cit.).

Although calendrical time-reckoning seems to have been mainly of ecclesiastical interest among the Buddhists, the common people too seem to have depended largely on the same system in the daily concerns of their lives. The *Jātakas* are profuse with allusions to dates and months in reckoning of age, pregnancy, birthdays and naming of children. The common human habit of noting the days by the lunar phases is interestingly portrayed in the hare of the *Sasa Jātaka* (*J.* III, p. 52), (conceived apparently in the image of contemporaneous men) who, very much after the manner of men, looks at the moon to know that the next day would be an *upo-*

satha day. Punctuality was a sine qua non for monks, not only in respect of meal-times but in *respect of time for sleeping, bathing, begging of* alms and entry into villages, not to speak of the keeping of the Rains-Retreat, but punctuality and economy of time as a layman's virtue has also been stressed by the Buddha himself, as well exemplified by the *Sigālovāda Suttanta* (*D.* III, p. 184). The Buddhists' general attitude, however, to the passage of time has nowhere been more precisely expressed than in the beautiful stanza of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 108) where the Buddha addresses Māra, the very personification of death and evil, in the lines:

"The days, the nights pass on until they cease
So doth our life break up and come to naught.
Withers our mortal term of years and dries
As water of the rains in little rills."

Trsl. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The Book of Kindred Sayings*, (*PTS.*) London, I, p. 136.

B. J.

CĀLIKĀ (var. Cāliya), name of a village, near the Cālikāpabbata where the Buddha spent the rainy seasons (*vassa*) of the thirteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth years after his Enlightenment (*BuvA.* p. 3). On one of these visits he had an attendant called Meghiya. Near Cālikā was the Jantu village, where Meghiya is said to have gone round for his alms. Near Cālikā was the river Kimikālā on whose banks was a beautiful mango grove (*A.* IV, p. 354 ; *Ud.* iv, p. 1 ; *DhpA.* I, pp. 287 f.). This village was so named, because there was a bog (*calapaṅka*) all round it, owing to which it gave the impression of moving (*UdA.* p. 217 ; *AA.* IV, p. 164).

I.K.

CALMNESS. Buddhist religious culture knows of two forms of calmness, of the body and of the mind. Cultivation of certain states of mind and correction of certain others are said to be conducive to the attainment of calmness of body (*kāyapassaddhi* : *M.* I, pp. 37, 116 f.). The calmness of body thus attained, in turn, leads to the transcendental calmness of mind which is attained through a purge of the mind, by the eradication of its defiling traits .. *āsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccati* : *M.* I, p. 38 ; .. *āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci*: *Vin.* I, p. 17, etc.). Such a state of mind is described as being unruffled (*nibbuta*), peaceful (*santa*) and imperturbable (*ānejjappatta*). See further JHĀNA, KĀYA-PASSADDHI, NIBBUTI, PASSADDHI, SAMATHA and SANTI.

J. D.

CALUMNY or slander. In the Buddhist code of morality (*sīla*) it is equivalent to *pisuṇāvācā*, one *of the four forms of wrong speech (vacīkamma).* It is malicious misrepresentation of another with a view to gaining popularity for oneself and alienating good-will among others (*DA.* I, pp. 73 f.). See VACĪKAMMA.

CĀMARA, one of the two sub-continents within the continent of Jambudīpa, the other being Varacāmara (*DCBT.* 34).

CAMBODIA, (Kamboja or Khmer Republic), a Buddhist kingdom of south-east Asia, lying between Thailand and Viet Nam, with a strip of sea-board on the Gulf of Siam. Its people follow the Theravāda school which it adopted about the end of the 13th century.

The ancient history of the land is still obscure and is being laboriously pieced together from the writings of French scholars, principally archaeologists, devoted to its great monuments like Angkor Wat or Angkor Thom. These scholars were mainly personnel of the École Francaise d'Extrême-Orient, most of whose researches were published in their Bulletin. The large mass of matter pertaining to Cambodia is thus in French; English, except for Lawrence Palmer Briggs' encyclopaedic tome (*The Ancient Khmer Empire*, Philadelphia, 1951), is hardly represented in it.

Early Buddhist traces

The ancient country of Funan (circa 1st century A.C.—550 A.C.) appears to have embraced a part of Cambodia (Briggs, op. cit. p. 12). An Indian Buddhist monk named Nāgasena who was sent by king Jayavarman of Funan to the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (484 A.C.), took ivory stūpas among his presents to that potentate. Later on (502 A.C.), the same king sent to China a coral image of the Buddha ; figures of the Buddha and of the bodhisattvas, assignable to the Indian Gupta period (circa 320—600 A.C.), which have been found in the country, especially in Angkor Borei (contemporary with Dvāravati in Thailand) make this event probable (ibid. p. 28 f., pp. 34 ff.). Liu-t'o-pa-mo (Rudravarman), who usurped the throne after Jayavarman, sent to the Chinese emperor a sandalwood image (519 A.C.) ; twenty years later, he offered him a hair-relic of the Buddha, reported as being 12 ft. long. Two monks of his country, Saṅghapāla and Mandra, are reputed to have translated Chinese Buddhist texts in the

[illegible] century, and their works are extant (Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, London, 1954, p. [illegible]).

In later records there appears a country in this region by the name of Chenla. The French scholar Paul Pelliot took this to be Kambuja (Cambodia)—for which identification he would have had the authority of Chou Ta-kuan (end of 13th cent.) of a Mongol embassy to the country. He noted that the local name was 'Kan-po-chih' and, according to the form used by the dynasty of the time, 'Kan-p'u-chih' (Eliot, op. cit. p. 101 ; Briggs, op. cit. p. 37). In Chenla there were, according to the Chinese *Sui-shu* (6–7 cent.), many Buddhists (ibid. p. 39). King Jayavarman I of Kambuja had left behind two Buddhist inscriptions of about this period, on a stele of Wat Prey Vier and (in Khmer, probably the earlier of the two) in Wat Prasat, respectively. For whatever reason, the Buddhist influence seems to have rapidly dwindled. The well known account of I-tsing has it that king Īśānavarman I (circa 611–35) persecuted the community to such an extent that there remained hardly any Buddhists (ibid. pp. 51, 55).

Just as Java is best known in cultural studies for its Barabuḍur, so Cambodia is famed for its Angkor Wat, and scholars discuss an Angkor period of the country's efflorescence, which now comes into our picture, more appropriately related as it is to that Cambodia which is now recognisable. Mahāyāna Buddhism, which seems to have so far been the prevailing form, at least as far as covered by inscriptions, was especially noticeable in 10–13th centuries. But it was so allied to 'Brahmanism' that its distinctiveness has not been pronounced. The kings were not Buddhists, but many of their ministers were, and it was the latter whose patronage gave life to the religion : Satyavarman (who was responsible for the shrine Phimeanakas), Kavindrārimathana and Kīrtipaṇḍita. Among them the last-named, who was the author of the Srei Santhor inscription (circa 975), speaks to the effect that it was due to his efforts that the pure doctrine of the Buddha came to the knowledge of the people. He mentions that he introduced books from abroad, and among them the *Śāstramadhya-vibhāga* (probably Vasubandhu's *Mādhyāntavibhāgaśāstra*) and the commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Incidentally, this is suggestively confirmatory of Tārānātha's statement that it was Vasubandhu's disciples who introduced Buddhism into this region (Eliot, op. cit. pp. 121, 123).

Such activities were not possible had the Hindu kings not been tolerant, as they all were, but for an occasional exception. Rājendravarman II (944–66), a Śaivite monarch, was a shining example of this virtue. He studied Buddhism with devotion and was influenced by it in the practice of his own faith. Kavindrārimathana, mentioned above, was his Buddhist minister, who made many Buddhist foundations. It is shown in the inscription at Bat Chum, a sanctuary he dedicated to the Buddha and the bodhisattvas Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā (Briggs, op. cit. p. 127). Jayavarman V, the son who succeeded, adopted the father's policy ; Kīrtipaṇḍita (of the Srei Santhor inscription) was his Buddhist minister. This minister elaborates that he had books on philosophy, treatises, commentaries and similar literature brought into the country from other lands. The king had directed his *purohita* (priest for Brāhmanical rites) to learn Buddhist doctrines, to bathe the Buddha image on sacred days and to recite Buddhist 'prayers' (ibid. 139). Other inscriptions of the Angkor period, all of them Mahāyānist, mention the setting up of Buddha images, endowments, etc.

Theravāda

Cambodia's first Buddhist king was Sūryavarman I (1001–50). He came from Tāmbraliṅga in the south and was a Mahāyānist. The state religion of his country continued to hold its ancient position unchanged by his advent ; so did Theravāda Buddhism continue in Louvo where the Mȏns lived. Sūryavarman I was thus the first on the throne to grant recognition to this other school of his own faith (Briggs, op. cit. p. 159). For Buddhists the reign of Jayavarman VII (1181–1215) was especially favourable because of his remarkable queen Indradevī (she occupied this position after the death of the first queen, her younger sister), who had the unique distinction of being a teacher of Buddhism and exercised a great influence. This royal lady taught the nuns in their nunneries of Nagendratuṅga, Tilakttara and Narendrāśrama. These nuns were mostly 'cast-away girls' and as such, an establishment for them redounds to the credit of Buddhists (*IHQ*. XXXII, p. 315). Through her exertions, the Jātakas were dramatised by the same nuns and thus brought into popular knowledge. Śaivism flourished equally with Buddhism and shared the foundations of the other (Briggs, op. cit. p. 217). In a land well-known for the apotheosis of kings, queens, and sometimes even those of lesser rank, this king introduced what may be described as a Buddharāja cult. Here he was no doubt following the devarāja cult of the Hindus (R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*,

Calcutta, 1944, p. 166). Thus, the Buddha was represented in the features of the king. With a part of the royal name the title was Jayabuddha-mahānātha (Briggs, op. cit. pp. 228 f.).

But a reaction soon set in under the next king (Jayavarman VIII). Its author was probably the *purohita* of his predecessor (ibid. p. 239). It was possibly then that Buddhist images were destroyed and defaced. This, however, does not seem to have lasted, for king T-chay (? Indravarman III) was a Buddhist, and a follower of the Theravāda school (Martin F. Herz, *A Short History of Cambodia.*, pp. 14 f.).

Theravāda established

It was now the 14th century and Theravāda Buddhism was definitely established in the land by the middle of the period. In fact there is an inscription in Pali (dated 1308) as evidence of its position (*IHQ*. XXXII, p. 299). The position was vastly strengthened to the extent that its influence was felt upon its eastern neighbour, Laos. Fa Ngom, the king of that country, had married the Cambodian king's daughter. She was a Theravāda Buddhist and was largely instrumental in winning over her husband and his people to her persuasion (Briggs, op. cit. pp. 254). At the close of the 13th century Chou Ta-kuan, in a report to his emperor, was definite that the people followed Theravāda. His illuminating description of the monks of that School, whom he calls 'chu-ku,' fits them and by no means the religious community of Mahāyāna or any other (ibid. p. 248 and Eliot, op. cit. pp. 125 f.).

The chronological sequence of the inscriptions suggests that Mahāyāna came by the land route in the north-west. Theravāda, at its first appearance, seems to have followed the same route. Theravāda, which was to become permanently established, came a second time, and from Ceylon, by the sea-route. This is confirmed by its earliest inscriptional reference at Kok Svay Cek which records king Śrīndavarman's gift of a village to the Mahāthera Sirindamoli, the building of a vihāra (with the installing of a Buddha image) and the grant of 4 villages to the monastery in 1231 A.C. (*IHQ*. XXXII, p. 316). Theravāda came in finally through the Louvo region (Briggs, op. cit. p. 25) which had long followed that school. Scholars are rather prone to call it 'Sinhalese' Buddhism, after the inhabitants of Ceylon who deeply influenced the spread of this school in Burma and Thailand, and later in Cambodia and Laos.

The Buddhist art and architecture of the historical period, already dealt with were Mahāyānist. After conforming to the Theravāda, the Cambodians did not deviate, in these or in their rites, from the practices of their fellow-religionists elsewhere, such as in Ceylon and Burma.

The history of Cambodia shows it as a land troubled by invasions and wars from time to time, until the country passed into the orbit of strong French influence by a treaty of 1884 which left king Norodom and his successors their throne but only the empty name of it. This position continued until World War II, with its interlude of Japanese control of the country. When the war was over the French resumed power. But, with the growth of a strong desire for independence, the Cambodians were awakened to a sense of nationhood by a treaty in 1946 which gave them a *modus vivendi* in the form of an autonomous state within the French Union. A period of political struggle followed thereafter, to culminate with the achievement of full independence, under king Norodom Sihanouk,[1] towards the close of 1953.

In spite of these travails of centuries the country is totally a Buddhist one. Of adherents of other faiths there are hardly recognisable numbers. That the French had intentions of introducing the Roman Catholic form of Christianity is apparent from the action of Admiral Pierre de la Grandère (governor of Cochin-China), who took with him the vicar apostolic during his visit to king Norodom in 1863. (It was in the very next year that the French flag was hoisted in the capital by the admiral's representative.) Cambodia, nevertheless, remained steadfast in her ancient culture and, if the French were having intentions of influencing it otherwise, time did not enable them to carry them out. Two achievements can be counted to their credit. In the first place, they maintained the dignity of Cambodia's ruler who, being a Buddhist, always remained the bulwark of the religion professed in his land. The other French contribution was through scholarship, especially archaeology, which brought a knowledge of the country's great Buddhist monuments into a large cultural world.

Cambodia, so interwoven with Brāhmanism (rather than Hinduism) in its early history, continued to be a shining example of Indian religious syncretism and tolerance. The king was the head of the religion, but the court ceremonial followed Brāhmanism as a matter of course.

1 Abdicated in 1955 and became Premier and Head of State, in turn. Later, he was deported and obliged to live outside the country.

This is especially noticeable in the coronation, or (in classical Indian terminology) *abhiṣeka* (consecration). Sir Charles Eliot (op. cit. pp. 129 f.) makes these observations in regard to the coronation of king Sisowath in April, 1906. The ceremonies were Brāhmanic but 'prayers' to the Buddha and offerings were made by Buddhist monks. Four special shrines (Brāhmanic) were erected, and a lustral bath of the king was an essential rite. Water was poured over him by the *bakus*.[2] The latter invoked the blessings of many celestial beings and spirits associated with Indra, Brahmā and 'archangel' Sahabodey, the spirits of mountains, valleys, rivers and the guardian spirits of the palace. After the bath the chief of the ministrant *bakus* handed the crown to the French Governor-General who placed it on the king's head in the name of his Cambodia government; that action was governed by politics, but it must be noted that it was a Brāhmin who performed the first act as a rite.

D.T.D.

CĀMĪKARAGAURA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139) under whom Śākyamuni while, in the ninth bhūmi, acquired merit.

CAMMASĀṬAKA JĀTAKA. Once when the Buddha was in Jetavana a discussion arose among the bhikkhus about a mendicant-priest who wore a leather jerkin. One day while wandering for alms in Sāvatthi he came to a fighting ground of the rams, and when a ram drew back, desiring to butt him, the mendicant thought that the animal was showing him respect. As a result the mendicant was killed by the ram.

The Buddha remarked that this was not the first time that this ascetic imagined he was being saluted by a ram and lost his life. He then related the story of how a religious mendicant was killed by a ram in the same way. The bodhisatta, who was a merchant then, warned the ascetic that the ram was only preparing to attack him, and even as he was speaking, the animal felled him to the ground (*J.* III, pp. 82–4).

I.K.

CAMPĀ (1), (var Champā), an ancient kingdom in Indo-China where Indian culture had penetrated as far back as the early centuries of the Christian era. The name of the kingdom and some of its early capitals (e.g., Vijaya, Amarāvatī, Indrapura, Pāṇḍuranga, Kauthāra) are evidence for such an Indian origin.

This ancient kingdom has been described by Dietrich Seckel as an arena where the two jaws of a great pincer movement met, the Indian cultural movement that spread through the great northern highway above the Himālayas (Uttarāpatha) and the southern sea-routes (Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Methuen, London, 1964, p. 51).

Ancient Campā would have been a large territorial expanse in its heyday and occupied the regions from what is now North Vietnam to the Cochin-China area in the south. The ancient boundaries in the north, west and south were Tonkin, Annām and Fūnan (the pre-Angkor kingdom of Mon-khmers), respectively.

The kingdom of Campā, whose inhabitants belonged linguistically to the Indonesian group, is considered to have been founded in or about the second century A.C. in the vicinity of the modern city of Hue (see *EWA*. Vol. XIV, p. 768).

The discovery of remains of the cultural sites of the Chams (the early inhabitants of Campā), ranging from the early Christian centuries up to mediaeval times in a wide expanse of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, is again an index to the spread of Cham civilization, to a considerable extent, within this geographical area.

It is believed that ancient Campā was originally a Hindu kingdom colonised by scions of an Indian royal house. However, the discovery of a bronze image of the Buddha from an early Cham site in Dong-Duong, (Pl. CXX. Fig. 1) precludes such a view as this particular image could easily be ascribed to the earliest phase of Buddhist art in India.

In the alternative, it could be surmised that immigrants to Campā from India, included both Buddhists and other religionists, especially Hindu and that the Royal house of Campā has patronised both these religions.[1]

Like most of their early neighbours, the Chams, too, claimed Indian semi-divine origin for their royal lineage. The Dong-Duong inscription of the Buddhist ruler Jaya Indravarman II (cir. 895 A. C.) refers to *Bhrgu* (q.v.) as the originator of the royal dynasty of ancient Chams. This indicates that the Buddhist rulers of Campā, even as late as the 9th century, had followed an ancient tradition of tracing

2 This word is probably a corrupt form of *bhikṣu*, which (as also *baksi*) was a term of respect given to non-Buddhist learned people, possibly through Mahāyānist connotations.

1 This was the case in most other early Indo-Chinese kingdoms (e.g., of Khmers, Annamites, Mons, Laotians).

their lineage to the Aryans of north India (see R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 124; and also J. Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champa*, Paris, 1963; see further BHṚGU). Pressure from the neighbouring kingdoms of Fu-nan, Tonkin and Annām and later the powerful confederated Kāmboja empire of Mon-khmers had reduced this outpost of Indian culture to a minimum and brought its civilizing efforts to a standstill. Because of these foreign inroads and notably the Annamite hostilities, the Chams had to shift the seat of their royalty from an original northern stronghold towards the southern plains. The location of the ancient Cham capitals at Indrapura, Amarāvatī, Vijaya, Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga indicates this southward drift until the entire kingdom was overrun by the Annamites in the fifteenth century.

The prevalance of Buddhism in Campā from the early centuries, either as the state religion or the faith of a considerable section of the population, is well authenticated by several factors. The Dong-Duong find of a bronze Buddha image mentioned above, recalls the earliest type of a Buddha image discovered at Amarāvatī, India. and Anurādhapura, Ceylon. (See B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, The Pelican History of Art, 1956, Pl. 137 A and B.) This particular icon, either produced in Campā or imported from India or Ceylon, speaks of the cultural and religious ties ancient Campā had had with Buddhist kingdoms further away in the west.[2]

According to a Chinese chronicle, when the Chinese captured the capital of Campā in 605 A.C., they carried away 1,350 Buddhist texts. R. C. Majumdar, quoting the above incident, remarks that from this important statement it could be inferred that Buddhism must have flourished in the country for a considerable period before the seventh century (R. C. Majumdar on 'Champā' in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, ed. P. V. Bapat, published by the Govt. of India, 1956, pp. 95 ff.). The Chinese itinerant monk, I-tsing, remarks that in Campā the Buddhists generally belonged to the *Āryasammitīya* school and that there were a few followers of the *Sarvāstivāda* also. This would mean the prevalence of the *Śrāvakayāna* sect, but it would appear from inscriptions of the eighth century or thereabouts that Mahāyāna Buddhism was powerful in Campā, and that possibly even the Tantric forms, later offshoots of the Mahāyāna, also prevailed.

Culturally, Campā was a mixture of Indian and Chinese forms. This could well be authenticated by the remains of religious monuments the Chams had left. Other than the Dong-Duong image of a standing Buddha, most of the Buddhist remains in Campā show clear indications of Mahāyāna influences.

Several bodhisattva images of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (Mahāsthāma ?) have been discovered from sites like Dang-binh, Mi-duc, Dai-hiru (Pl. CXXI).

Some standing Buddha images show a close similarity to the late Pāla style images of the Bengal Mahāyāna school (Pl. CXX, Fig. 2 & 3).

Some of the Avalokiteśvara figures with Chinese characteristics recall the portraiture of Buddhist divinities at such Chinese sites as Tung-Huang (q.v.). The figures of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva seated in the pose of '*rājalīlāsana*' or royal-ease from Mi-duc and other sites are peculiar to the Padmapānī and Siṃhanāda forms of Avalokiteśvara figures of the Mahāyānists.[3]

From the Dong-Duong area more remains of various miniature images of figures seated in the '*rājalīlāsana*' have been found (Pl. CXXII).

From Mi-duc come two more stone statues of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva. The simplicity of these stone bodhisattva figures, without heavy ornamentation, is marked by the peculiar 'Cham' smile. The headgear is crowned with a Dhyāni-buddha.

Some of the best specimens of Cham Buddhist art are to be found in the Dong-Duong region. The famous vihāra built by King Jaya Indravarman II in or about 875 A.C. is the most noteworthy of all the Dong-Duong Buddhist remains. This vihāra

2 It is unlikely that Campā could have produced such an image which lacks Cham characteristics. This could probably have been a cult image imported to Campā from either Ceylon or India (see S. Gunasinghe, 'A Sinhalese contribution to the development of the Buddha Image', *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 3 for 1960; also D. T. Devendra, *The Buddha Image and Ceylon*, Kandy, 1957; M. L. D'ancona, *The Art Bulletin* Vol. XXXIV, No. 2). Further discoveries of Buddha images from other Cham sites like Binh-dinh and Thu-thieu (J. Boisselier, op. cit. fig. 187 from Thu-thieu, fig. 189 from Binh-dinh) may corroborate the view of the spread of ancient Sinhalese art forms in these Indo-Chinese regions. These seated images of the Buddha are closer to several early seated Buddha images discovered in Ceylon than to any others. The peculiar position of the legs, placed one above the other, termed *padmāsana* in iconography, as against the cross-legged posture (*vajrāsana*) are very rarely found, if not quite absent in Buddha images from other early schools of Buddhist art. The manner in which the robe is worn with the right shoulder uncovered is quite in conformity with Ceylonese type Buddha images.

3 The very early appearance of the particular form of Avalokiteśvara bronzes in Ceylon tempts one to suggest that this type was exported to Far-Eastern and even Indian fields of Buddhism from Ceylon when Ceylon was a predominant Buddhist kingdom in the Orient. It is also possible that this type had gone through Indo-Chinese terrain to southern China to form the famous *Kuan-yin* (q.v.) figures of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva in the *Mahārājalīlāsana.*

was named 'Lakṣmīndralokeśvara' probably to indicate the dedication of the shrine in honour of a particular emanation of the famous Buddhist divine concept, Lokeśvara, or to mark the apotheosis of the ruler himself, which was a common feature in Indo-Chinese religious monuments, and especially those of the Khmers.

Dietrich Seckel, on the contrary, believes that the name Lakṣmīndralokeśvara consists of two Hindu elements (*Lakṣmī* and *Indra*) and one Buddhist element (*Lokeśvara*) and, shows very clearly that syncretism was prevalent in this area, as it was in the Khmer Empire and Indonesia as well (D. Seckel, op. cit. p. 55).

At Dong-Duong, too, the Cham artists excelled in their particular flair for pedestal carvings. Some of the pedestals meant for statues of the Buddha and bodhisattva icons at the Dong-Duong vihāra are profusely carved with foliate patterns in the true Indo-Chinese vermiculated manner with scenes from the Buddha story inside rectangular recesses.[4] Philiph Rawson observes that this pedestal altar within the cell, upon which statues of various kinds were set, sometimes in groups, was a particular feature of Cham temple art. To quote Rawson : "These pedestals were themselves often most beautifully adorned with reliefs, and some of the best Cham work appears on them" (P. Rawson, *The Art of South-east Asia*, London, 1967, p. 121).

It has been suggested that such a conception of the pedestal altar was derived from China, for it was not quite familiar to Indian tradition. This may be true, as Campā always existed in the shadow of China, often drawing inspiration from her northernmost Imperial neighbour, and trying to cultivate good relations with the 'Son of Heaven' as a protection from neighbouring rival states (P. Pelliot, 'Le Founan', *BEFEO*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.). In the last days of the kingdom of Campā, Buddhism existed there in the form of Mahāyāna, probably deriving inspiration from other neighbouring Mahāyāna countries in the Khmer and Sailendra kingdoms. The ultimate destruction of Campā was due to the invasion of the armies of its northern neighbour, Annām, in the fifteenth century. See further VIETNAM, DONG-DUONG, KHMER, FU-NAN, CAMBODIA.).

A. D. T. E. P.

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CAMPĀ (2), one of the two chief women disciples of Kakusandha Buddha (*Buv*. xxiii, v. 21 ; *ApA*. p. 46). She is also referred to as Campakā (*J*. I, p. 42 ; var. Rambhā).

CAMPĀ (3), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aṅga, also known as Campāpurī, Campānagara, Campāvatī and Campāmālinī. It was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, II, p. 191) at a distance of sixty *yojanas* from Mithilā, the capital of Videha (*J*. VI, p. 32). The kingdom of Aṅga is identified with the modern district of Bhāgalpur and the site of the ancient capital of Campā is probably to be located in the modern villages of Campanagar or Campapur situated near Bhāgalpur (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, pp. 546 f.).

In ancient times Campā was known by the name of Mālinī or Mālina. It was later changed to Campā in honour of a king named Campā, the great-grandson of Romapāda or Lomapāda of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (cp. *Mahābhārata*, Śānti Parvan, Section v ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, xlviii, 95–7 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa* xix, 103–7 ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. IV, Chap. xviii etc.). According to the *Majjhima* commentary the city earned the name of Campā because it abounded in campaka trees (*MA*. III, p. 1).

Campā has many connections with Buddhism. It was hallowed by several visits of the Buddha who won numerous converts there. A frequent resort of the Buddha and his disciples was the bank of the Gaggarā lake in Campā where several suttas were preached by him, e.g., the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* (*D*. I, pp. 111 ff.) and the *Kandaraka Sutta* (*M*. I, p. 339 ff.). The Buddha was once sojourning at

4 Pedestals meant for cult images with carvings depicting episodes from the Buddha story are not uncommon in the earliest phase of Buddhist art. Such pedestal stones with elaborate carvings have been discovered from the Gandhāra region of Buddhist art (see Paul Hamlyn, *The Life and Times of Buddha*, London-Toronto, 1967, p. 50, figure, below left).

this spot, surrounded with a large following when Vaṅgīsa extolled the Buddha with appropriate verses (*S.* I, p. 195). The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* contains several suttas preached by the Buddha while staying on the bank of the Gaggarā lake. Many lay followers of Campā, keen on hearing the Buddha preach, followed Sāriputta's advice and visited the Buddha who preached to them on charity (*Dāna Sutta : A.* IV, pp. 59 ff.). It was when the Buddha was residing here that certain bhikkhus were led to reprove a bhikkhu for some offence, at which the latter showed ill-will. When this was reported to the Buddha he instructed the good bhikkhus to oust him from their midst, (*Kāraṇḍava Sutta : A.* IV, pp. 168 ff.). It was also here that the Buddha preached to Bāhuna on the conditions from which he (the Buddha) was emancipated (*Bāhuna Sutta : A.* V, p.151 f.). A householder named Vajjiyamāhita, who had defended the Buddha against certain heretics, visited the Buddha at the Gaggarā lake. There the Buddha preached to him the *Vajjiya Sutta* (*A.* V, pp. 189 ff.).

Certain Vinaya rules were promulgated in Campā. It was here that the Buddha permitted the use of slippers by the bhikkhus on account of Soṇa Kolivisa who was delicately nurtured (*Vin.* I, p. 179 ff.). Here too the Buddha declared that the suspension of Kassapagotta by monks visiting the village Vāsabha was illegal (*Vin.* I, pp. 312 ff.). The bhikkhus of Campā carried out formal acts which were contrary to the rules of the Vinaya and this was the occasion for the Buddha to lay down several important regulations regarding the validity of formal acts of the Saṅgha (*Vin.* I, p. 315 f.).

It was while residing at the Gaggarā lake that Sāriputta in the presence of the Buddha preached to the monks the *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D.* III, p. 272 ff.). Campā was the birthplace of Soṇa Koḷivisa who was the son of a *seṭṭhi* there (*ThagA.* II, p. 286), and also of Jambugāmiyaputta (*ThagA.* I, p. 91), Bharata (*ThagA.* II, p. 49) and Nandaka (*ThagA.* II, p. 48). Once Thullanandā and her companion resided in Campā (*Vin.* III, p. 66). The *Buddhavaṃsa* records that the Buddha's bathing-robe was enshrined in Campā (*Buv.* xxviii, 9).

Campā was also sacred to the followers of Brahmanism. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* it is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage (*Mahābhārata,* Vaṇaparvan, chaps. 84, 85; *Padma Purāṇa,* Svarga Khāṇḍa, chap. 19 etc.).

Campā was a great centre of Jainism. Mahāvīra spent three rainy seasons in Campā and its suburbs (Pṛṣṭhicampā: Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras,* Oxford, 1884, I, p. 264). It was the birthplace and the place of death of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara (C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India,* London, 1932, p. 26, n. 5). It was also the headquarters of Candanā, Mahāvīra's first female disciple, and her father. There appear to have been old and new Jaina temples belonging to both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects (ibid. p. 94). It was at Campā that Sayambhava composed the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra.* There was a temple here called Caitya Puṇṇabhadda where Mahāvīra resided and where Sudharman, his famous disciple, recited the Uvāsagadasāo (Nundolal Dey, 'Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur', *JASB.* (*N.S.*), Vol. X, 1914, pp. 334 ff.). Makkhali Gosāla and Jamāli are also said to have frequented Campā (B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* Paris, 1954, p. 214).

A description of the city of Campā can be gleaned from various works. According to the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* Campā was founded by Mahāgovinda (*D.* II, p. 235). In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,* Ānanda requests the Buddha to attain Parinibbāna in one of the six important cities of India and Campā is mentioned first among them, the others being, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi and Bārāṇasī (*D.* II, p. 146). Campā was surrounded by walls with gates and watch towers (*J.* VI, p. 32). Campā became a centre of trade, no doubt because of its position on the Ganges. We are told that traders sailed with their merchandise from here to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma : *J.* VI, p. 34). The Jaina *Nāyādhammakathā* (p. 91 ff.), too, describes sea-faring merchants from Campā (B.C. Law, op. cit. p. 214). Most probably it was the Indian colonists who gave the name Campā after their own city to the great settlement of Cochin-China in S.E. Asia (*IA.* Vol. VI, 1877, p. 229). Its famous lake Gaggarāpokkharaṇī is said to have been excavated by queen Gaggarā of Campā. On its bank was a large grove of campaka trees frequented by wandering mendicants. It was full of the five kinds of campaka flowers (*DA.* I, p. 279 f.: *MA.* III, p. 1). The *Mahābhārata,* too, describes Campā as being surrounded with campaka trees (*Mahābhārata,* Anuśāsanaparvan, xlii, p. 16). It was a place teeming with life, abounding in much grassland and woodland and water and corn (*D.* I, p. 111). The Jaina *Anupapātika Sūtra* describes Campā as a prosperous city, adorned with gates, ramparts, palaces, parks and gardens (B.C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras,* Bombay, 1949, p. 73). According to the Jaina *Campakaśreṣṭhikathā,* Campā was a very flourishing city where lived perfumers, sellers of spice and sugar-candy, jewellers, leather tanners, garland makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers,

washermen, et al (Nundolal Dey, op. cit. p. 336). But Campā did not escape the evils accompanying prosperity and in the 6th century A.C. it has been described as abounding in swindlers and rogues (*Daśakumāracarita*, chap. 2).

Campā was also known as Kāḷacampā. This is proved by the fact that Kāḷacampā is always spoken of as situated in the Aṅga country (e.g., *J.* VI, p. 274) and the two names have been sometimes used alternatively with reference to the same city (*ThagA.* II, p. 266; *AA.* I, p. 233; *J.* VI, p. 31 f.). We are told that ascetics from the Himalayas came to Kāḷacampā in search of salt and condiments (*J.* VI, p. 256). A cart-road connected the city of Kāḷacampā with Mithilā which was situated at a distance of sixty *yojanas* (*J.* VI, p. 32).

Campā was visited by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien in the 5th century A.C. and Hsüan-tsang in the 7th century A.C. and a description of the city, which they have called Chan-p'o, is found in their itineraries. Fa-hsien refers to it as a large city situated on the southern bank of the Ganges. There were thūpas at the place where the Buddha had lived, at the exercise ground and at the place where the four previous Buddhas had sat down (Watters, *On Yüan Chuang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 182; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, London, 1906, p. lxxi). According to Hsüan-tsang, the city was more than 40 li (about 7-8 miles) in circumference and situated on the southern side of the Ganges. The land was level and fertile and regularly cultivated. The people were simple and honest. There were many monasteries, mostly in ruins, and more than 200 Hinayānist monks. There were also some twenty Deva-temples. The city was surrounded by a high brick wall. Hsüan-tsang also records a legend in connection with the origin of Campā. At the beginning of this *kalpa*, when men were homeless savages, a goddess came down from heaven, and after bathing in the Ganges, became pregnant. She gave birth to four sons who divided Jambudvīpa among them and built cities. The first city built was Campā (Watters, op. cit. p. 181; Beal, op. cit. p. 191 f.). It is interesting to note that these Chinese travellers have referred to the country of Aṅga, too, as Campā (Chan-p'o), no doubt because of the importance of the capital city at that time.

The Jātakas refer to a queen of Mithilā, chief consort of king Ariṭṭhajanaka, who went to Campā for shelter, when her husband was killed by his brother, Polajanaka (*J.* VI, pp. 31 ff.). In the time of the Buddha, Aṅga appears to have lost its independence. That Aṅga owed allegiance to Bimbisāra of Magadha is proved by the fact that a brāhman named Soṇadaṇḍa lived at Campā on some lands granted as a royal fief by king Bimbisāra (*Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, *D.* I, p. 111). Campā appears to have been a seat of Magadhan viceroyalty from the time of Bimbisāra's father, Bhaṭṭiya. According to the *Dulva*, just before the time of the Buddha, Brahmadatta, the king of Aṅga ruling from Campā, conquered Bhaṭṭiya, the king of Magadha. When Bimbisāra grew up, he invaded Campā, killed Brahmadatta and resided at Campā as viceroy until the death of his father when he returned to Rājagaha (C.M. Duff, The *Chronology of India*, Westminister, 1899, p. 5 f.; Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1860, p. 163). The *Dulva* also mentions that Bimbisāra made Ajātasattu viceroy of Campā (Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884, p. 90). According to the Jaina *Jñātādharmasūtrapāṭha*, Kunīka (i.e., Ajātasattu) son of Śreṇika (i.e., Bimbisāra), left Rājagṛha on the death of his father and made Campā his capital and after his death his son Udāyin shifted the capital to Pāṭaliputra (Nundolal Dey, op. cit. p. 322). However, the transfer of the Magadhan capital from Rājagaha to Campā is not supported by any other evidence.

According to the *Aśokāvadāna*, a brahman of Campāpuri presented to Bindusāra, king of Pāṭaliputra, his daughter Subhadrāṅgī. She became his chief queen and the mother of the famous Aśoka (R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, Calcutta, 1892, p. 8; *Divy.* p. 369 f.).

Campā is said to have been ruled by a king named Mahinda, his sons and grandsons (*Dpv.* p. 28; *MhvA.* p. 128 f.). According to the *Daśakumāracarita*, Campā was once besieged by Candravarman (B.C. Law, op. cit. p. 205). Despite political upheavels Aṅga appears to have been a very flourishing country upto the 11th century A.C. and Campā throughout maintained its position as one of the important cities of East India.

L.R.G.

Bibliography: N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, London, 1927; 'Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur', *JASB.(N.S.)* Vol. X, 1914 pp. 317 ff.; B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932; B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954; 'Aṅga and Campā in the Pali Literature' *JASB.(N.S.)*, Vol. XXI, 1925, pp. 137 ff.; 'The Aṅgas in Ancient India,' *JBRAS.* (*N.S.*), Vol. XX, 1944, pp. 47 ff.

CAMPĀ (4), a river in north-east India. It flowed between the ancient kingdoms of Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the west, forming the boundary between them. The river is mentioned in the *Campeyya Jātaka* and we are told that the nāga king, Campeyya lived there. There was intermittent war between the kings of Aṅga and Magadha and once the king of Magadha pursued by his enemy preferred death in the river and jumped into the waters of Campā. But the nāga king, Campeyya came to his rescue and helped him to win back his kingdom, capturing the king of Aṅga. Henceforth, it is said, the king of Magadha held an annual festival for the nāga king on the bank of the Campā (*J.* IV, pp. 454 f.).

The ancient name of Mālinī for the city of Campā seems to have been applied to the river as well, since Kālidāsa refers to it by this name. Śakuntalā and her friends are said to have come to the banks of the river Mālinī which was full of ripples (*Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* of Kālidāsa edited by N. D. Godabole, 9th edition, 1926, Act. iii, p. 87).

Campā is probably to be identified with the river to the west of Campānagara and Nāthnagar in the suburb of the town of Bhagalpur (B.C.Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 214).

L.R.G.

CAMPAKA (1), a previous birth, as a king, of Khadiravaniya Revata thera. See REVATA.

CAMPAKA (2) var. cambaka, name of a Tibetan author who is credited with the authorship of the Sanskrit text, *Ātma-parijñānadṛṣṭyupadeśa-nāma*, the Tibetan translation of which is *Raṅ-rig ye-śes-kyi lta-baḥi ñams-len shes-bya-ba*, occurring in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (*TT.* No. 3254).

CAMPAKA (3), name of a city in the time of Atthadassī Buddha, in which the bodhisatta was born, named Susīma (*BuvA.* p. 180).

CAMPAKA (4), (var. Campā), the city in which Paduma Buddha was born (*Buv.* ix, p. 16; *J.* I, p. 36; *ApA.* p. 40). The Campaka-uyyāna was situated close by (*BuvA.* p. 177).

CAMPAKA (5), a tree (*michelia campaka*; Sinhalese, *sapu*), having fragrant, white and yellow flowers and growing on the eastern side of the Himālaya where are to be found the sources of many streams (*J.* V, p. 420). Its flowers are used in celebration of festivals (*Vism.* p. 437). The Jātaka (*J.* VI, p. 269) refers to these trees as having bent themselves with their boughs to lend beauty to a *nāga* palace. Arahants are compared to the *campaka* and other flowers of that type, because, just as these flowers possess hue and fragrance, arahants also possess virtues (*VvA.* p. 194).

H.R.P.

CAMPAKAVARṆĀ, a world-system (*lokadhātu*) in the west, where the *buddhakṣetra* of the Tathāgata Puṣpāvalivanarājikusumita is situated. From this *buddhakṣetra* comes the bodhisattva Indrajālī to the Bodhimaṇḍa on the occasion of Śākyamuni's Enlightenment (*Lal.* p. 212).

I.K.

CAMPAKAVIMALAPRABHA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a long list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Gvyū.* p. 442). Māyā claims maternity to all the bodhisattvas in the list.

CĀMPEYA, a nāga-king mentioned in a list in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, p. 48; *Mmk.* p. 18). He is called Cāmpeyaka in the *Mahāmāyūri* (*Mhm.* p. 247).

CAMPEYYA JĀTAKA (*J.* IV, p. 454 ff.). Campeyya, the nāga king, lived in the nāga abode in the Campā river which flowed between the kingdoms of Aṅga and Magadha. Once the king of Magadha, who was at constant war with the king of Aṅga, defeated the latter with the help of Campeyya. Thereafter, as an expression of gratitude, every year he offered tribute to the nāga king amidst much ceremony. At that time the bodhisatta was born a poor man and seeing the nāga king's glory, longed for similar greatness. As a result, when he died, he was reborn as the nāga king Campeyya, in succession to the old king. But very soon he repented of his birth as a nāga, and began practising the fast-day (*uposatha*) vows As he was disturbed by his consort Sumanā and other nāga maidens, he came to the world of men to observe the vows. Once as he thus lay on an ant-hill, he was trapped by a young brāhman snake-charmer. The nāga king was subjected to severe torment, but far from attacking his assailant, he closed his eyes and endured all pain lest he should violate his vows. The snake-charmer made much money, going from village to village, exhibiting Campeyya, and finally he decided to display the nāga king before Uggasena, king of Bārāṇasī.

The nāga queen Sumanā knew by some signs which she had learnt earlier from Campeyya, that the latter had been taken captive. Determined to find her husband, she came to the world of men and after making inquiries arrived at the courtyard of king Uggasena where she was grieved to see her

husband performing before a vast gathering. Sumanā related her story to Uggasena and entreated him to release Campeyya, which he did. Uggasena and his retinue accompanied them to the nāga abode where they were much impressed with its wealth and magnificence. Uggasena in surprise asked Campeyya why he had left all the regal splendour to practise religious vows. Campeyya's reply was that it was in order to win rebirth as a human being.

This Jātaka (No. 506) was related in connection with the observance of *uposatha* precepts. The characters are thus identified : Devadatta was the snake-charmer. Rāhulamātā was Sumanā and Sāriputta was Uggasena.

The *Campeyyanāgacariyā* forms the third story in the chapter on *Sīlapāramitā*, in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (*Cp.* pp. 85 f.). This Jātaka has been cited as one of the births in which the bodhisatta practised the *sīlapāramitā* (perfection of morality, e.g., *J.* I, p. 45; *MA.* III, p.91). Campeyya is probably to be identified with Campaka (2).

L.R.G.

CĀMUṆḌĀ, a demoness. Generally considered one of the seven female-retainers (*parivāra-parṣad*) of Yama or Mahākāla, the others being Kyōhairi, Haishitsudom, Kyōri, Ennari, (Indrānī ?), Shanari and Mirami, Brahmaṇī). These are probably transliterated names (*Ta-p'i-lu-chê-na-ch'ĕng-fu-ching-shu : Taishō*, No. 1796, Vol. 39, p. 640), but it is not easy to reconstruct them into their Sanskrit originals.

Cāmuṇḍā is described as follows : She has the head of a wild-boar with a crown on it and a naked human body. She is red in colour, with her left fist at her waist, her right palm turned up, holding a cup, and her face turned to her left.

Her seed syllable (*bīja*) is the letter *'ca'* and her sign (*mudrā*) is that the left hand held in front of her breast, is turned upward as if it holds a skull.

According to Indian mythology, Cāmuṇḍā is another name of Umā, consort of Śiva. Once, when her incarnation (*nirmāṇa-kāya*), named Durgā, subjugated Aśura, she caused his men, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, to surrender: thereafter these names were contracted to Cāmuṇḍa. Umā is also said to have been called Carma-muṇḍā.

As regards the position of Cāmuṇḍā, in a maṇḍala various texts state different directions—the West, the South or the North (*MOC.* Vol. 3, p. 2182c. ff. ; Vol. 2, p. 1925a ff. etc.).

S. Mo.

CANADA. When Buddhism was first introduced to Canada is not certain. Nevertheless, it is possible that it was brought there in 1889 A.C. with the advent of the first Japanese immigrants, who settled in thousands in that country. The form of Buddhism they introduced was evidently the Jōdo Shinsū (Pure Land Sect), a Mahāyāna sect founded by Shinran Shonin (1173–1262 A.C.).[1] But in the ensuing period several Buddhist schools and sects have been introduced. Amongst them notable are the Nichiren sect, founded by Nichiren Shonin (1222–82 A.C.) and the Zen School. The latter spread rapidly and became very popular there. It should also be observed that in Canada are found Theravāda monks, particularly from Ceylon and Burma, who are engaged in propagating Buddhism. Located in Toronto and Montreal are two well-established Dharma Centres, where meditation is being practised. Further mention is made of the existence of Zen groups of Sōto and Rinzai Schools affliated with Zen groups in the United States of America. The influx of Tibetan refugees from India too have contributed to the numerical strength of the Buddhist population in that country. It is, however, to be noted that of the ten provinces in the Dominion of Canada, Buddhism is recognised officially only in four of them, namely, British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. At first the Buddhists were confined to areas around Vancouver and British Columbia. But after the Second World War Buddhism began to spread in the eastern provinces as well. Thus, from British Columbia to Quebec there are, to-day, over seventeen Buddhist temples or churches—as they are known in Canada. At present Buddhist activities are being carried out in almost all including British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Quebec and the Maritimes. Nevertheless, Buddhism is still to be officially recognised in Quebec. It should, however, be noted that the Buddhists in Canada constitute only a small fraction of the whole population.

Each Buddhist church is comprised of a resident Minister, whose functions are varied and heavy. Marriage is permissible to him and normally he lives with his family. He is expected to attend to the everyday needs of his congregation.

1 A striking feature of this sect is the solid faith its adherents have in Amida Buddha, who symbolises perfect wisdom and compassion. Gautama is represented as one of his manifestations.

A cursory glance at the setup of the Buddhist church in Canada reveals that it has more characteristics of a pure social organisation than a religious order. At the annual gathering, the Buddhist church elect a number of directors on the lines laid down in the Provincial Company or Corporation Act. The directors, in turn, elect the office bearers of the church. Functioning under the Board of Directors are several standing committees to carry out the activities both of ecclesiastical and secular nature—connected with the church.

The church consists of numerous circles of adherents grouped mainly on the basis of their age. Sunday school is conducted for students up to the high school age level. The more adolescent group attends a regular Sunday service held at the church. Also there are study groups and culturally interested groups sponsored by the church. A healthy and harmonious atmosphere reigns among the Buddhists and the adherents of other faiths in Canada. They also cooperate in inter-religious activities with their countrymen.

The Buddhists in Canada believe firmly in Buddha Amida (Skt. Amitābha), whose infinite wisdom and compassion, they believe, pervade the whole universe. Although no statues of him are found in the home shrines, a scroll displaying the characters signifying 'Namu Amida Butsu' or a picture depicting him is hung. He is usually represented in standing posture with his right hand held up in a gesture of assurance (*abhaya*) and the left hand lowered in a gesture of conferring blessings (*varada*) on all. Also most shrines contain a scroll depicting Shinran Shonin, the founder of the sect. However, the Amida Buddha alone is worshipped and other figures in the shrine are placed out of respect and gratitude.

In conformity with their fellow countrymen, the Canadian Buddhists spare Sunday for their religious activities. Thus, on Sundays they congregate at their churches to hold religious services. Apart from Sundays, there are also several occasions which bear either historical or religious significance for them and on which occasions they hold special services. Among them are : 'Shuso-ye' or New Year's Day services, held on January 1, dedicated to the retrospection of one's deeds in the foregone year and to re-evaluate one's life in the light of Amida's infinite wisdom, and compassion. 'Hoonko' is held on January 16th in memory of Shinran. 'Nehan-ye' or Nirvāṇa Day is celebrated on February 15th to commemorate the passing-away of the Śākyamuni. 'Ohigan' or Spring Devotion held on March 21 is a religious service conducted during the spring equinox. 'Hanamatsuri' or the Birthday of Gautama Buddha, is celebrated on April 8th to commemorate his birth in Lumbini garden. 'Gotan-ye' or the Birthday of Shinran is held in May 21. 'Obon Service,' a memorial service honouring the memory of the dead, is held on July 15th. These services connected with the dead are usually held between July 15th and August 15th. 'Ohigan' or Autumn Devotion falls on September 23 during the autumnal equinox. 'Jodo-ye' or Bodhi Day is celebrated on December 8th to commemorate the Enlightenment of the Gautama Buddha under the Bodhi tree. 'Joya-ye' held on December 31st is in reality a New Year's eve thanksgiving service.

Buddhism, as it is being practised in Canada is a synthesis of indigenous religious elements, which were brought there by the Japanese settlers and the extrinsic elements, which were absorbed during subsequent times from other faiths. Christian religious practises and rites prevelant in Canada seem to have had a telling influence on Buddhism. A good number of Buddhist practises and ceremonies found among the Canadian Buddhists appear to have either been borrowed or adopted from the similar ones prevalent among the Christians of the same clime—seemingly to fill the vacuum in their religious calendar.*

C.S.R.

CĀṆAKYA-NĪTI-ŚĀSTRA, one of several collections of maxims attributed to Cāṇakya. Ludwik Sternbach, who has made a study of all the available manuscripts and editions of Cāṇakya's compendia, states that they can be divided into six versions, one of which is the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* (*Cāṇakya-Nīti-text-tradition*, Ludwik Sternbach, Vol. I, Part i, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1963, pp. ix-x).

A reconstructed text of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* based on a critical study of several editions and manuscripts has been published by Sternbach (ibid. pp. 159–206). This text consists of 108 stanzas. For further information on this text see Sternbach's introduction to his edition of the text (ibid. pp. cxiii-clxvi).

The Tengyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains a translation of a collection of Cāṇakya's maxims. This translation is attributed to Prabhākaraśrīmitra and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. D. T. Suzuki, in his index to the facsimile edition of the Peking

* It is gratefully acknowledged that some of the information furnished by Bishop Newton Ishiura of the Buddhist Church of Canada was made use of in the compilation of this article.

edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka gives the title of this collection as *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* in Sanskrit and *Tsa-na-kaḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos* in Tibetan (*TT*. Vol. 144, No. 5826; *TM*. No. 4334). These are the titles given at the beginning of the Tibetan text. However, the colophon of the text gives a different Tibetan title, viz. *Tsa-na-ka rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos* which, rendered into Sanskrit would read *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra.* This latter Tibetan title is repeated at the end of each of the eight chapters in the text. This Tibetan text is, therefore, not a translation of *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* but that of *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra*, another of the six versions of Cāṇakya's compendia noted by Sternbach (op. cit. pp. ix and xi). The Tibetan text in question has been published by Sunitikumar Pathak, under the title *Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstram* (*A Tibetan text with Sanskrit Parallels*, Santiniketan, January, 1959).

R.H.

CANDA (1), younger brother of Sāriputta, who also entered the Saṅgha (*DhpA*. II, p. 188).

CANDA (2), a king and a benefactor of Koṇḍañña Buddha (*BuvA*. p. 140).

CANDA (3), one of the chief lay supporters of Sikhī Buddha (*Buv*. xxi, 22). He is called Nanda in the commentary (*BuvA*. p. 246).

CANDA (4), an arahant thera in the time of Koṇḍañña Buddha. He was the son of a rich brāhman, named Sucindhara. Canda and his friend Subhadda, having heard the Buddha preach at his first assembly at Candārāma, entered the Saṅgha and later became arahants (*BuvA*. p. 136).

CANDA (5), the bodhisatta, born as a kinnara. See CANDA-KINNARA JĀTAKA.

CANDA (6), a brāhman and the father of Vidhura paṇḍita, the bodhisatta (*J*. VI, p. 262).

CANDA (7), one of the three palaces occupied by Sumana Buddha before his renunciation, the other two being Sucanda and Vataṃsa (*Buv*. *v*. 22). The *Madhuratthavilāsinī* calls them Nārivaḍḍhana, Somavaḍḍhana and Iddhivaḍḍhana (*BuvA*. p. 153).

CANDA (8), a silvery mountain (*rajatapabbata*) in the Himālayan region where lived the bodhisatta in one of his births as a kinnara, Canda, with his wife Candā. Many rivers flow from it (*J*. IV, p. 283, 288). Malalasekera (*DPPN*. I, p. 844) considers that Candapassa in the *Chaddanta Jātaka* (*J*. V, p. 38) and Candaka in the *Saṅkhapāla Jātaka* (*J*. V, p. 162) are identical with Canda.

H.R.P.

CANDĀ (1), an arahant therī. She was born in a brāhman family which became very poor after her birth. As a result she grew up in great poverty. When all other members of her family died of plague, she earned her living by begging from door to door. One day, she met Paṭācārā who had just finished taking her meals. She saw Candā's miserable condition of life due to starvation, felt sorry for her and gave her some food. When she had finished eating, Paṭācārā preached to her the Dhamma. Being greatly delighted by her sermon, Candā renounced the worldly life and having entered the Order attained arahantship (*Thīg. vv.* 122-6 ; *ThīgA*. p. 120 f.).

I.K.

CANDĀ (2), one of the two chief women disciples of Vipassī Buddha, the other being Candamittā (*J*. I, p. 41 ; *Buv*. xx, *v*. 29).

CANDĀ (3), wife of Sudinna and the mother of Piyadassī Buddha (*J*. I, p. 39). In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, Sudinna is referred to as Sudatta and Candā as Sucandā (*Buv*. xiv. *v*. 15).

CANDĀ (4), wife of Mahāpatāpa, king of Bārāṇasī, and mother of Dhammapāla. She died an untimely death, because she found it difficult to bear up the murder of her son Dhammapāla by his father, who thought that the queen had lost her respect for him after the birth of her son. Candā is identified with Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. For details see *Culla Dhammapāla Jātaka* (*J*. III, p. 178 ff.).

I.K.

CANDĀ (5), daughter of the king of the Maddas and chief queen of the king of Bārāṇasī. She was childless for a long time, but by the power of an act of truth, affirming that she had not violated the precepts, she conceived. She was the mother of Temiya (Mūgapakkha). Later, after hearing her son preach, she took to the ascetic life. For details see *Mūgapakkha Jātaka* (*J*. VI, p. 1 ff.).

L.R.G.

CANDĀ (6), chief queen of Candakumāra, king of Bārāṇasī. She was the daughter of the king of Pañcāla and mother of Vāsula. She rescued her husband from death by the power of her *saccakiriyā* (act of truth). She is identified with Rāhulamātā (*Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka : J*. VI, p. 151 f.).

CANDĀ (7), chief consort of king Sutasoma (*Culla-Sutasoma Jātaka: J.* V, p. 177 ff.). Her verses, uttered in grief when she heard of her husband's decision to become an ascetic, are given in the Jātaka (*J.* V. p. 181 f.). She is identified with Rāhulamātā (ibid. p. 192).

CANDĀ (8), a kinnarī, wife of Canda, the bodhisatta. See CANDA-KINNARA JĀTAKA.

CANDĀ (9), the kinnarī maiden of whom the king of Bārāṇasī became enamoured, forgetting his own queen Asitābhu (*VbhA.* p. 470 f.). In the *Asitābhu Jātaka* the incident is recorded without mentioning Candā's name. Here it is prince Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī who is attracted by her (*J.* II, p. 229 ff.).

CAṆḌA, a headman (*gāmaṇi*) of Sāvatthi who visited the Buddha at Jetavana and after hearing him preach, became a lay disciple (*S.* IV, p. 305 f.). See CAṆḌA SUTTA.

CAṆḌĀ, name of a yakṣiṇī mentioned in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra* (ed. J. Nobel, Leipzig, 1937, p. 163).

CANDĀBHA (1), an arahant thera. He belonged to a wealthy brāhman family of Rājagaha. He was named Candābha because there emitted from the circle of his navel a glow that resembled the disk of the moon. With the idea of making money from this fact, the brāhmans seated him in a carriage and took him round, proclaiming that anybody who stroked his body would attain power and glory. Thus they collected much wealth. When they reached Sāvatthi, where the Buddha was, there arose a dispute between the Buddha's followers and the Brāhmans, as to whether the Buddha or Candābha possessed greater supernatural power. Unable to settle the dispute, Candābha was sent to see the Buddha. Even as he approached the Buddha the light from his body disappeared. Coming to the conclusion that this was the effect of a charm, he asked the Buddha to teach it to him. When the Buddha declared that it could only be learnt by one who entered the Saṅgha, he agreed to do so, with the hope of reverting to the lay life later. After he became a bhikkhu, Candābha was asked to meditate on the thirty-two constituent parts of the body, and after a few days he attained arahantship.

The story of his previous lives is also given. He was once a forester who befriended a merchant from Bārāṇasī to whom he supplied red sandalwood. On one of his visits to the merchant he was taken to the place where a shrine was being erected over the relics of Kassapa Buddha. The forester made a moon-disk out of sandalwood and offered it to the shrine. After death he was reborn in the deva-world until his last birth in the time of Gotama Buddha (*DhpA.* IV, p. 187 ff.).

The story of Candābha is also found in the *Suttanipāta* commentary with variant details. It was from his chest that a circle of rays emanated like the disk of the moon. In his previous birth as a forester, after the offering of the disk of sandalwood to Kassapa Buddha's shrine, he made the wish that rays like those of the moon playing on his offering of the sandalwood disk, should proceed from his chest in all his future lives. After death he was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa, where he became known as Candābha devaputta, because on his chest there was a circle of rays which resembled the disk of the moon (*SnA.* II, p. 523 ff.).

L.R.G.

CANDĀBHA (2), a previous birth, as a king, of Ekadīpiya thera. See EKADĪPIYA.

CANDABHĀGĀ (Skt. Candrabhāgā), the modern river Chenab in the Punjab, a tributary of the Indus or the Sindhu. It is the same as the Ṛgvedic Asiknī, Arrian's Akesines and Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy (B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* Paris, 1954, p. 73). Sometimes the united streams of the Jhelum and the Chenab are known by the name Candabhāgā. Its source is in a lake called Lohitya Sarovara in Lahoul, (N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* London, 1927, p. 47). The Candrabhāgā is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* among the chief rivers flowing from the Himālayas (ch. 57, *vv.* 16–18). Two rivers by this name seem to be suggested here and in the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣma Parvan, Section 9), but the second river has not been identified. The river Bhīma, tributary of the Kriṣṇā, is also known as Candrabhāgā, but it is not the river referred to in this context.

The Candabhāgā is mentioned in the *Milinda-pañha* (ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS.*, 1935, p. 114), among the ten most important rivers issuing from the Himālayas. In Pali literature it is often referred to as *Mahānadī* (great river ; e.g., *DA.* III, p.877 ; *AA.* I, p. 322). The Candabhāgā figures in several ancient legends recorded in the *Apadāna* (e.g., I, pp. 79, 277, 291 ; II, p. 450), the *Theragāthā* commentary (e.g., I, pp. 94, 188 ; II, p. 122) and the *Therīgāthā* commentary (e.g., pp. 9, 33, 45, 51), in connection with the former lives of the elders in the time of previous Buddhas, like Vipassī, Siddhattha and Atthadassī. Candabhāgā was the third river

crossed by king Mahākappina and his ministers on their way to Sāvatthi from their own country, and it was under a large banyan tree on the bank of the Candabhāgā that the Buddha awaited their arrival (*ThagA*. II, p. 232 ; *AA*. I, p. 322, etc.). This river is said to have been one league deep and one league wide (*DhpA*. II, p. 120), and eighteen leagues in length (*DA*. III, p. 877, 888).

L.R.G.

CANDĀBHA JĀTAKA (No. 135, *J*. I, 474), related by the Buddha to the monks while staying at Jetavana on the interpretation of a problem by Sāriputta at the gate of Saṅkassa. In a previous birth, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Bārāṇasī, the bodhisatta passed away while preaching to his disciples on *candābha* (moonlight) and *suriyābha* (sun-light) and was born as a Mahā Brahmā in the Ābhassara Brahma world. When his chief disciple interpreted his words after the master's death, the other disciples would not believe him. Therefore, the bodhisatta, returning from the Brahma world and appearing before them in mid-air, uttered a stanza in explanation. He then praised the chief disciple and returned to the Brahma world. The stanza indicates, according to the commentary on the Jātaka, that by taking the sun and the moon as subjects for meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*), one could attain *jhāna* in the second degree and save oneself from rebirth in spheres of existence lower than the Ābhassara Brahma world.

The Buddha identifies the chief disciple in the Jātaka with Sāriputta and the Mahā Brahmā with himself.

H.R.P.

CANDABHĀNU, a king of Java who invaded Ceylon during the eleventh year of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1244 A.C.). See CANDRABHĀNU (2).

CANDĀBHIBHŪ, name of a former Buddha (*Svyū*. p. 5).

CANDADEVA, the third of the ten sons of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. See ANDHAKAVEṆHU-(DĀSA-)PUTTĀ.

CANDAGABBHA, according to the *Sutta Nipāta* commentary (*SnA*. 1, p. 66), one of the seven mountain ranges which have to be crossed on the way to Gandhamādana (q.v.).

CANDAGIRI, an ancient monastery in Ceylon identified by Geiger (*Cūlavaṃsa*, trsl. I, p. 220, n. 2) and C. W. Nicholas (*JCBRAS*. New Series, Vol. VI, Special Number, p. 61) with the ruins of the Saňdagiri-vihāra in Tissamahārāma at Mahāgāma, one mile to the east of Tissaväva. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (ed. D. W. Samarasinghe, Colombo, 1940, p. 30) attributes the construction of the Saňdagiri-vihāra to Mahānāga of Mahāgāma, whereas the *Pūjāvaliya* (ch. xxxiv) attributes it to his grandson Kākavaṇṇatissa. Two inscriptions on an octagonal pillar south of Saňdagiri-dāgäba, one, of a son of king Bhātika Abhaya (22 B.C.—7 A.C.) and the other of king Vasabha (67—111 A.C.), record the grant of shares of the Duratisa tank, of Abagamaka tank and of fields in Piṭigama to the *uposatha* house of the monastery (*CJSc*. II, pp. 17, 18, 25, 74 ; Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, London, 1883, p. 31). Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110 A.C.) restored the Candagiri-vihāra and granted to it some villages (*Mhv*. lx, *v*.61).

H.R.P.

CANDAGUTTA (1), an arahant thera who came with eighty thousand bhikkhus from the Vanavāsa country for the foundation ceremony of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura (*Mhv*. xxix, *v*. 42 ; *Dpv*. xixv, *v*. 8).

CANDAGUTTA (2), pupil of Mahākassapa. Candagutta's pupil was Suriyagutta (*SA*. III, p. 143).

CANDAGUTTA (3), an arahant who lived in India sometime after the demise of the Buddha. He was the pupil of Mahānanda thera, pupil of Mahākassapa. The forehead bone (*lalāṭadhātu*) of the Buddha, said to be enshrined in the ancient cetiya at Seruvila in Ceylon, was in charge of this monk and was worshipped by him in the 'perfumed cell' (*gandhakuṭi*) of the Buddha at Vesālī before it was brought to Ceylon. His pupil Bhaddasena took charge of it after the passing away of his teacher (*Dhātuvaṃsa*, ed. D. W. Samarasinha, Colombo, 1940, p. 22 f. ; *Jinak*. p. 52).

H.R.P.

CANDAGUTTA (4), one of the eight *khattiyas* (nobles) sent to Ceylon by emperor Asoka to accompany the branch of the Bodhi-tree. He took a prominent part in the celebrations when the Sacred-tree left Pāṭaliputta (*Mhbv*. p. 152). Later, when it arrived in Ceylon, Candagutta was appointed by king Devānampiyatissa to beat the golden drum at the Bodhi-tree ceremonies. He was also given the office of Malayarāja (lordship of the hill-country) with the locality known as Vīrabāhu janapada for his maintenance (*Dpv*. xvi, *v*. 36 ; *Mhbv*. p. 165).

H.R.P.

CANDAKA, name of three palaces mentioned in the Jātakas. One is the palace of king Sivi (*J.* IV, p. 411); the second of Aṅgati, king of Videha (*J.* VI, pp. 229, 230, 231) which is also called Canda (*J.* VI, p. 242), and the third is one of the palaces to be occupied by the future Buddha Metteyya (*Anāgv. JPTS.* 1886, p. 46).

CAṆḌAKA, a yakṣa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (numbered line 77 of 'Le Catalogue géographique des yakṣa dans la Mahā-Māyūrī' by S. Lévi; *JAs.* XI, 5, 1915, pp. 1–138).

CAṆḌAKĀLI, a bhikkhunī well known for her quarrelsome propensities. She was a friend of Thullanandā, during whose absence the other bhikkhunīs once expelled Caṇḍakāli from their midst. This act was greatly resented by Thullanandā, and Caṇḍakāli was re-admitted (*Vin.* IV, pp. 230–1, 309–10).

She is several times mentioned as starting quarrels with other bhikkhunīs, and when they disagreed with her, she threatened to denounce the Buddha and the bhikkhunīs, and to join some other Order, declaring that there were other Orders which were, in every way, as good as the Buddha's. Once, when some of her colleagues asked her if she had seen something which they had lost, she cursed them roundly and started to weep and create a scene (ibid. p. 276–7). She was charged with frequenting gatherings of laymen (ibid. p. 293), and, it is said that she joined Thullanandā in various vicious practices (ibid. p. 333). She once applied for permission to ordain bhikkhunīs but was refused, and, on discovering that other bhikkhunīs had obtained this permission, she became violently abusive (ibid. p. 331).

U. K.

CAṆḌA-KHAḌGA-YAMĀRI-SĀDHANA-NĀMA, a sādhana text, a Tibetan version of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Ral-gri gśin-rje-gśed gtum-poḥi sgrub-thabs shes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2815; *TM.* No. 1950; *Cordier*, II. p. 165).

The text deals with the procedure of worship of Caṇḍa-khaḍga-yamāri whose form is described. Emerald-green in colour, he has two heads. The head on the right is blue while that on the left is white. He carries a knife, a sword, a wheel, a skull, a jewel and a lotus. He is adorned with beautiful ornaments and cobras. He wears a garment of tiger-skin.

R. H.

CANDA-KINNARA JĀTAKA (No. 485, *J.* IV, pp. 283 ff.) related by the Buddha while in the banyan-grove near Kapilapura, regarding the loyalty of Rāhula's mother, Yasodharā.

It was related during first return of the Buddha to his father's house after his Enlightenment. On hearing from his father, that Yasodharā had retained her fidelity to her husband even after his departure, by various acts expressing loyalty, the Buddha states that this was not the first occasion when she showed her loyalty to him, and that in previous existences, too, she had done so, and that the *Canda-kinnara Jātaka* would illustrate this statement.

The bodhisatta, was once a kinnara (translated 'fairy' by Rouse, *The Jātaka*, ed. Cowell, Vol. IV, *PTS.* 1957, p. 179) whose wife was a female kinnara by the name of Candā, a previous existence of Yasodharā. They dwelt together in Canda-pabbata, a silver mountain in the Himālayas, and while they were making love to each other, Brahmadatta, the king of Bārāṇasī, on a hunting expedition in the Himālayan forest, sees them, and soon falls in love with Candā. His passions roused to possess her, he decides to kill her husband. When the king's arrow shot him dead, the king proposes to Candā to go with him and be his queen, but she rejects him outright. The dying words of the kinnara, and the lament of his wife are given in moving lines (ibid. p. 181).

When he hears these words the king returns indifferently to his city. Candā, sorrow-stricken, places her husband's head on her lap and mourns, appealing to the gods and accusing them for their apathy and neglect of so innocent a being. Sakka is moved, and, arriving on the spot in the guise of a brāhman, resuscitates her husband.

Rouse (ibid. 182, n. 2) compares Candā's taunting of the gods: "Are there none who govern the world? are they on a journey? or peradventure they are dead, and therefore save not my dear husband!" to Elijah's taunts. (1. *Kings*, xviii, 27): "Cry aloud, for he is a god, either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked."

B.J.

CAṆḌĀKṢĪ, one of the eight yoginīs of the *citta-cakra* (mind—sphere), connected with the *Prajñālokasādhana*, the propitiation of the light of wisdom (*Sādh.* II, p. 427).

CANDAKUMĀRA (1), the bodhisatta, born as the son of Ekarāja, king of Pupphavatī (*J.* VI, p. 131 ff.). He is also called Candaka (ibid. p. 144) and

Candiva (ibid. pp. 152, 154). The story is given very briefly in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* as an example of *dānapāramī* (*cariyā* No. 7; *CpA*. pp. 58–63). See KHAṆḌAHĀLA JĀTAKA.

U.K.

CANDAKUMĀRA (2), one of the three sons of Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī, brother of Mahiṃsaka and step-brother of Suriyakumāra. He is identified with Sāriputta. For details see DEVADHAMMA JĀTAKA (*J*. I, p. 127 ff.; *DhpA*. III, p. 73 ff.).

CAṆḌĀLA, one of the low castes (*nīcakula*) in India referred to in Buddhist literature. According to the evidence available in Pali literature, the caṇḍālas were more or less outcastes or a very low minor caste. They are very often mentioned after the four main castes, i.e., *khattiya, brāhmaṇa, vessa* and *sudda*. In a number of places in the *Nikāyas* these four major castes are followed by five other castes with caṇḍāla as the first, i.e., *caṇḍāla, nesāda* (hunter), *veṇa* (worker in reeds), *rathakāra* (chariot-maker), and *pukkusa* (scavenger: e.g., *A*. I, pp. 107, 162; *S*. I, p. 166; *M*. II, p. 152 etc.). The birth in any of these five castes is regarded as unfortunate. Although the last four terms are self-explanatory, in that they are words indicating the type of work done by each of these divisions of the same society, the word *caṇḍāla* is not so and generally the term is rendered as a low-born person. At *M*. III, p. 169, sinful people are said to be born in these five low castes. The miserable nature of these low castes is described at *S*. I, pp. 93 f., where a man born into any of them is said to be hard-pressed for his basic necessities and sometimes even handicapped by physical disabilities. Here, the Buddha does not condemn these castes on grounds of low birth, but he distinguishes between good and bad people according to their actions, whatever the caste may be. But at *A*. III, pp. 228–9 is found the brāhmaṇic attitude towards this question where it is said that a brāhman who takes for his wife a caṇḍāla woman is said to violate a major bond and he is referred to as a brāhman outcaste (*brāhmaṇa-caṇḍāla*). The despised nature of the caṇḍāla is referred to at *A*. IV, pp. 376, too, where there is a reference to the caṇḍāla's begging-tray (*kalopihattha*), which consists of a small vessel fixed to the end of a stick so that there is no contact between the giver and the recipient. The *rodiyas* of Ceylon, who are the Ceylonese counterpart of the Indian caṇḍāla, have a similar begging-tray called *kolapota*.

From the foregoing description it would be seen that the Pali *Nikāyas* do not furnish much information about the caṇḍālas except that they were a despised category of men in Indian society of the time. Much more information, however, could be culled from the Jātaka stories. Before discussing the information furnished by the Jātakas it would be useful to say that in the later Vedic literature and in the laws of Manu the caṇḍālas were regarded as a very low caste of mixed origin. According to them, they were the offspring of a *śūdra* father and a brāhman mother. According to this theory, the lower the caste of the father and the higher the caste of the mother, the lower will be the caste of the issue. Hence the caṇḍālas were regarded as the lowest and the most despised of all the mixed castes. In a discussion of the caṇḍāla as a caste, this background has to be kept in mind.

In addition to the theory that the caṇḍālas originated as a result of the mixture of castes, it is sometimes suggested that they were originally a despised group of aborigines, who were treated as such by the Aryans who invaded India (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Calcutta, 1950, p. 40). Since the conquering Aryans regarded all aborigines as much below them on grounds of colour and other considerations, the caṇḍālas, too, could have been one such group who were more despised than the other owing to some reason or other (G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, London, 1932, pp. 47–8).

Just as the origin of the caṇḍālas cannot be clearly explained, even their professional work defies clear explanation. According to the commentary on the *Sīlavīmaṃsaka Jātaka* (*J*. III, p. 195) their professional work consisted of the disposal of the dead (*chava-chaḍḍakacaṇḍālā*). According to J. H. Hutton (*Caste in India*, Bombay, 1951, p. 145), people, engaged in coffin-making, grave-digging and the disposal of the dead, are regarded as outcastes in Burma and are called *saṇḍāla* in Burmese which may be same as the Pali word *caṇḍāla*. The descendents of the original caṇḍālas are known as *nāmasūdra* in Bengal and they are mainly cultivators and fishermen (ibid. p. 288). According to R. Fick (*The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, Calcutta, 1920, English Translation by S. Maitra, p. 8), in addition to the disposal of the dead, the execution of criminals, which was an equally despised kind of work, was also done by the caṇḍālas. Here it may be mentioned that, according to the law-books, the office of executioner

(*coraghātaka*) was always given to people of despised castes, specially the caṇḍālas (*Manu*, x, 56). In the *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (IV, p. 390) two caṇḍālas are said to have been practising their art of *caṇḍālavaṃsadhopana*, which the *PED.* takes as a feat by acrobats. But, from the context it would appear that this refers to some work done specially by caṇḍālas, for they themselves refer to this work later in the story as *caṇḍālakamma*, the work of the caṇḍālas. Does this term refer to a kind of washing or sweeping or to some acrobatic feat ?

The information discussed above shows that, regarding the professional work of the caṇḍālas a clear conclusion cannot be drawn. The disposal of the dead was evidently their chief work. It is possible that they performed other menial services like sweeping and washing too. But, considering the low position they occupied in society, they had hardly any chance of practising a higher profession, even that of an artisan.

The extent to which the caṇḍālas were despised could be understood from certain incidents referred to in a number of Jātakas. At *J.* III, pp. 232 f. a brāhman youth named Setaketu of Bārāṇasī who was very proud of his caste, was going out from the city with his companions when he saw a caṇḍāla. Fearing that the wind which contacted the caṇḍāla might touch his own body and pollute him, he cursed him for being there and commanded the unfortunate man to move to leeward and he himself ran quickly in the opposite direction. But the caṇḍāla youth defied his orders and stood to the windward of him, which provoked the other so much that he started abusing him thoroughly. Then the caṇḍāla threw a challenge to the other to answer a question on condition that failure to do so would result in the caṇḍāla putting the brāhman between his feet. As he failed to answer the question the caṇḍāla forcibly put him between his feet. This incident as it occurs in a Jātaka story, is evidently expressive of the Buddhist attitude towards the whole question of caste, for it snubs the brāhman, showing the superiority of knowledge over caste. But the incident as reported here reveals the contempt with which the caṇḍālas were regarded by the brāhmans. There is a similar story at *J.* IV, p. 388, where a brāhman ascetic, mightily proud of his birth, was humbled by a caṇḍāla. Although the purpose of the story is to ridicule the brāhmaṇic attitude towards the caste-system, the low position of the caṇḍāla in that society is revealed by this story, too. Here the ascetic had his hermitage on the bank of a river and a caṇḍāla, too, lived in the neighbourhood. One day when the ascetic was bathing in the river a toothpick thrown into the river by the caṇḍāla got entangled in the ascetic's hair at which the ascetic became thoroughly offended, abused him and ordered the caṇḍāla to go elsewhere.

The *Satadhamma Jātaka* (*J.* II, pp. 82 ff.) further illustrates the severity of these caste-rules. According to this story, two youths, a brāhman and a caṇḍāla travel together on a long journey. Parenthetically it may be remarked here that it was very strange that a brāhman travelled together with a caṇḍāla. Only the caṇḍāla youth, who is the bodhisatta, takes provisions for the journey. On the way, the caṇḍāla, before taking his meals, invited the other to join him, which was naturally turned down. After travelling the whole day, the bodhisatta had his second meal in the evening. The brāhman, who had been extremely tired by this time, was feeling very hungry. His hunger made him forget all about his caste and this time he asked for a portion of the meal from the caṇḍāla and ate it. No sooner had he finished eating, than he was overtaken by grief and repentance, that he, being a brāhman, had eaten food left over by a caṇḍāla, and immediately vomitted out with blood what he had eaten. He was feeling so guilty and became so sick of life for committing such a grievous fault that he decided to starve to death and entered a forest to do so. Here, too, it is a case of the Buddhist writers bringing to ridicule the rule of the brāhmans that no brāhman should eat the food left over by a caṇḍāla. The *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (*J. IV*, p. 376 ff.) shows that the eating of the leavings of a caṇḍāla's meal by a brāhman results in the latter losing his caste. According to this story 16,000 brāhmans lost their caste because the water which had been mixed with rice left over by a caṇḍāla dropped into their mouths. The contempt for such food was so great that the Buddha in his introduction to the *Satadhamma Jātaka* (*J.* II, p. 82), says that for the followers of his doctrine the eating of food obtained in an unlawful manner is like eating the table-leavings of a caṇḍāla.

Not only were the caṇḍālas regarded as conveying defilement to those who came into contact with them and even the wind contacting them was regarded as conveying contamination, but also even their sight from a distance was enough for high caste people, specially women, to wash their eyes with scented water to remove the pollution. Thus, at *J.* IV, p. 391 f. two women, a daughter of a wealthy merchant (*seṭṭhi*) and of a royal counseller (*purohita*), who had gone to the city gate to play, on seeing two caṇḍāla brothers, washed their eyes with scented water and turned back. The

poor caṇḍālas received a sound beating from the people who lost a very good chance of feasting on the occasion. The same thing happened in the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (loc. cit.) when Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā saw a caṇḍāla on her rounds in the city, turned back and washed her eyes with scented water. Here, too, the caṇḍāla received the same treatment from her escort. High-caste women, even non-brāhman, as in the above cases, seem to have had a special aversion to caṇḍālas. The whole of the *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (loc. cit.) is a very good illustration of the low position occupied by the caṇḍālas and also of the way Buddhist writers carried on their campaign against the brāhman caste system.

Owing to the extremely low position occupied by the caṇḍālas and the contempt with which they were regarded, it was necessary that they had to be excluded from society at large. Consequently, they had to live in a special village outside the town and to follow the low occupations allotted to them. The fact that they lived in their special village (*caṇḍālagāma*) outside the town (*bahinagare*) is referred to in several places in the Jātakas (e.g., *J.* IV, pp. 376, 390). Thus, it became necessary that whenever they entered the town, either for begging or to do their professional work, they had to be distinguished from the others. The *Mātaṅga Jātaka* (loc. cit.) describes the dress of the caṇḍāla as a soiled undergarment of red colour, a belt tied around it, with a dirty upper garment and an earthen pot in hand. They were distinguished from the rest of the population by thier speech, too. Thus, in the *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (*J.* IV, pp. 390 ff.) we are told how two caṇḍāla brothers dressed as brāhmans go to Takkasilā and study under a teacher. Later, one of them burns his face with a lamp, forgets himself, and cries in his own language (*caṇḍālabhāsāya*) upon which their disguise is detected. According to the story they were driven out immediately and then they entered a forest to become ascetics. It may be remarked here that this distinction in their speech was probably not in their language as a whole, but in certain words and expressions, for, being excluded from the rest of the population, they must have preserved some traits of their original language.

Sometimes the term caṇḍāla is used as a term of contempt. Thus, when a jackal makes a proposal of marriage to a young lioness, the latter says that the jackal is regarded as the lowest and the most wretched among the four-footed animals and is similar to a caṇḍāla (*caṇḍāla-sadiso* : *J.* II, p. 6). The lioness felt so insulted at the jackal's proposal that she decided to hold her breath and commit suicide.

At *J.* III, pp. 27 f. (*Vin.* IV, p. 203) there is a departure from the normal trend when a king, pleased with a caṇḍāla's behaviour, makes him the town-sentinel. This was really the Buddhist viewpoint and it is natural for a Buddhist writer to give expression to it.

A. G. S. K.

CAṆḌĀLAKAPPA, a locality in Kosala. It was the residence of Dhānañjānī brāhmaṇī and Saṅgārava māṇava. The Buddha once stayed there in the mango grove of the Todeyya brāhmans. Saṅgārava met him there and on that occasion was preached the *Saṅgārava Sutta* (*M.* II, p. 209 ff.).

CAṆḌĀLATISSA MAHĀBHAYA, mentioned in the *Aṅguttara* commentary (*AA.* I, p. 92), a severe famine that occured in Ceylon due to the activities of a brāhman brigand named Tissa, which lasted for twelve years from circa 103 B.C. Other literary works more frequently refer to it as Brāhmaṇatissa Mahā-bhaya. According to the above text, when the *mahā-bhaya* arose, Sakka created a large raft and warned the monks that there was danger of a great calamity for there was no rain, and the monks, would not be able to obtain their requisites. They would thus be unable to remember the texts. He advised them to go abroad and make their life secure.

Sixty monks who met near the shore decided that they should not leave the country but stay there and protect the Tipiṭaka. They went to the Dakkhiṇamalaya janapada and there they subsisted on bark, roots and leaves of trees. Whenever they felt strong enough to sit they sat together and recited the texts ; at other times they rested their heads on heaps of sand and continued recitation. In this manner they preserved the texts and the commentaries for twelve long years. When the peril was over, seven hundred monks, who had gone abroad and protected the texts and the commentaries, came back to the country and reached the Maṇḍalārāma-vihāra in the Kallagāma janapada. The sixty monks who stayed behind met them there. Both parties compared the texts and the commentaries as they remembered them and found that not even a single syllable was different. See also BRĀHMAṆA-TISSA.

H.R.P.

CAṆḌĀLĪ, name of a *yoginī* mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* p. 443). According to the

Mahāmāyūrī (*Mhm.* p. 243) it is the name of a *rākṣasī*.

CAṆḌALIKĀ, name of a *yakṣiṇī* mentioned in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra* (*Svrn.* p. 163).

CAṆḌĀLIKĀ - BINDU - PRASPHARAṆA - NĀMA, the name of a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Gthum-moḥi thig-le bkram-pa shes-bya-ba.* Lurciki (Luñcaka) is the author of the text (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3251 ; *TM.* No. 2409 ; *Cordier,* p. 243). Instructions on a form of contemplation leading to mystic power forms the theme of the work.

CAṆḌĀLINĪ, name of a *yoginī*, mentioned in the Amṛtaprabhā–Sādhanopāyikā (*Sādh.* II, p. 546).

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA, another name of the deity Caṇḍaroṣaṇa (q.v.).

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆĀBHÍSAMAYA, a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Gtum-chen drag-poḥi mṅon-par rtogs-pa.* The authorship of the work is attributed to Bde-ba chen-poḥi rdo-rje (Mahāsukhatāvajra). Gshon-nu dpal is named as the translator (*TT.* Vol. 86, No. 4890 ; *TM.* No. 1782 ; *Cordier,* III, No. 192).

The text sets out in detail the manner of propitiating Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. Several mantras to be chanted in the course of the ceremony are quoted. The description of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa given here is similar to that given in the *Sādhanamālā* ; cp. CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (1).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (1), a sādhana in prose occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* No. 86). The worshipper is exhorted to meditate on Caṇḍamahāroṣana whose form is described. He is one-faced, two-armed, and squint-eyed . He also bears another name, Acala. He resembles the *atasī* flower in colour and has a formidable mouth with gaping teeth. He bites his lower lip with his teeth. He wears a jewelled head-dress, various jewelled ornaments and a garland of severed heads. His eyes are slightly red. He carries a sword in his right hand and a noose round the raised index-finger against the chest in his left. He has a white snake as his sacred thread and is clad in a tiger-skin. His left leg touches the ground, while the right is slightly raised. He is radiant like the sun and bears on his crown the effigy of Akṣobhya. The *mantra* for invoking him is, *Oṃ Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa hūṃ phaṭ* (cp. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1958, p. 155).

Three translations of this sādhana are included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka under the title *Gtum-po (khro-bo) chen-poḥi sgrub-ṭhabs.* The translations are by Dā, Abhaya, Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4086) Don-yod rdo-rje, Ba-ri lo-tsā-ba, and Grasg-pa rgyal-mtshan (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4301 ; *TM.* Nos. 3262, 3263, 3469).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (2), a sādhana in prose found in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* No. 87). The text describes in detail the procedure of worshipping Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, who is to be invoked with the formula, *Oṃ Caṇḍamahāroṣana huṃ phaṭ.* The god, who is also called Caṇḍācala in this text, is described, the description being similar to that given in *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhaṇa* (1). A few details are added. Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa is as lustrous as the sapphire and appears very angry, like a blazing fire. His left knee rests on the ground while he treads on Māra with his right foot.

A Tibetan translation of the sādhana occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentry) section of the Tengyur under the title *Gtum-po (khro-bo) chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs.* The translation is attributed to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4302 ; *TM.* No. 3480).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (3), a sādhana in prose occurring in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* No. 88). The text describes the procedure of worship of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. The description of the god is similar to that given in *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana* (1).

Two Tibetan translations of the sādhana occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. One of these, attributed to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, is called *Gtum-po (khro-bo) chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs.* (*TT.* Vol. 80, No. 4303). The other, attributed to Sbyin-pa tshul-khrims, is called *Khro-chen grum-poḥi sgrub-thabs.* In this translation, the authorship of the sādhana is attributed to Prabhākarakīrti (*TT.* Vol. 79, No. 3886 ; *TM.* No. 3062).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (4), a text on the procedure of worship of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Gtum-po khro-bo chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs.*

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Rdo-rje gdan-pa (Vājrasna) is said to be the author of the sādhana (*TT*. Vol. 86, No. 4894).

Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa described here is a blue-complexioned god, adorned with snakes. He resembles the fire occurring at the end of a kalpa. He carries a sword and a noose as his symbols. Cp. CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (1).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA (5), a sādhana, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Gtum-po* (*khro-bo*) *chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TT*. Vol. 87, No. 5111).

The text explains the procedure of the worship of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, who is described, the description being similar to that contained in *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana* (1). Mantras to be chanted in the course of the ceremony of propitiating the god are quoted in the text. For instance, the god is requested to accept the offerings and to effect the prevention of all obstacles and the destruction of the worshipper's enemies with the following formula: *Oṃ namo bhagavate śrī-caṇḍamahāroṣaṇāya deva-asura-manuṣya trāsanāya samanta-mārabala-vināśanāya ratnamukuṭakrāmtaśirasya imaṃ baliṃ gṛhṇa gṛhaṇa mama sarvavighnān hara hara...duṣṭasatvān mama viruddhacittakān bhasmīkuru kuru hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā.*

It is noteworthy that the female counterpart of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa is described in this text. She embraces the god holding him firmly with the calves of her legs. She is blue in colour and nude. She carries a short sword in her right hand and a skull full of blood in her left. The sādhanas extant in Sanskrit are silent about the *śakti* of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa (cp. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1958, p. 155).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-SĀDHANA-SAṂKALPA, the name of a sādhana in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* p. 85). The author of the sādhana is Prabhākarakīrti. The major part of the sādhana, which is in verse, describes the procedure of worship of Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, which is said to fulfil all desires. The form of the god described in this section is similar to that described in *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana* (1), q.v. The prose section of the sādhana quotes the formula for propitiating the god, viz, *Oṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa hūṃ phaṭ*, and enumerates the benefits of chanting it.

Two Tibetan translations of the complete sādhana occur in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The translation attributed to Dānaśrījñāna, Abhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan is called *Gtum-po-cher khros-paḥi sgrub-thabs* in Tibetan and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana* in Sanskrit (*TT*. Vol. 80, No. 4085). The translation of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan has as its Tibetan title, *Gtum-po* (*khro-bo*) *chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs cho-ga-dan bcas*, which is a rendering of the Sanskrit title in full (*TT*. Vol. 80, No. 4300). The name of the author, Prabhākarakīrti, has been rendered into Tibetan as Ḥod-zer ḥbyuh-gnas grags-pa in both translations. The Sanskrit original is said to have been brought to the monastery of Dpal-ldan sa-skya (Śrīmatpaṇḍubhūmi) by Gautamaśrī and the translation was made at the request of Kīrticandra at the hermitage of Chu-mig-kha (*TM*. No. 3478 ; *Cordier*. III, p. 35).

A translation of only the metrical part of this sādhana occurs elsewhere in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Khro-bo gtum-po chen-poḥi sgrub-thabs-bya-ba* (*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana-nāma*). The colophon of this translation, however, cites the name Jetāri as the author of the text. The names of the translators are Puṇyaśrī and Gshon-nu ḥbar (*TT*. Vol. 79, No. 3887).

R.H.

CAṆḌAMAHĀROṢAṆA-TANTRA (var. *Ekallavīra Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa—Tantra*), a tantric work belonging to the mantrayāna school, named after the chief speaker, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa. The book, consisting of twenty-five chapters and written in a mixture of prose and verse, is in the form of a dialogue between Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa and the yoginī Dveṣavajrī. The work commences with a salutation to Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, which is followed by the typical phrase, "*evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*" (thus, have I heard).

Then Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa enters into a trance (*samādhi*) and proclaims that he, as the unity of the four kinds of bliss, free from all notion of existence and non-existence and devoid of diversity, resides in all men ; and for the sake of those who do not understand him in that form he manifests himself in the five-fold form. Yoginī Dveṣavajrī, too, enters into a trance and makes a similar utterance proclaiming that she resides in all women as the unity of voidness and compassion (*śūnyatā-karuṇābhinnā*).

It is also said that all men are of the nature of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa who is identified as means (*upāya*) and all women are of the nature of Dveṣavajrī who is identified as wisdom (*prajñā*) and, therefore, the whole world is in the form of a unity of means and wisdom.

In this text much stress is laid on the importance of sexo-yogic practices and, in emphasising this, it is said that passion is destroyed by passion itself (*rāgena hanyate rāgo*). It is mentioned that the Buddha, as the son of Māyādevī, was of the form of means (*upāya*) and his wife, referred to as Gopā, was wisdom (*prajñā*). The Buddha is said to have attained supreme bliss (i.e., Nirvāṇa) in union with his wife. Further, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa identifies himself with the Buddha and the yoginī with Gopā and says that he appears in whichever form enables him to lead the people on the correct path.

It is said further that one who follows the doctrines taught in this school should not have any fears of hell or heaven, for there is neither vice nor virtue. All these are spoken of for the sake of protecting the mind of the common people. As the existence of everything is momentary, none remains to attain heaven or hell.

Besides such pure tantric teachings, the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* also deals with such topics as *pratītya-samutpāda* (dependent origination). This is treated in accordance with the Mahāyāna philosophy and the text postulates passion (*rāga*) as the cause of the origin of the world and says that the world would cease to be, on the destruction of passion (see *JRAS.* 1897, pp. 463 ff.).

Not all had access to the doctrine preached in this tantra. It is clearly stated in the text that these teachings should only be given to those who are qualified by possessing the prerequisite virtues such as compassion, faith in Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa and the Mantrayāna. Knowing this, if a yogin is to proclaim this tantra through avarice or impatience, he will be afflicted with disease and die within six months. Even after death he will have to suffer on this account.

Various esoteric practices and the character of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa are described in great detail. The text also contains valuable references regarding some Mahāyāna concepts. One such instance is the reference made to the thirteen stages (*bhūmi*). Many of the Mahāyāna books enumerate a list of only ten stages. In addition to these ten the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra* cites, in order, the three names, *Samantākhyaprabha*, *Nirūpama* and *Jñānavatī* (cp. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London, 1932 p. 291). The last chapter contains information of some iconographic interest. There seems to have been a commentary on this tantra by Mahāsukhavajra, entitled *Padmāvatī*.

S.K.N.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1883; Hara Prasad Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.*

CANDAMITTĀ, one of the two chief women disciples of Vipassī Buddha (*J.* I, p. 41; *Buv.* xx, *v.* 29; *ApA*.p. 45).

CANDAMUKHA, (var. Candanamukha), an ancient cave in the Udumbarapabbata in Ceylon, where Maliyamahādeva thera once lived. Numerous other monks resided in caves and under trees around it. Once when Maliyamahādeva thera announced the time for preaching to these monks, a multitude of deities, too, assembled to listen to the sermon (*Rasavāhinī*, II, p. 230; *Ssvu.* p. 120).

H.R.P.

CANDAMUKHA TISSA, a king of Ceylon mentioned in the *Majjhima-nikāya* commentary (*MA.* IV, p. 97). He is said to have visited the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura to test the spiritual attainments of the senior monk there who was blind. The king went at a time when all other monks of the monastery were out on their begging-rounds. Having approached stealthily, the king grasped the feet of the monk as if a serpent were attacking him. The thera, undisturbed, asked who it was and the king replied, "I am Tissa, your reverence." The thera then complimented the king saying, "It seems to me that a fragrant breeze is blowing" (loc. cit.).

Candamukha Tissa is not mentioned in any of the Ceylon chronicles or in any other work. But there is mention of a king by the name Candamukha Siva (43-52 A.C.) in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (*Dpv.* 2, xxi, *v.* 44) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxv. *vv.* 46-9). This Candamukha Siva, according to these chronicles, was the son and successor of king Ilanāga and was the elder brother and predecessor of king Yasalālaka Tissa. Candamukha Siva is said to have been married to a Tamil princess, Damilādevī, probably in return for the assistance his father obtained from India to regain the throne. He is credited with the construction of a tank near Maṇikāragāmaka which he gave to the vihāra called Issarasamaṇa. His consort, Damiḷādevī, too, alloted her revenues from that village to the same monastery. The king was killed by his brother Yasalālaka Tissa at a water-festival at Tisāväva.

S. Paranavitana *History of Ceylon*, (University of Ceylon, Colombo, Vol. I, pt. i, 1959, p. 177) in his attempt to decide the identity of the king to whom the epithet Candamukha 'Moon-faced' was attributed, states that the behaviour of Tissa in the episode related in the *Majjhima* commentary is quite similar to that of Yasalālaka Tissa of the *Mahāvaṃsa.* Hence, if the reading Tissa in the

commentary is not a scribal error, it would appear that the historical tradition in ancient Ceylon, at the time the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the Pali commentaries were written, was not decided with regard to the identity of the 'moon-faced' monarch. Probably, the epithet was applied to either of the two brothers referred to above.

H.R.P.

CANDAMUKHĪ (1), the wife of Ajita, i.e., the future Metteyya Buddha before he will renounce the world (*Anāgv.* p. 46).

CANDAMUKHĪ (2), an earth-bound deity (*bhumma-devatā*) whose abode was on the Udumbarapabbata, in Ceylon. In her previous birth she was the wife of a labourer in a village called Bhallola, near Mahāgāma in south Ceylon. Gradually they earned much wealth and, having done meritorious work, both of them were born, after death, as deities in the Udumbarapabbata. In this latter birth she is said to have gone to the Candamukha cave, with Meghavaṇṇa-devaputta, her former husband and other deities to hear Maliyamahādeva thera preach (*Rsv.* p. 229–30).

H.R.P.

CANDANA (1), a former Buddha mentioned in four places (*Mhvu.* III, p. 234 ; *Avś.* pp. 34-5 ; *Lal.* p. 120 ; *Svyū.* p. 5).

CANDANA (2), a pratyeka-buddha mentioned in the *Avadānaśataka* (pp. 55-6). Once, the Buddha, together with a great retinue of monks, was touring the Magadha country and came across a stūpa on the bank of the Ganges. The monks asked the Buddha whose stūpa it was. The Buddha said that it was the stūpa of the pratyeka-buddha Candana.

In a previous life he was, said the Buddha, a monk under Kāśyapa Buddha and had made offerings of flowers to the stūpa erected over hair and nail relics of that Buddha. Consequently, he was born in a lotus in the lake of king Brahmadatta of Bārāṇasī and was named Candana, as the fragrance of sandalwood spread from his body.

Seeing the lotuses, which spring from under his feet, bloom and wither away, Candana contemplated that, like those lotuses, the body, too, was subject to change and decay. He cultivated his mind on this subject and became a pratyeka-buddha.

U.K.

CANDANA (3), a deity. He is mentioned as one of the nine vassals of the Four Rulers of the Quarters (*cātummahārājika*). They with these nine, and several other celestials, attended the great concourse at Kapilavatthu, to hear the preaching of the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*D.* II, p. 258). The name Candana is also given in the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*D.* III, p. 204), in a list of *yakkha* chiefs and generals whom Vessavaṇa recommends for invocation by the followers of the Buddha in time of danger or distress, a recommendation later receiving approval by the Buddha himself.

In the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta Sutta* (*M.* III, pp. 199 f.). Candana is described as a *deva* visiting the monk Lomasakaṅgiya and asking the latter whether he remembered the exposition and analysis of the auspicious (*bhaddekarattassa uddesañca vibhaṅgañca*). He appears in the Nigrodha park in the manner characteristic of *devas*, 'when the night was far spent, illumining with his radiant beauty the whole of Nigrodha's park'.

Finding that the monk does not remember the exposition and analysis, he inquires whether Lomasakaṅgiya remembers the verses of the auspicious (*bhaddekarattiyo gāthā*). Here too, the monk confesses that he has forgotten, whereupon Candana recites them, saying that the Buddha, while he was in Tāvatiṃsa, had preached them to the *devas*.

Later, in the same sutta, when Lomasakaṅgiya has reported to the Buddha that a certain *deva* had appeared to him and discussed these verses, the Buddha tells him that this *deva* is known as Candana and that he was one who had listened to his Dhamma willingly and diligently.

The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 53) mentions a visit of the *devaputta* Candana to the Buddha. Here the deity is represented as questioning the Buddha on a doctrinal matter, and as being answered by the Buddha, both speaking in verse. In the same *Nikāya* (*S.* IV, p. 280) the *devaputta* Candana is mentioned as having visited Mahā-Moggallāna. On this occasion, he bears witness to the heavenly gains achieved by those who have faith in the Triple Gem, and follow the Buddha's path of righteousness.

In his commentary to the *Majjhima-nikāya* Buddhagosa (*MA.* V, p. 7) says that Candana was a lay-devotee (*upāsaka*) in the time of Kassapa Buddha and offered the four requisites to the Buddha and his monks, as a result of which he was born as a *deva*. The commentator Dhammapāla (*ThagA.* I, p. 89 f.) gives more detail, but differs in that he states that it was Lomasakaṅgiya who recited the verses, and not Candana. According to Dhammapāla, the monk and the god, in their previous birth, were friends living in the time of Kassapa Buddha. When Kassapa preached the *Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, Candana had asked Lomasakaṅgiya to explain it.

Not being able to do so, he makes a wish to be able to do this in a future birth, Candana at the same time wishing that he should be able to ask this question again.

B.J.

CANDANA (4), a gandharva mentioned in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* (*Svrṇ.* p. 162).

CANDANA (5), an arahant thera. He was born in a rich family in Sāvatthi and, after hearing the Buddha preach became a *sotāpanna*. When a son was born to him he joined the Saṅgha and took to meditation in the forest. Later, he went to Sāvatthi to see the Buddha and dwelt in a charnel-field. His former wife having heard of his arrival, decked herself and went to him with her child, hoping to win him back. But the elder making a special effort, attained arahantship. Rising in the air, he preached to her, establishing her in tho religion of the Buddha.

It is said that in a previous life, thirty-one kappas ago, he was born as a tree-sprite and offered *kuṭaja* flowers to tho paccoka-buddha Sudassana. Thereafter, he enjoyed birth among *devas* and men until his final birth as Candana (*Thag. vv.* 299–302 ; *ThagA.* II, p. 126 f.).

Kuṭajapupphiya thera of the *Apadāna* (*Ap.* II, p. 451) is probably to be identified with Candana but the same *Apadāna* verses are also ascribed to Hārita (*ThagA.* I, pp. 93 f.).

L. R. G.

CANDANA (6), a bhikkhu who lived ninety-one kappas ago and made an offering of a pair of sandals (*Ap.* I, p. 228).

CANDANA (7), chief of five hundred elephants born at the same time as the Śākyamuni (*Mhvu.* II, p. 25). The name is, however, not given in the Pali tradition.

CANDANAGĀMA, a village in Rohana in Ceylon. where one of the eight Bodhi saplings was planted. The nobles of this village took part in the festival connected with the arrival of the Bodhi tree. The rest of the saplings were planted in Jambukolapaṭṭana, at the entrance to the village which belonged to the brāhman Tivakka, at Thūpārāma, at Issarasamaṇārāma, at Paṭhamacetiya, at Cetiyapabbata, and in the village named Kājara in Rohana (*VinA.* p. 100 ; *Mhbv.* p. 161 ; *Mhv.* xix, *vv.* 54, 62). One of the two *kṣatriya* families, who were accorded a place of distinction by king Devānampiyatissa at the ceremonial planting of the Bodhi tree at Anurādhapura, is said to have lived in Candanagāma (*JCBRAS.* New Series, Volume IV, Special Number, pp. 50–9).

I. K.

CANDANAGANDHA (1), name of two former Buddhas given in a group of former Buddhas, beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja (*Scyū.* pp. 5, 6).

CANDANAGANDHA (2), a pratyeka-buddha in a maṇḍala. According to the present *Garbha-kośa-dhātu-maṇḍala*, his place with Śākyamuni-ārāma of the *maṇḍala* is between Tathāgata-śakti bodhisattva and Tamālapatra pratyeka-buddha. He is represented wearing a Buddhist monastic robe (*kāsāva*), with his right hand grasping a corner of the robe, while his left palm is fully opened and facing outward. He is of golden colour and sits with his legs crossed (*nyaṣidat paryaṅkaṃ ābhujya*) on a red pedestal in the shape of a lotus flower. His seed syllable (*bīja*) is the letter *vaḥ* or *va.*

Some other descriptions about him appear in various works, but most of them do not differ much from one another (*MOC.* Vol. 3, p. 2987b and c, etc.).

S.Mo.

CANDANAMĀLA, one of the residences of Gotama Buddha ; others given are the Gandhakuṭi in Jetavana, Karerimaṇḍalamāla and Kosambikuṭi (*SnA.* II, p. 403).

It was in Suṇāparanta and was built of red-sandalwood at the instigation of Puṇṇa of Suṇāparanta. When the work was complete, Puṇṇa sent a flower to the Buddha as a message and he came with five hundred monks and performed the ceremony of dedication (*ThagA.* I, p. 168).

It was as a result of the miracle performed by the Buddha during this ceremony that Isidinna was converted (*ThagA.* II, pp 57. f.).

U.K.

CANDANAMĀLIYA, an arahant thera. He was a brāhman who joined the Saṅgha at the age of five and attained arahantship in the tonsure-hall. In a previous birth, in the time of Sumedha Buddha, he became an ascetic, renouncing great wealth, and lived on the bank of a river. Once he offered the Buddha his hide-seat, a mango fruit, a *sāla* flower and sandalwood. Sumedha Buddha, while accepting these offerings, foretold his glorious births in the future. After death he was reborn in the heavenly worlds and once as a cakkavatti

king, with his capital in the city of Vebhāra. He was later reborn in the Tusita heaven where he remained until his last life. He is probably to be identified with Valliya thera of the *Theragāthā* commentary (*ThagA*. II, pp. 43 f.), although there are differences in the two accounts regarding their previous lives.

L.R.G.

CANDANAMEGHA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a long list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Māyā claims maternity to all the bodhisattvas in the list (*Gvyū*. p. 442).

CANDANAṄGALIKA, a lay disciple of the Buddha. He was in the assembly when once five kings, with Pasenadi at their head, visited the Buddha at Sāvatthi and asked him which was the highest sensual pleasure. When the Buddha answered their question, Candanaṅgalika uttered a verse in praise of the Buddha. Thereupon the five kings gave five robes to Candanaṅgalika which he in turn offered to the Buddha.

This incident is similar to that of the brāhman Piṅgiyānī and the five hundred Licchavis and the same verse is put into his mouth (*A*. III, p. 239). This verse also recurs at *J*. I, p. 116 and *Vism*. p. 326. (var. Candanaṅkalika, Candanaṅkalīka, °galiya, °nāṅkalīya).

L.R.G.

CANDANĀṄGA-NĀMA-DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-c°*), a text containing a charm (dhāraṇī) of the same name. A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kanjur under the title, *Ḥphags-pa tsan-dan-gyi yan-lag ces-bya-baḥi gzuṅs*. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde are said to have translated and revised the work (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 293). Fa-hsien (982-1001 A.C.) of the later Sung dynasty translated the work into Chinese, and it is included in the ***Sūtra Piṭaka*** under the title (***Fu-shuo***) ***Chan t'an-hsiang-shên-t'o-lo-ni-ching*** (*Taishō*, No. 1387; *Nanjio*, No. 887; *TM*. Nos. 518, 857).

The dhāraṇī called Candanāṅga is as follows :— *Tad yathā cirāte marīcīketudaṅ me durdante . . . . . sāmanta pariśodhani viśuddha-śīle. . . . . sarvabuddha adhiṣṭhita bhagavati pāpakṣaya āśaṃ me paripūraya svāhā.*

The text states that the dhāraṇī was preached by the Buddha at a large assembly of monks, bodhisattvas and others in Rājagṛha. The Buddha addressed Avalokiteśvara and Candraprabhakumārabhuta (Zla-ḥod gzon-nu gyur-pa) at this assembly and said that a Buddha called Candanāṅga lived in the world called Candanaśrī. On hearing him preach the doctrine all beings became non-returners (*anāgāmin*). The Buddha then preached the dhāraṇī called Candanāṅga, whereupon they became free from sin and attained bodhicitta. The Buddha said that previous Buddhas like Amitāyus had preached this dhāraṇī and that he himself could do so. Thereupon Avalokiteśvara and Candraprabhakumārabhūta fell at the Buddha's feet and requested him to preach it. The Buddha preached the dhāraṇī and detailed the many benefits that could be gained by reading, teaching or memorising it.

R. H.

CANDANAPĀSĀDA, a building in the Marīcavaṭṭivihāra erected by Mahinda IV (956–72 A.C.) to enshrine the hair relic of the Buddha in a jewelled reliquary (*Mhv*. liv, *vv*. 40, 41).

CANDANAPĪṬHA, a Tathāgatacaitya in the city of Subhapāraṅgama in the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha) to which the householder Veṣṭhila paid obeisance. As he opened the door of the caitya, Veṣṭhila attained to the concentration (samādhi) called *akṣayabuddhavaṃsavyūha* (*Gvyū*. pp. 205–6).

CANDANAPŪJAKA, an arahant thera. In the time of Atthadassī Buddha he was born as a *kinnara* and lived on the bank of the river Candabhāgā, feeding on fruits. He offered a piece of sandalwood to the Buddha when he came that way. Fourteen kappas ago he was born as a cakkavatti king three times, by the name of Rohiṇī (*Ap*. I, p. 165). The commentary gives the additional information that in his last birth he was born of high family, entered the Saṅgha and became an arahant (*ApA*. p. 434). He is to be identified with Sīha thera (*ThagA*. I, pp. 188 f.).

L. R. G.

CANDANAŚRĪ, a Buddha who belongs to the group of 'Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession' (*Śikṣ*. p. 169). See AMOGHADARŚIN (1).

CANDANAŚRĪCANDRA, a Tathāgata propitiated by the night-goddess Sarvanagararakṣāsambhavatejaḥśrī (*Gvyū*. p. 310).

CANDANAŚRĪGARBHA, name of a bodhisattva who was among the many bodhisattvas surrounding the Buddha, when the latter was sojourning in the luminous mansion of Vaśavarti, the king of the gods, during the second week after his Enlightenment (*Dbhs*. p. 2).

CANDANA SUTTA (1), included in the *Anāthapiṇḍika Vagga* of the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, p. 53). The *devaputta* Candana approaches the Buddha at Jetavana and asks him how one can cross the 'flood' without getting drowned. The Buddha replies that the one who is virtuous, wise and energetic, and who has put an end to craving and rebirth can so cross the flood.

L. R. G.

CANDANA SUTTA (2), the last sutta of the *Moggallāna Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, p. 280). Moggallāna, on his visit to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, tells the *devaputtas* Candana, Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita and Vasavatti who meet him, how some beings come to be reborn in heaven. This sutta is a repetition of the immediately preceding *Sakka Sutta.*

L. R. G.

CANDANAVATĪ, a world-system (lokadhātu) where the Tathāgata Vajrābha lives (*Gvyū.* p. 82).

CANDAPADUMĀ (1), the chief consort of Meṇḍaka seṭṭhi of the city of Bhaddiya in the Aṅga country and grandmother of Visākhā (*DhpA.* I, p. 385; III, p. 363).

She had been the wife of Meṇḍaka in a previous birth and, during a time of famine, had joined him in giving the only meal they had to a pacceka-buddha. As a result of this act, the rice-pot in her home was never empty, however many people she might feed. In other previous existences, she had entertained the monks of various Buddhas, taking a rice-pot in one hand and a spoon in the other. In consequence of this act, she was born with the sign of the lotus in her left palm, and the sign of the moon in her right palm. Further, by reason of her having fetched and filtered water for the monks, on the sole of her left foot was marked a lotus and on the right, a moon; hence her name Candapadumā (*DhpA.* III, pp. 366–73).

When the Buddha visited Meṇḍaka's house and, after the meal, preached to the household, she became a *sotāpanna* (*DhpA.* III, p. 363). She was one of the five persons of great merit (*mahāpuñña* : *DhpA.* I, p. 385; *AA.* I, p. 405; *Vism.* p. 322; *PsA.* III, p. 685). The *Visuddhimagga* calls her Candapadumasirī (*Vism.* p. 322).

U. K.

CANDAPADUMĀ (2), mother of the arahant Mahā-kaccāyana and wife of Tirīṭavaccha, the chaplain of Caṇḍa-Pajjota, the king of Ujjeni (*Ap.* II, p. 465).

CAṆḌA-PAJJOTA, a king of Avanti during the time of the Buddha. His name was Pajjota, the sobriquet being added on account of his violent temper. Once, he suffered from jaundice and when several skilled doctors failed to cure him, he sent a message to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, requesting him to send Jīvaka to attend on him. When Jīvaka told the king that the cure for the disease was ghee, he was told that the king had a great aversion to it. Jīvaka then decided to give it to the king in the form of an astringent decoction and obtained the king's permission to use any of the royal animals and to leave the city at any time he wished, on the plea that he must go in search of various medicines. Jīvaka, having prepared the medicine, gave it to the king and fled on Bhaddavatikā, the king's she-elephant who could do fifty yojanas in one day. After taking the medicine, the king was sick and, on discovering that Jīvaka had given him ghee, he ordered a slave named Kāka who could do sixty yojanas a day, to bring Jīvaka back. Jīvaka gave Kāka a purgative and so delayed his return until the medicine had taken effect on the king. Then Jīvaka sent Kāka back to Ujjeni along with Bhaddavatikā. Later, when king Pajjota was cured, he sent Jīvaka many costly presents including a pair of *siveyyaka* garments (*Vin.* I, pp. 276 ff.; *AA.* I, p. 399).

When comparing his splendour with that of other kings, Pajjota learnt that Udena was his rival and decided to take him captive by taking advantage of his fondness for elephants. He ordered a mechanical device made of wood to resemble an elephant and, having sent sixty men in its belly, captured Udena. Pajjota who was very keen to learn the art of charming elephants from his prisoner, asked him to teach it to his daughter Vāsuladattā, who later eloped with Udena.

King Pajjota had, besides Bhaddavatikā and Kāka, two mares, Celakaṇṭhī and Mañjusrī, which could travel one hundred leagues a day, and an elephant, named Nālāgiri, which could travel a hundred and twenty leagues a day.

In a previous birth, Pajjota was a servitor of a certain chief. One day, when his chief was returning after a bath, he saw a pacceka-buddha leaving the city without receiving any alms. The chief went home quickly and having filled the bowl with the food that was prepared for him, sent it to the pacceka-buddha through his servant. He ran as fast as he could, offered the food to the pacceka-buddha and expressed certain wishes, as the result of which he gained possession of the five means of conveyance and authority equal to the power of the sun's rays.

His last wish was that he should partake of the truth realised by the pacceka-buddha (*DhpA.* I, pp. 196 ff.).

Mahā-Kaccāna was the son of Pajjota's chaplain who succeeded to his father's post later. On hearing of the appearance of the Buddha in this world, Pajjota sent Kaccāna along with seven others to bring the Buddha to Ujjeni. The Buddha explained to them the Dhamma and they all attained arahantship. Thereupon the Buddha sent them to preach the Dhamma to the king and to establish the *sāsana* in Avanti. Their mission was a success. The stanzas uttered by these theras are mentioned in the *Theragāthā* (*Thag. vv.* 496–501). Pajjota seems to have had faith in the brāhmans and is said to have offered sacrifices involving the slaughter of animals. On the whole he had been a very wicked king. One night he had a dream which frightened him. Then he went to thera Kaccāna who explained it to him and asked him to lead a virtuous life. Thenceforth, the king led a righteous life (*ThagA.* II, pp. 206 ff. ; *AA.* I, pp. 206).

According to the *Dulva* (Rockhill, *Buddhism*, Trübner, 1884, p. 17), Pajjota was the son of Anantanemi and was born on the same day as the Buddha. At his birth, the world was illumined as if by a lamp and thus he came to be known as Pajjota (Pradyota). He is said to have become the king of Ujjeni during the time of the Buddha's Enlightenment (ibid. p. 32).

According to the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I, p.214) Caṇḍa-Pajjota had been born as a result of an ascetic or some other holy man touching the navel of his mother.

It is said that Pajjota was a good friend of Bimbisāra, who was killed by Ajātasattu. Pajjota seems to have made preparations to wage war on Ajātasattu. Although the latter strengthened Rājagaha to meet the threatened attack, a war did not take place (*M.* III, p. 7).

In the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* (*J.* V, p. 125 ff.) it is mentioned that Sālissara lived in Lambacūlaka, in the dominion of Pajjota (*J.* V, p. 133). This either refers to another king of the same name or is an attempt to identify Lambacūlaka with some place in the same country over which Pajjota ruled during the time of the Buddha.

I.K.

CANDĀRĀMA, a monastery in the city of Candavatī where Koṇḍañña Buddha spent his first rainy season. It was there that Canda and Subhadda, both sons of brāhmans, heard the Buddha preach and entered the Order with ten thousand other young brāhmans and ultimately attained arahantship (*BuvA.* p. 136).

H.R.P.

CAṆḌAROṢAṆA, also called Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, Chaṇḍamahāroṣaṇa or Acala, is an emanation of Akṣobhya. He is said to rise from the seed-syllable (*bīja-akṣara*) *huṃ*. His whole body is compared to a big blue or black (*nīla*) cloud cluster. Sometimes, his body is said to be of the colour of an *atasī* flower. He has one face. With his jasmine white, bright, protruding teeth he bites his lips. His reddish eyes, are squinted with crooked eye-brows, and turned towards the nether regions. He has two hands. In his right hand he holds a sword and in his left he carries a golden noose to bind his enemies such as Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, who are agitated because of being threatened with his index finger. He wears a tiger-skin and is decked with various ornaments, made of gems. On his crown there is a garland of shaven heads and a miniature figure of Akṣobhya. For his sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) he has a white snake.

Sometimes, his left leg is described as touching the ground (*bhūmilagnavāmacaraṇam*) while the right is described as being slightly raised (*īṣadunnatadakṣinacaraṇaṃ* : *Sādh.* I, p. 172). But in another account (ibid, p. 174) there seems to be some confusion regarding the description of the position of his legs. Here, the two legs are referred to as *savya* and *vāma*, both words meaning 'left,' though occasionally the term *savya* is also used to denote right. A Nepalese drawing which is identified as representing Caṇḍaroṣaṇa (See B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 265) agrees with the translation of *savya* as left, for it tallies with the description found in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* I, p. 174), where it is said that his left knee (*savyaikajānu*) is placed on the ground (*medinīmaṇḍalārūḍha*). Thus, the other leg, though referred to as *vāma* in the text, is to be taken to mean the right, for its description (loc. cit), 'wishing to rise up with his left foot (*vāmāṅghriṇotthitukāmaṃ*) rested on the seat' resembling the sun, which is placed in the lotus, is quite similar to the posture of the right leg as represented in that painting. Though fierce in appearance, Caṇḍaroṣaṇa is praised as granting all prosperity wished for by men.

According to Bhattacharyya (*Sādh.* I, p. viii), Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa is an epithet of a bodhisattva (*BHS.* s.v.). He suggests that this could be another name for, or a form of, Mañjuśrī, for both have

the epithet Pañcavīra-kumāra. Moreover, the sādhanas addressed to Caṇḍaroṣaṇa follow those of Mañjuśrī.

Though the Nepalese painting referred to above represents Caṇḍaroṣaṇa as embracing a goddess, the sādhanas (i.e., the procedure of invocation) connected with him do not speak of any such goddess (but cp. the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*). The *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* deals with his worship, which is performed in privacy. Even an image of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa is not often made accessible to the ordinary devotee. In Tibet he is known as Acala or Acala-vajrapāṇi (B. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., pp. 154 f.).

S. K. N.

CANDASAMA, a previous birth, as a king, of Vaṇṇakāraka thera. See VAṆṆAKĀRAKA.

CANDA SUTTA, the eighth sutta in the *Appamāda Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* V, p. 44). Here the Buddha says that, just as the brightness of the moon is greater than that of the stars, so is earnestness the best of profitable conditions.

CAṆḌA SUTTA, the first sutta of the *Gāmaṇi Saṃyutta* (*S.* IV, pp. 305 f.). The headman Caṇḍa visits the Buddha at Jetavana and asks him why some people have earned the reputation of being wrathful and others of being kindly. The Buddha explains that there are some who have not curbed lust (*rāga*), ill-will (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*), and, as a result, when harassed by others, they show anger and come to be called wrathful. But, there are others who have curbed lust, ill-will and delusion. Unharassed by others, they show no vexation and earn the reputation of being kindly.

Caṇḍa was greatly impressed by the Buddha's explanation and became a lay disciple.

According to the commentary, the name Caṇḍa was given to the headman by the elders who compiled the texts (*SA.* III, p. 102).

L.R.G.

CANDATITTA, a previous birth, as a king, of Tamālapupphiya thera. See TAMĀLAPUPPHIYA.

CAṆḌAVAJJI, son of a minister of Pāṭaliputta and a friend of Siggava. The latter went with Caṇḍavajji and five hundred of his followers to visit Soṇaka thera, at Kukkuṭārāma. All of them received from him the *pabbajjā* and later the *upasampadā* ordination. Siggava and Caṇḍavajji learnt the three *Piṭakas* from Soṇaka thera and attained the six supernormal powers (*iddhi*). Later, Caṇḍavajji taught the *Sutta Piṭaka* and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* to Moggaliputtatissa (*Mhv.* I, *vv.* 99, 121, 129, 150 ; *Dpv.* iv, *v.* 46 ff. ; v, *vv.* 58, 70, 86 ; *VinA.* I, pp. 36, 40, 235).

I. K.

CAṆḌAVAJRAKRODHADEVAPAÑCA - NĀMA - MAṆḌALA - VIDHI, a text the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title, *Rdo-rje khro-bo gtum-po lha lṅa-pa shes-bya-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga*. The author's name is given as Klu-sgrub and the translator is not mentioned (*TT.* Vol. 68, No. 3033). In the *sde-dge* edition this text occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TM.* No. 2190).

The author's first salutation is addressed to Vajrapāṇi (Tib. Phyag-na rdo-rje). Having paid reverence to Vajradhara who is fierce and enraged and who is not compassionate, the meditator having worshipped him should declare the rights of the magic circle, in the name of the Caṇḍavajrakrodhadeva.

The first magic formula is as follows : *Oṃ sumbhani sumbha hūṃ grihana grihana hūṃ grihanapaya grihanapaya hūṃ āna-yaha Bhagavān vajrapāni hūṃ ārya........namāmi.*.

I.K.

CAṆḌAVAJRAPĀṆI, a form of Vajrapāṇi, having the epithet Mahāyakṣasenāpati (*ŚsP.* p. 2 ; *BHS.* s.v.).

CANDAVATĪ (1), wife of Assalāyana and mother of Mahā-koṭṭhita (*Ap.* ii, p. 480).

CANDAVATĪ (2), daughter of Brahmadatta, king of Bārāṇasī. The king, on the advice of Sakka, sent her to tempt the ascetic Lomasa-kassapa. The ascetic fell in love with her and, as a result, was deprived of his *jhāna*. The king offered his daughter to the ascetic on condition that he should perform a sacrifice of animals. Kassapa agreed first, but later withdrew his consent and rejected the offer (*J.* III, pp. 517 ff. ; *Miln.* p. 220). See LOMASAKASSAPA JĀTAKA.

U.K.

CANDAVATĪ (3), the city wherein Anomadassī Buddha was born (*Buv.* viii, p. 17 ; *J.* I, p. 36 ; *ApA.* p. 39 ; *DhpA.* I, p. 88 ; *AA.* I, p. 149). Koṇḍañña Buddha spent there his first *vassa* (rainy season) after attaining Buddhahood (*BuvA.* p. 136). In his time the bodhisatta was born as king Vijitāvī, ruling from this city (*BuvA.* p. 137). Pañcasīlasamādāniya thera was born here in the

time of Anomadassī Buddha (*Ap.* I, p. 76). Candavatī is also referred to during the time of Sumedha Buddha (*Ap.* II, p. 422. The variant forms, Candavārī, Bhandavatī and Bandhumatī occur at *DhpA.* I, p. 88).

L.R.G.

CANDAVATĪ (4), the city, wherein at the Sīlārāma monastery, Sujāta Buddha died (*BuvA.* p. 206).

CAṆḌI (Tjandi), the word by which the Buddhist and Hindu monuments in Java are known, like the *cetiya* or stūpa or vihāra in Ceylon and India, Wat in Cambodia and That in Thailand. The word usually prefaces the actual name of the monument, e.g., Caṇḍi Meṇḍut and Caṇḍi Sewu.

Like the stūpa, which even from pre-Buddhist times is reckoned as a monument built over the bodily remains of a religious or political leader, the caṇḍi was believed to have originally meant a sepulchre. A caṇḍi is thus connected with the worship of a dead king or queen. But, at the same time, it served the purpose of a shrine or a temple containing, in the case of a Buddhist caṇḍi, images of the Buddha, bodhisattvas and deities. Symbolically, also, a caṇḍi is intended to represent the celestial mountain Meru, the abode of the gods.

Basically, all caṇḍis are of the same plan. In its simple form a caṇḍi consists of three parts, viz., (i) the base, (ii) the temple proper, and (iii) the roof. The base is square on plan, but built to a great height, it almost forms a cube. The temple proper, which stands on the base also forms a cube. On plan it is also square and is smaller than the base, thus leaving a terrace on all four sides for perambulation. The third part, viz., the roof, gradually recedes in steps towards the top on the exterior. Its interior forms the ceiling of the shrine. Its culmination resembles from outside a stūpa or a *liṅga* (i.e., phallus). In the case of some great structures, the upper stages of the roof are made octagonal, instead of rectangular, in order to relieve the monotony. Under the shrine, at the base, is a small space for depositing the ashes of the dead king or queen. A stairway leads up to the terrace and terminates opposite the entrance to the shrine

This basic form is found in almost all caṇḍis. But in the case of the larger caṇḍis additional projections are added to every side of all the three parts, thus making the monument appear more complex, still retaining the basic form.

These caṇḍis are described as monuments of noble proportions and classical beauty where great masses of stone and a wealth of architectural and sculptural decorations are handled with restraint. These architectural and sculptural decorations are found both in the interior and the exterior. Architecturally, the whole monument is in the form of terraces or storeys. The walls normally contain niches. Of the caṇḍi sculptures the *kālamakara*, decorating the door-frames and niches is the most conspicuous. This is depicted by the stylized head of a lion, *kāla*, linked by bands, with two heads of animals, viz., *makara* from Indian mythology. This decoration is presumed to be for the purpose of warding off demonic influences. In the interior are the statues of the Buddha, bodhisattvas and other deities. Other decorative ornaments, which consisted of well-known Indian motifs such as the rosette, garland floral scroll, arabesque, various naturalistic designs and floral or geometrical patterns are derived from India and there is no trace of local flora and fauna.

The construction of caṇḍis in Java coincides with the influx of Indian culture in that region and it has been assumed therefore, that their plan must also have originated from India. It is thought that they developed from the Indian Buddhist monastery whose prototype was a cave or a hut, which later developed to form a large vihāra with monastic cells on all four sides and a centralized stūpa (cp. D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964, pp. 133 ff.). But, it is noteworthy that the genius of the Javanese artists clearly refused to be confined within the limitations of the Indian model and developed on their own lines.

The majority of the Buddhist caṇḍis in Java are located on the Dieng plateau, to the south-west of present-day Semarang. These are the most ancient caṇḍis in Java, presumably erected in the 8th or the 9th century A.C. Kalāsan, dated in 778 A.C. is the oldest of them. It is dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā and was apparently designed as a sepulchre for the king's consort. Caṇḍi Sēwu, also in the vicinity of the above, symbolizes the cosmos (maṇḍala) and seems to have contained a large bronze statue of the Buddha. Borobudūr, the most impressive monument of the Śailendra dynasty is also sometimes referred to as a caṇḍi. The two caṇḍis, Meṇḍut and Pāwōn most probably belong to the Borobudūr complex. Caṇḍi Djāgo contains bas-reliefs which are both Buddhist and Saivite inspired. This caṇḍi, erected as a burial place for the ashes of Viṣṇuwardhana, represents the deceased prince as a bodhisattva (F. A. Wagner, *Indonesia*, Art of the World Series, London, 1962, pp. 100 ff.;

R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 88). Details of the different Buddhist caṇḍis are given below under their respective names.

H. R. P.

CAṆḌI JAGO (var. Tjandi Djago), a Buddhist shrine in eastern Java which reflects the prevalence of Tantric forms that were absorbed into the later phase of Javanese Buddhism. It is situated further north of the present town Malang. It belongs to the architectural products of the medieval Javanese kingdom of Singhasari (Toemapel), (F.A. Wagner, *Indonesia*, Art of the World Series, Methuen, London, 1962, pp. 120 f.; Ph. Rawson, *The Art of S. E. Asia*, London, 1967, pp. 26 f.).

Caṇḍi Jago was built in the latter half of the 13th century and the cult image of the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa, an aspect of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, depicted with eight arms, is enshrined therein. This form of Avalokiteśvara appears in Japan from the 8th century onwards, as Fukūkensaku Kannon (Hokkedo in Todaiji, Nara). This cult had probably spread from the Pāla kingdom in Nepal and Tibet. (cp P.H. Pott, Tibet, in *Burma, Korea and Tibet*, Art of the World Series, Methuen, London, 1964, p. 167, Pl. 2, Amoghapāśa, eight armed, from a Nepalese painted scroll.) There was originally a large group of Tantric Buddh st icons inside Caṇḍi Jago, surrounding a huge figure of Amoghapāśa (Ph. Rawson, op.cit. p. 265).

According to the *Nagarakretagama* and other Javanese chronicles, the ashes of king Viṣṇuvardhana, the father of king Kretanagara, the most important prince of the Singhasari dynasty, were buried in this shrine, where the king was represented in the form of Sugata, that is, the Buddha (C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, London, 1921, p. 168; Ph. Rawson, loc.cit.). An image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is said to have been erected in this shrine in 1343 by one Ādityavarman from Sumatra, probably a vassal of Madjapahit. An image of Amoghapāśa was enshrined in 1375 (C. Eliot, op. cit. p. 163). This was built probably in the year 1268 (F.A. Wagner, op.cit. p. 120 f.).

A fairly large pantheon discovered in the vicinity of this shrine consists of Dhyāni Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and their Śakt s.

Architecturally it has taken the form of a three storied pyramid with a flight of steps rising on either side from the basement, and leading up to the uppermost floor. This feature could be considered as peculiar to this shrine, when compared with other Caṇḍis of Ja a. The mouldings on the basement and the walls give an impression of several tiers on which the central edifice is built. The two-way flight of steps are united into a single set of risers at the entrance to the main shrine room on the summit. The absence of pillars and the construction of the walls with neatly dressed stone-slabs which are common to Javanese architecture are conspicuous features here.

The continuous bands of bas-reliefs on the plinths show a step towards a gradual transition to the true Javanese *Wayang* types which could be easily distinguished by their curiously square and clumsy figure sculpture as against the more delicate and hieratic art of the middle Javanese and Dieng plateau temples (Ph. Rawson, op.cit., p. 265, figs. 230-232). Some earlier writers have even tried to draw an analogy with these and the sculptures of the Incas and other central American civilizations (C. Eliot, op. cit. p. 169).

The sculptures in the round, found at Caṇḍi Jago are a synthesis of Buddhist and Śaivite themes thus showing the easy blending of Śiva and Buddha cults that had prevailed in Singhasari. This tendency towards the fusion of two different religious traditions is also reflected later in the Buddh.st sculptures of Madjapahit.

One could even surmise that this was the *Śivabuddhālaya* referred to in *Nagarakretagama* although Caṇḍi Singhasari has been preferred by many scholars in identifying with it.

A.D.T.E.P.

CAṆḌI KALASAN, the oldest of the Buddhist temples in the Prambanan valley in central Java situated south of the volcano Merapi on the bank of the river Opak. It lies on the road to Barabuḍur in the district of Kédou, near Caṇḍi Menḍut. An inscription dated 700 Saka era (i.e., 778 A.C.), discovered on the site, states that the temple was built in that year by the first Śailendra king, named Panangkaran, and was dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā and that the village named Kalasa was gifted to the temple. This inscription which helps in assigning a definite date to this Buddhist monument is interesting as a valuable point of reference in the history of Indo-Javanese architecture. The name of the village mentioned in the inscription is preserved in modern Kalasan, a neighbouring village which has given its name to the monument.

Caṇḍi Kalasan contains one great stūpa towering over groups of smaller ones. The basement of the temple, though in a very damaged condition, shows that the temple conformed to the normal type

It is square in shape with projections on the four sides. The basement is about 15 feet wider on all sides than the superstructure and this area obviously served as a processional path. The four projections of the temple are formed into four chapels accessible by a double flight of steps—one from the ground to the top of the basement and the other from the basement-terrace to the door of the chapel. Of these four chapels, the one on the eastern side leads to the main cella in the centre of the temple while the other three are really subsidiary and independent shrines, with no communication with the main cella.

The wall above the doorway of each of the chapels contains the most striking feature of the side walls, namely, a fantastic *Kāla*-head (*kīrtimukha*) of colossal size. It extends over the entire upper part of the wall up to the point where the roof begins. The hair of the monster is conventionally arranged in curls. From its terrible mouth hang down five lotus flowers, and from its two corners appear two lions; from these issue two flowering branches ending in the usual Makara on the two sides of the doorway.

There are other decorations on these side walls, viz., of leaf-scrolls, birds and goddesses. On either side of the doorway are two figures of richly ornamented door-keepers.

The upper end of the decorated walls contains an architrave of three flat bands supporting a richly decorated frieze and a cornice. The roof supports a row of decorated niches, alternately larger and smaller, most of which contained images of the four Dhyāni Buddhas. The second and third stages of the roof are octagonal and also carry niches with images of Dhyāni Buddhas. From the middle of the third stage rises the large bell-shaped stūpa with a high, pointed pinnacle. This is the crowning ornament of the roof.

The chapels on the three sides are about 11 ½ ft. square. Each of the side-walls has a niche, about 3½ ft. wide, decorated with *Kāla*-head and scroll-work, and above it two divine figures. The back-wall contains a footstool which has room for three images.

The chapel on the east side is somewhat different. It measures about 11 ft. 8 ins. and has three small niches on each of the side-walls. The back-wall has an opening leading to the main cella.

The main cella is about 24½ ft. square. The plain walls rise straight up to the cornice from where the roof begins. At this point the walls begin to converge until they meet under the bell-shaped stūpa of the roof. The back wall of the cella is entirely covered by the throne which may have once contained an image of Tārā. These two sides of the throne have two *Makaras* on two sides.

The entire temple is constructed out of granite. Originally, the building had been covered with stucco which gave the finishing touch to the sculptures and other decorations which otherwise appear to be roughly hewn.

Kalasan is very rich in ornamentation and is of rare beauty. From what remains of the temple, one could conjecture that the temple formed an extremely rich ensemble of a powerfully decorated character. Few temples give the impression of such ornamental grandeur.

Caṇḍi Kalasan was later called Caṇḍi of the Benign Kāli and forms part of a group of the temples of Prambanan.

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H.R.P.

CAṆḌI MENDUT, a remarkable Buddhist monument in middle Java, belonging to the same period as the magnificent Barabuḍur stūpa about the beginning of the 9th century, with which it forms a great religious architectural complex. Caṇḍi Mendut is situated exactly on the east-west axis covering Barabuḍur (q.v.) and the comparatively smaller shrine Caṇḍi Pawon (q.v.). Caṇḍi Mendut excels many Javanese monuments by its architectural and decorative qualities. It is built in the typical Javanese corbel principle, by using neatly dressed ashlar stone slabs. This method which is also found in the more stupendous Barabuḍur stūpa, is applied practically to every component of this edifice, other than the huge, more than life-size images of the Buddha and the two attendant bodhisattvas, which are the chief attraction of Caṇḍi Mendut.

The stūpa finial which must have once crowned the roof of this shrine seems to have fallen beyond restoration but its presence could be surmised on the analogy of other Javanese Buddhist Caṇḍis and also on the presence of miniature *stūpikās* placed at cardinal points on the sides of the diminishing tiers above the main entablature.

Although it is a pillarless mass of corbelled blocks architecturally, the mouldings on the outer face of the walls give the impression of a structure with pillars and pilasters at intervals where they were required.

It is formed of a single large square chamber roofed with diminishing storeys of the usual Javanese type. It is mounted on a high broad plinth which is approached on its north-western face by a flight of steps which has a pair of ogee wingstones. The wingstones show a false cornice (which is actually a continuation of the corbelled blocks that form the balustrades) terminating in a *makara* in the same way the wingstones of Barabuḍur stūpa are formed (Ph. Rawson, *The Art of Southeast Asia*, London, 1967, Pl. 177 from Mendut, Pl. 189, from Barabuḍur). Rawson says that the exterior of this shrine is in every way more ornate than that of any other shrine so far discovered (op. cit. p. 220). Along with such sculptural motifs as floral, diaper and scroll designs there are numerous figure sculptures in shallow-relief that represent bodhisattvas, male and female deities, each self-contained and placed with consummate aesthetic judgement; some relief carvings represent mythical ideas like the '*kalpavṛkṣa*' (the wish-granting tree), others narratives from Buddhist Jātaka tales. To all observers, it seems, that the main attraction in Caṇḍi Mendut is the famous trio in the *garbhagṛha* (the inner shrine-room), that is the Buddha and a Bodhisattva on either side of him, who are seated on *padmāsanas*. Of all the writers, Rawson alone believes that there were originally seven such huge images enshrined in Caṇḍi Mendut, while others refer to the three images presently found, restored on to their original *āsanas* (seats). Rawson's reference to seven images comprising a *Tāntric Maṇḍala* fusing the cosmic nature—viz., *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu* reminds one of the famous seven colossal images including that of the Buddha at the centre, carved out of the living rock at the famous site now known as Buduruvegala (q.v.) in south Sri Lanka, where once stood a great Mahāyāna shrine (Rawson, op. cit. p. 221 f.; see D. T. Devendra *Classical Sinhalese Sculpture*, London, 1958, Pls. 78–82).

The serenity of the Buddha image and the extremely pleasant two attendant Bodhisattvas provide no doubt a spiritually moving atmosphere inside the shrine chamber at Mendut. The Buddha image which is in the *Dharmacakramudrā* (preaching-the-Dhamma attitude) is seated in the unusual so-called 'European style' which is actually the '*pralambapāda*' posture in Indian iconography.

The Buddha image as well as the flanking two Bodhisattva images are carved in the round and placed on stylised *āsanas* which are formed by several blocks of stone. The two bodhisattvas are seated in the *rājalīlā* pose common to divine personages in oriental art, with one leg turned inwards and placed horizontally on the lotus-seat and the other leg hanging down and placed on a lotus pedestal. A comparison with these Bodhisattva figures from the Javanese field itself could be found in the stone image of a bodhisattva from Caṇḍi Plaosan (q.v.) (R. Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, London, 1956, fig. 69) and the bronze miniature of Manjusri from Ngemplaksemangan (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 236, fig. 197). It would be interesting to note that most of the early bronze Bodhisattva seated images discovered in Sri Lanka bear a very close resemblance to these Javanese Bodhisattva figures, especially of the Śailendra period and provide avenue for further inquiry into the Sinhala Sailendra cultural links that have been confirmed by the famous Raṭubaka inscription and some other newly discovered data.[1]

The trio, Buddha seated *pralambapāda* and in *dharmacakramudrā* and the two attendant Bodhisattvas, is a common theme in the sculptor's art of the early western Indian rock-cut Buddhist sanctuaries, while the *pralambapāda* Buddha is also common to the Gupta and subsequent Pāla Buddhist art repertory.[2] However, on a comparative analysis the trio from Galvihāra at Polonnaruwa (Sri Lanka) stands unique as the images here give the same serene features of the Buddha and the amorphous suavity of the two Bodhisattvas, who in this instance appear like 'cauri' (fly-whisk) bearers. Another striking similarity between the Caṇḍi Mendut sculptures and the Galvihāra reliefs is the raised platform like *āsana* of the Buddha image—which is found in all the three images at

1 Cf. the two miniature icons of a Bodhisattva in *Mahārājalīlā* one discovered from a treasure trove at Buduruvegala in the Colombo museum and the other the original statue of *Nātheśvara* discovered from the Kandy Nāthadevālaya Shrine by the present writer; see N. Mudiyanse, *Mahayana Monuments in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1967, Fig. 17, Buduruvegala icon; A.D.T.E. Perera, 'The discovery of the original statue of God Nātha in Kandy', *Sun*, Independent Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., 10th June 1971, p. 5; A. K. Coomarswamy, Mahayana Buddhist Bronzes from Ceylon and Java', *JRAS*. 1909, pp. 283 f; see further, S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, Chap. XI, pp. 191-221.

2 Cf. Madeleine Hallade, *The Gandhara Style*, Thames- Hudson, 1968, Pl.137, from Ajanta, interior of cave XXVI, Buddha in *Dharmacakramudrā* seated in the *pralambapāda* attitude and flanked by a Bodhisattva on either side, who are depicted proportionately smaller, 6th centruy A.C., Pl.138 from Ellora cave II interior, Buddha seated in *pralambapāda* and *Dharmacakramudrā* also, D.B. Levine, Aurangabad, *Art. A*. Vol. XXVII, 1966, 2/3, pp. 175, Pls. 7, 12, 14).

Caṇḍi Mendut. The mouldings, cyma recta, cyma reversa, torus astragal etc., form the primary dado of the *Padmāsana*, in the case of the Javanese and Sinhalese sculptures under review. This type of seat, which is rarely found, if not altogether absent in other schools of Buddhist art, even in the best examples of Gupta and Mathura sculptures, shows another aspect of the sculptor's art common to Sinhala and Śailendra schools. (See B. Rowland, ***The Art and Architecture of India***, Harmondsworth, 1956, p. 187 ; J. Ph. Vogel, The relat on between the art o: Ind a and Java, ***The influences of Indian Art*** ed. J.Ph. Vogel, et al., London, 1925, fig. IV ; R. Le May, op. cit. fig. 68 ; Ph. Rawson. op. cit. figs. 180, 181. Cf. S. Paranavitana, *Art of the Ancient Sinhalese*, Colombo, 1971, Pls. 67, Buddha seated on a stylized *āsana* and in the *dharmacakramudrā*, Anurādhapura, 6th century ; Buddha and the Bodhisattvas from the Polonnaruwa Vaṭadāge, 12th century.)

In regard to the Buddha image at Caṇḍi Mendut, Prof. Vogel refers to the symbol of the wheel and two antelopes carved at the feet of the Buddha image, but unfortunately no trace of these carvings is found today in the restored seat of the Buddha (J. Ph. Vogel, op. cit. p. 65; see further, A. Foncher, ***The Beginnings of Buddhist Art***, London, 1917, p. 233). Only a faint circular design is seen on the tapestry shown in shallow relief behind the Buddha's legs. These symbols, if at all they were found there, are manifestly derived from Indian art as is also the case with the decorative details of the back of the three thrones. The *Vyālaka* or leograph, stands on a couchant elephant, which on both sides supports the eaves of the transom. the latter being embellished with the usual two Makara heads (J. Ph. Vogel, op. cit. p. 65. fig. iv ; B. Rowland, op. cit. Pl. 187; Ph. Rawson, op. cit. fig. 180 ; R. Le May, op. cit. fig. 68).

The two bodhisattva figures have been identified as *Vajrapāṇi* and *Lokeśvara* (D. Seckel, ***The Art of Buddhism***, London, Methuen, 1964, p. 139 ; Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 222) and also with Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, (C. Eliot, ***Hinduism and Buddhism***, London, 1921, Vol. III, p. 165). Among other sculptured panels, the bas-reliefs depicting the famous Mahāyāna couple Pāncika (q. v.) and Hāritī (q. v.) would be of value for the student of Buddhist art (see Ph. Rawson, op. cit. Pl. 178, here Pāñcika is referred to as Kuvera which may not be correct ; see further Alice Getty, ***The Gods of Northern Buddhism***, London, Tokyo, 1962, p. 86). One writer had taken these reliefs as a representation of a portrait sculpture of the founder of the monument and his consort (R. Le May, op. cit. p. 100 ; see further J. F. Schettema, ***Monumental Java***, London, 1912). From the outer walls of the entrance wingstones, and extending all round the main structural walls, there is a continuous series of bas-reliefs in typical middle Javanese style, closely resembling those of Barabuḍur depicting legends from various Buddhist Jātaka stories probably derived from the *Jātakamālā*. The neatly dressed ashlar stones that had formed the alcoves and niches on side walls too carry relief carvings of Buddhist divinities some of whom bearing lotuses, recalling the lotus-bearer aspects of Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas depicted both in painting and sculpture in Buddhist art all over (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. Pl. 177, wingstone carvings, Pl. 179, a Bodhisattva holding a lotus).

A.D.T.E.P.

CAṆḌI PAWON, a small and a relatively plain shrine datable from the 9th century, belonging to the same architectural complex of the great Barabuḍur. It stands on the east-west road from Caṇḍi Mendut to Barabuḍur. It is believed that this edifice is dedicated to the Buddhist god of wealth, Kuvera, also known as Vaiśravaṇa or Vessavana in the Pali texts (Ph. Rawson, *The Art of South-east Asia*, London, 1967, p. 226, Pl. 186.).

Some writers believe that the Caṇḍi Pawon was a kind of ante-chamber to Barabuḍur, catering to the more wordly interest of pilgrims. It is built on a square platform, above which rises the four walls of the shrine. In the walls on all sides are shown blind window-like alcoves, and niches with decorative arches, which bear extremely fine relief carvings. Female figures are placed inside the niches of the outer walls, which recall the fertility-fecundity sculptures of Buddhist art from its earliest beginnings at Sāñci, Bhārhut, Buddhagayā etc. There are also bas-reliefs of *kalpavṛkṣa*, the wish-granting divine-trees, surrounded by *pūrṇaghaṭas* (pots filled with jewels and flowers). Bearded *gaṇas* at the entrance pour out jewels from sacks.

On the entablature above the four walls rises another tier which has four stūpa finials at the four ends and the whole edifice is crowned by a stūpa dome. The crowning stūpa is placed on an inverted pyramid-like platform. This pattern of the roof recalls the *Pañcāyatana* model developed in the religious architecture of India, especially of the Buddhists, probably in conformity with a mystic symbolic *maṇḍala*.

This small way-side Caṇḍi with its advanced bas-reliefs and divine cult icons of the particular wish-granting type would have once attracted

many pilgrims on their way to major centres of pilgrimage like Mendut and Barabuḍur, Sewu and Kalasan and had probably eased both the fatigue and monotony of their journeys.

A.D.T.E.P.

CAṆḌI PLAOSAN, a small Buddhist Caṇḍi of mid-ninth century, situated towards north-east of Jogjakarta, and close to Caṇḍ Sewu as well as the stupendous Hindu monument, Lara Jonggrang. Although a smaller monument comparatively, it has however yielded many a rich piece of Javanese sculpture of exquisite beauty. A monk's head from this shrine, carved out of stone, captures the serenity, characteristic of the spiritually advanced Buddhist thera (Ph. Rawson, *The Art of Southeast Asia*, London, 1967, p. 247, Pl. 209). B. Rowland, however, takes this piece of sculpture as part of Caṇḍi Sewu collection (see B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Harmondsworth, 1956, Pl. 190). The sculptures found at Caṇḍi Plaosan are very impressive, especially the beautiful donor figures and the images of bodhisattvas (Ph. Rawson, loc. cit.).

A beautiful image from Caṇḍi Plaosan, depicts the Bodhisattva Maitreya, in which the left leg is drawn up to rest on the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) while the right leg which is *pralamba* (hanging down) rests on a small lotus pedestal which in turn is placed on a small lion's head (R. Le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia*, London, 1956, fig. 69). The image reflects all the typical Śailendra ethnic features and could well be compared with portrait sculpture of Airlanga in the guise of Viṣṇu from Belahan as well as with the two bodhisattva images flanking the central Buddha at Caṇḍi Mendut. The image also has much affinity to the early bronze bodhisattva icons from Sri Lanka (see Caṇḍi Mendut, fn. 1).

On grounds of similarity with the eastern Javanese Singhasari plastic art, it could be surmised that Caṇḍi Plaosan was one of the last edifices built by the Javanese Buddhists before their centre of religious and cultural activities was shifted from Central Java to Eastern Java.

A.D.T.E.P.

CAṆḌI SARI, a Javanese Buddhist shrine erected in the 9th century. This monument is found on the road that connects Caṇḍi Kalasan and Caṇḍi Sewu and lies a few miles north of Prambanan. According to one writer " this shrine was erected in connection with the more stupendous Caṇḍi Kalasan, for Mahāyānist monks," presumably for the performance of some religious rite (C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, London, 1921, p. 165).

In outward form it varies considerably from its sister Caṇḍis in Middle Java and is an interesting architectural invention (Ph. Rawson, *The Art of Southeast Asia*, London, 1967, Pl. 211 and pp. 248 f.). To the onlooker it appears like a large rectangular three-storeyed building built on a massive stylobate, with the main entrance piercing the centre of one of the longer sides. " The third storey stands above a substantial architrave with horizontal mouldings and antefixes. Windows, two on each short side, three on long, open into each storey though they are blind at the rear side. They are crowned by large antefixes like cartouches of ornamental carving based on curvilinear pavilions hung with strings of gems." (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. pp. 248 f.) Above the uppermost window-like alcoves appear the traditional Javanese *Kīrtimukha* lintel carvings. The central *āmalaka* or stūpa-shaped cupola is missing but its presence could be surmised by the stūpa finials crowning the entablature of the uppermost tier.

Alongside each window-like alcove are pairs of figures representing heavenly beings. Inside, Caṇḍi Sari contains, a processional corridor around three interior shrines, probably meant for images of the Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, as at Caṇḍi Mendut, but images are all gone at present (Ph. Rawson, op. cit.).

A.D.T.E.P.

CAṆḌI SEWU, is another middle Javanese Buddhist monument of colossal architectural design. In point of actual area covered, Caṇḍi Sewu, which means 'the thousand temples', is said to be the largest of the temple groups in Java (R. Le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia*, London, 1956, p. 101). On inscriptional evidence scholars have assigned this Caṇḍi to the 9th century, and it is very likely that it too belongs to the period of the great Śailendras of Śrī Vijaya whose affiliations to the particular form of Buddhism which some writers call esoteric form of Buddhism, is reflected in the vast number of Buddhist monuments erected in Middle Java. On chronological grounds it stands in relationship with the other two stupendous shrines, the Caṇḍi Mendut and (Caṇḍi) Barabuḍur ; hence, if not a contemporary, it may be a close precursor of the other two.

Benjamin Rowland, draws a parallelism between the Caṇḍi Sewu and the ruined shrine of Tantric Buddhism at Paharpūr of the Pāla rulers of Bengal. And on this analogy he infers that the

whole collection of buildings of the Canḍi Sewu was designed as a kind of *manḍala* with the separate chapels dedicated to the deities comprising the esoteric cosmic diagram or *manḍala* (B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Harmondsworth, 1956, pp. 244 f.; for details see Ph. Rawson, *The Art of Southeast Asia*, London, 1967, pp. 244 f. Pls. 205—207 ; see also F. A. Wagner, *Indonesia*, Methuen , London. 1962, p. 116).

The central temple of Canḍi Sewu which is of a recessed cruciform plan as in the case of the Pāla shrine at Paharpūr, is surrounded by no less than two hundred and fifty small chapels repeating its shape in smaller scale (B. Rowland, op. cit., p. 244, fig. 47 and Pl. 177 A. & B). This method of encircling the primary edifice (stūpa) by miniature shrines could also be traced back to the Gandhāra region in north-western India, where Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished from the early centuries of the present era.

The close relations between the Pālas of Bengal and the Śailendras of Java are confirmed by several inscriptions of Śailendra rulers found at the Nālanda temples, and the presence of Pāla type bronze icons in Java. The very close similarity between the ground plan of this Canḍi and the Pāla temple referred to above adds more weight to the Pāla-Śailendra cultural links that were instrumental in the interchange of esoteric forms of Buddhism in the respective kingdoms of the Pālas and the Śailendras.

A date round about 800 A. C. has been arrived at on the evidence of some inscriptions found in the region, and on the same inscriptional evidence the esoteric character of Buddhism associated with these middle Javanese Buddhist shrines was also conjectured by scholars of Southeast Asian Art history (R. Le May, op. cit. p. 101 ; see further, J.F. Scheltawa, *Monumental Java*, London, 1912 ; H.G.Q. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, London, 1951). It would be interesting to mention in this connection that the inscription referring to early relations between the monks of the Abhayagiri Vihāra in Sri Lanka, (a vihāra noted for its unorthodox Buddhist practices) and the learned theras of a monastery by the same name, was discovered at a site close to Canḍi Sewu, at Ratubaka, thus establishing further the links of Mahāyāna centres beyond seas with the Central Javanese Buddhist sites (J.G. de Casparis, 'New evidence in cultural relations between Java and Ceylon in ancient times', *Art A*. Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3/4, 1959, pp. 241–248 ; S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, pp. 183 ff.).

According to Dietrich Seckel, the two hundred odd side chapels, surrounding the central edifice on the four sides, had enshrined the four so-called Dhyāni Buddhas with Vairocana in the centre. He adds, taken in conjunction with many of the figures in the niches, they formed a Vajrayāna Manḍala (D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Methuen, London, 1964, p. 139).

Of all the two-hundred chapels of the Canḍi Sewu complex, only one has so far been conserved (B. Rowland, op. cit. Pl. 177, B; Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 244, Pl. 206). From the restored side chapel and the remaining parts of the main shrine, it is possible to estimate that the square shrine on its plinth, with two highly compressed square storeys above, was roofed by circles of small stūpas mounted in tiers, surmounted by a terminal large stūpa, in effect the general scheme of Barabuḍur compressed into the narrow scope (B. Rowland, op. cit., Pl. 177 B ; Ph. Rawson, op. cit, Pl. 206).

The same skill shown in the sculptor's art as found in Barabuḍur, Mendut etc., is reflected in the art of Canḍi Sewu too. However, some writers think that in comparison with the art of Barabuḍur the sculptor's art revealed here is far less skilful plastically (Ph. Rawson, op. cit., p. 247, Pl. 207, a rākṣasa gnome from Canḍi Sewu, Pl. 208, one of the partly ruined shrines of Canḍi Sewu).

A.D.T.E.P.

CANḌI SINGHASĀRI, another Buddhist canḍi erected by the monarchs of the eastern Javanese Singhasāri dynasty.

Canḍi Singhasāri preserves many of the classic Javanese architectural and artistic forms begun during the reign of the rulers of Central Java before the shifting of the seat of royalty towards eastern Javanese centres. It has also been considered to be the last Buddhist monument founded by the Singhasāri kings preceded by the more compl cated Canḍi Jago (F. A. Wagner, *Indonesia*, Art of the World; Series, Methuen, London, 1962, p. 121, Pl. 108; Ph. Rawson, *The Art of South-east Asia*, London, 1967, p. 260 f. Pl. 228).

This elegant piece of religious architecture which is also a good example of the continuation of Javanese skill in stone architecture, as reflected in the middle Javanese colossal structures like Barabuḍur, Lara Jonggrang etc., appears like a replica in miniature of a gradually disappearing tradition of Javanese master builders, who though were inspired by the religious monuments in India and other early centres, never failed to preserve the dignity of their own Javanese impression and identity in

their architectural products. Apparently the working of the details in architectural ornamentation had taken place from the top downwards.

It is erected on a single platform which is a plain rectangular base, above which rises the tower proper. The main super-structure resembles a modification of the Indian *Pañcāyatana* type which was supposed to be an archetype in the modelling of many Mahāyāna monuments that bore a mystic symbolism. The four tower like wings at the cardinal points are addorsed to the central structure which rises above all. The interesting thing about the design of Caṇḍi Singhasāri is that, whereas in all earlier temples, the central volume of the building remained the principal cell in which the image was housed, here the actual main cell is in what appears to be the plinth and what appears to be the cell has been assimilated as part of the roofing tower (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 260 f.). The placing of the shrine proper just above the basement terrace is in contrast to its immediate predecessor Caṇḍi Jago, which has a notorious climb through two flights of steps before reaching the attic. The main entrance archway as well as the subsidiary blind doors or niches at the cardinal points of the two tiers are surmounted by the gorgeous *Kīrti-mukha* (or misnamed *Kāla Makara*) tympanum slab, which has become the most ubiquitous feature in Javanese religious architecture.

One writer thinks that there is every reason to believe that Caṇḍi Singhasāri was built in the year 1178 A.C., in the reign of king Kretanagara of Toemapel, and that it is the temple known as *Śiva-Buddhālaya* in which the king (Kretanagara) was commemorated under the name Śiva-Buddha. Here again is an evidence for the extension of the *Śiva-Buddha* cult of east Java (C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921, Vol. III, p.169).

The Javanese chronicle *Nagarakretagama* represents king Kretanagara as a devout Buddhist, but his title *Śiva-Buddha* shows how completely Śaivism was blended with Buddhism in his religion. The above chronicle refers to a temple in which the lower storey was dedicated to Śiva and the upper one to Akṣobhya. It also leads one to suppose that the king was honoured as an incarnation of Akṣobhya even during his life and was consecrated as Jina under the name of Śrījanabajreśvara (Śrījana-Vajreśvara).

A remarkable statue identified as that of Śiva, and taken to be a product of Madjapahit, is worthy to be noted here in respect of the *Śiva-Buddha* cult of Kretanagara (J. Ph. Vogel, 'Relation between the art of India and Java', in *The Influence of Indian Art*, ed. J. Strzygowski, J. Ph. Vogel, H. F. E. Visser and others, London, 1925, p. 82, Fig. X). This particular statue is identified as a portrait statue of king Kretarājasa, the son-in-law of Kretanagara. Both in style and date it bears close affinities with the famous masterpiece Prajñāpāramitā from Singhasāri which too has been taken by scholars as a portrait statue of a Javanese queen. It is worthwhile to note that the title Śrījanabajreśvara borne by Kretangara has some bearing on this statue, as it holds in one of its left hands a *vajra* emblem mounted on a lotus which reflects a faint echo on the title Bajreśvara (*Vajra*+*Īśvara*—lord of the cosmic thunderbolt). Such an object borne by Prajñāpāramitā has provided a clue to scholars in identifying the famous Singhasāri image mentioned below. It is not unlikely that the above statue was transported from Singhasāri by the succeeding ruler who shifted his capital to Madjapahit.

It could be mentioned in regard to the carvings at Caṇḍi Singhasāri that its sculptors have tried to maintain a somewhat dignified restraint in ornamentation. The Caṇḍi owns numerous statues of excellant workmanship which illustrate the fusion of Śiva and Buddha in the new Mahāyāna cult originated in eastern Java (C. Eliot, op. cit. p. 169). From Singhasāri area, there is a wealth of statuary discovered and it is not unlikely that most of them did belong to the central shrine Caṇḍi Singhasāri and had once ornamented its numerous niches.

Of these, the most remarkable is the famous statue of Prajñāpāramitā (D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, Methuen, London, 1964, pp. 236 f., Pl. 237, 239), now in the Leyden Museum. Dietrich Seckel, calls it one of the finest masterpieces of Buddhist Art and identifies it with the "Yellow Prajñāpāramitā" who is distinguished by the following features: Her hands are in the gesture of teaching (*Dharmacakramudrā*), she is seated on a lotus seat (*padmāsana*) mounted on a square podium to which is attached the back of her seat which is highly ornamented and resembles a fiery aura. She has, resting on a lotus to her left a book, containing the text of the *Prajñāpāramitā* which could be compared with the *vajra* placed in a similar position on a lotus held in one of the hands of the so-called Madjapahit statue referred to above (see Pl. CXXVI). Scholars do believe that this statue could probably be a portrait image of a queen of the Singhasāri dynasty, namely Dedes, the consort of Kretarājasa (first half of the 13th century), not of course a portrait in the modern sense, but an attempt to identify her with the mystic body of the

sacred personage concerned, in the same way as the supreme Buddha or Hindu deity becomes incarnate in the ruler (cp. *Devarāja—Buddharāja* cult of south-east Asia). This perhaps explains why this figure combines withdrawal from the world to a sanctified sphere with a note of noble charm and humanity (D. Seckel, op. cit. p. 236 f.; R. Le May, *The Culture of Southeast Asia*, London, 1956, p. 105, fig 79 ;see also J.Ph. Vogel, op. cit.pp.84 f., fig. XI).

Yet another statue from Singhasāri carved out of the same volcanic stone that was used in the Prajñāpāramitā masterpiece, is an image of a deity representing a violent form of tantric symbolism. It has been identified as *Cakkra-Cakkra-Bhairava* (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 263, Pl. 229). It resembles very closely the *Mahākāla* or *Yamāntaka* aspect of Mañjuśrī and could have been one of those icons associated with this Caṇḍi if not with the tantric Buddhist shrine Caṇḍi Jago (see also J. Lowry, Tibet, Nepal and China, *Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, No. 3 for 1973, pp. 306–318). Apart from a few weather-beaten guard an images *dvārapāla* or somet.mes referred to as *rākṣasa*) and a damaged image o the sage Agastya the best known masterpieces of Caṇḍi Singhasāri sculpture are now in the Leyden Museum, Netherlands.

If Caṇḍi Singhasāri was the actual shrine known as *Śivabuddhālaya* in the *Nagarakretagama*, then it would not be difficult to explain the presence of the innumerable Hindu cult images like Durgā Mah śāsuramard nī, etc. (Ph. Rawson, op. cit. p. 261, fig. 226) discovered at sites in the Singhasāri region.

A.D.T.E.P.

CANDIKĀ, mother of Candikāputta thera (*AA*. IV, p. 191).

CAṆḌIKĀ, name of a yakṣiṇī mentioned in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra* (*Sūrn*. p. 163).

CANDIKĀPUTTA, a thera. Once while staying at Veḷuvana, in the presence of Sāriputta, he preached to the monks a discourse on the teaching of Devadatta. This is recorded in the *Silāyūpa Sutta* (*A*. IV, pp. 402 f.). He was called Candikāputta after his mother whose name was Candikā (*AA*. IV, p. 191).

L.R.G.

CAṆḌIKKA means hate, malice or churlishness, the state of being ferocious ; it is one of the synonyms for *kodha* given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§§ 418, 1060, 1115, 1231) and in the *Vibhaṅga* (*Vbh*. p. 357). The *Puggalapaññatti* gives *caṇḍitta* instead of *caṇḍikka* as a synonym for *kodha* (*Pug*. pp. 18, 22). According to the *Cullaniddesa* it is *caṇḍika*, a synonym of *dosa* (*Nd*. II, pp. 175, 247).

R. Morris, who considers *caṇḍitta* to be the correct form, says, in commenting on that word, that it is sometimes misprinted as *caṇḍikka* owing to the confusion of *t* and *k* in the manuscripts in the Sinhalese alphabet. *Caṇḍitta* is an abstract noun formed from *caṇḍa* and represents Sanskrit *caṇḍatva* which in Pali would become *caṇḍatta* and *caṇḍitta* (*JPTS*. 1891, p. 17). See DOSA and KODHA.

U.K.

CANDIMĀ, name of a deity mentioned in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*. I, p. 50), obviously the moon. He is referred to as *devaputta* and as having appealed to the Buddha when he was being seized by Rāhu, the lord of the asuras. The Buddha saves him by speaking to Rāhu. For details see CANDIMĀ SUTTA.

CANDIMASA SUTTA, first discourse of the *Anāthapiṇḍika-vagga* of the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* (*S*. I, pp. 51 f.). It records the visit paid to the Buddha by a deity named Candimasa and the two stanzas he uttered wherein he says that they who meditate, with single mind, insight and alert thought, shall go their way to the further shore (i.e., Nibbāna) in safety, quitting corruption with all earnestness.

The meeting of the deity and the Buddha took place at the Jetavana monastery in Sāvatthi during the last hours of the night.

H.R.P.

CANDIMĀ SUTTA, a sutta in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*. I, p. 50) referring to the seizure of the *devaputta* Candimā (q.v.) by the lord of the asuras, Rāhu. Candimā seeks refuge in the Buddha in his distress, and is freed by Rāhu at the command of the Buddha. The sutta further relates how Rāhu, having let Candimā free, appeared like a man affrightened, before Vepacitti, another lord of the asuras, and told the latter of the incident and of the Buddha's power.

Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 71, n. 2) points out that the reference is obviously to the Indian myth of the eclipse of the moon, annexed as it is by the *suttanta* to show the Buddha's power and compassion.

In the sutta immediately following, (*S*. I, p. 51), almost the identical tale is told of Rāhu's seizure of Suriya *devaputta*, the sun, obviously referring here to the solar eclipse. Both these suttas wh ch highl ght the Buddha's command over s ıpernatural

and superhuman powers have come to be included in the collection of Buddhist protective chants called *paritta* (q. v.).

For the Sanskrit version of this sutta see CANDRA SŪTRA.

B.J.

CANDLES AND CANDLESTICKS. The use of some form of illumination at religious ceremonies seems to be common to many religions. At Buddhist ceremonies, too, lamps are lighted but sometimes candles are used to serve the purpose of lamps. Though these are used for the purpose of illumination their importance as articles of offering is more significant. In certain countries, like China and Japan, the use of candles predominates over that of lamps, but the use of both at the same ceremony is not an uncommon feature. However, it seems plausible to hold that the use of candles came into vogue at a much later date than that of lamps and the use of the candlesticks as still later.

At present, the use of candles and candlesticks as articles of offering is quite common in countries like China, Japan and Thailand. It is not quite certain in which particular country the use of candles and candlesticks, at Buddhist ceremonies, originated.

In China the use of candles and candlesticks is largely prevalent not only at religious ceremonies held in honour of the Buddha, but also at such ceremonies as the worship of ancestors. Chinese Buddhist devotees, when going on pilgrimage, take along with them vast quantities of candles and light them at temples during the time of evening prayer. Lighted candles, fixed to beautifully designed candlesticks placed on altars erected in front of the Buddha images, are a common sight in temples in China (see K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, Shanghai, 1934, pp. 246, 294; and *Religion in Chinese Garment*, Lutterworth Press, 1951, p. 67).

In Japan, too, these are considered as articles indispensable when performing religious ceremonies. Candles and candlesticks are regarded either as one in the set of three articles, the other two being the flower vase and the incense-burner, or as one in the set of five articles of offering, comprising two flower-vases, two candles and candlesticks and an incense-burner. Some are of opinion that the set of three articles of offering was used only at ordinary religious ceremonies, whereas the set of five was used at special ceremonies. When the set of three articles is used, the candlestick, bearing a candle, is placed in one corner of the altar, erected in front of the Buddha image, with an incense-burner in the centre and the flower vase in the other corner. When all five articles are used, the candlestick with a candle fixed on it, together with a flower vase, is placed on either side of the altar with an incense-burner in the usual central position (*Moc. III*, p. 2829).

The candlestick is often made of copper and has its outer surface engraved with beautiful designs. They are, also, of varied shapes, a very common one being that of a stork, standing on the back of a tortoise, holding with its beak a lotus leaf on which the candle is placed (loc. cit.).

In Buddhist ceremonies in Thailand, too, candles and candlesticks play an important role and beautifully designed candlesticks are often utilised for these purposes. A most noteworthy ceremony, in which the candle has an important place, is the Vesak ceremony performed on the full-moon day of the month of May in memory of the three great events connected with the Buddha's life, namely, his birth, his attainment of Enlightenment and the Parinirvāṇa. In the evening on this day, the king and other members of the royal family visit the temples to light candles and to take part in the procession called *wien tien*. In this, the participants, each carrying a candle, go in procession circumambulating the objects of worship with their right shoulder turned towards them. Sometimes, instead of going in procession, this ceremony is performed by a group of people formed into a circle, facing the object of worship and passing the candle thrice from hand to hand in a clock-wise manner; each person holds the candle for a short while, with both hands and makes three circular motions and then with one hand wafts the flame of the candle towards the object of worship.

Lighting of candles is also an important feature in the rain-invoking ceremony. Candles and candlesticks are also used in connection with the *vassa* (rainy season retreat) ceremony. A few weeks before the commencement of this ceremony, called in the Thai language *barnsā*, the king himself takes part in the ceremony performed for the casting of candles, which are to be used in the ceremony marking the beginning of the rainy season, which is called *khao barnsā*. Later, at a ceremony held in the palace, the king sprinkles these candles with holy water and makes them ready for distribution among the temples. In

olden times, each candle was made large enough to burn throughout the rainy season. But, nowadays, the candles are smaller in size. On the day of the commencement of the rainy season, the king visits the royal temples to light the candles, while other members of the royal family and the public take part in lighting candles in temples throughout the country. In certain temples, the flame from the candle, which is ceremonially lit to mark the commencement of the rainy season, is transferred to a lamp which burns throughout the three months of the rainy season and at the end of it the candles are re-lit with the same flame.

In Thailand, candles are also used to celebrate the festival of lights (*loi kratong*). This festival takes place after the rainy season. On this festival night the participants get into large boats lit up with candles and row them down rivers in procession. Yet others make toy boats, and fixing on them lighted candles, set them afloat in rivers. A similar feature could be seen in the Japanese Bon festival and the Chinese Tsiao festival, both connected with the dead (K. E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1960, pp. 72, 94, 100 112–3 ; cp. M. W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, I, Leiden, 1935, pp. 84–91).

In Ceylon the use of candles, at Buddhist ceremonies and in temples, is less common due to the predominance of the use of lamps, and the use of candlesticks is not at all prevalent. However, candles are widely used to illumine the beautifully decorated lanterns which are lit during the Vesak festival.

S. K. N.

CAṆḌORAṆA, a mountain in the Himālaya region. The bodhisatta once lived there in his birth as an elephant looking after his blind mother (*J*. IV, pp. 90, 93).

CANDRA (1), one of the former Buddhas, who, while wandering, arrived at a certain kingdom where he was honoured and worshipped by the rulers of that place. Thereupon, the Buddha explained to them the *bodhikāraka dharma* (*Avś*. p. 37).

CANDRA (2), name of a young brāhman who died and was reborn as a god (*deva*), mentioned, in the *Avadāna-śataka* (*Avś*. pp. 231 ff. ; *BHS*. II, p. 224).

CANDRA (3), the youngest son of a brāhman king of Mithilā in Videha. His elder brother was Sūrya, who, although heir to his father's throne, handed over the succession to Candra and, having renounced worldly life, led the life of an ascetic (*Mhvu*. III, pp. 172 ff.).

I. K.

CANDRĀBHA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

CANDRABHĀNU (1), a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 136 ; *Sukh.* p. 6).

CANDRABHĀNU (2), the name of a Jāvaka ruler who unsuccessfully invaded Ceylon, twice, in the thirteenth century.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Candrabhānu (Pali. Candabhānu) landed in Ceylon with a large army and tried to deceive the people, by calling himself a protector of Buddhism. Candrabhānu's forces were defeated by the Sinhalese in a decisive battle said to have been fought in south Ceylon (*Mhv*. ch. 83, *v*. 36 f.).

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the Sinhalese *Pūjāvaliya*, Candrabhānu first raided Ceylon in the eleventh year of Parākramabhāhu II, that is 1244 A.C. (*Pūjāvaliya*, translated by B. Gunasekera, Colombo, 1985, ch. 34, p. 43). The date of his second expedition is not expressly stated in any of the records.[1]

In his second expedition, Candrabhānu landed at Mahātittha (present Mantai) and marched up-to the fortress city of Subhagiri (present Yāpahuwa), where the Sinhalese army was encamped with Vijayabāhu, the prince regent, at its command (*Mhv*. II, ch. 88, *vv*. 62 ff.). He sent a message to Vijayabāhu, asking for the Sacred Tooth Relic, the Alms Bowl Relic of the Buddha and the kingdom. In a battle fought outside Subhagiri, the entire army of Candrabhānu was routed and much booty fell into the hands of the Sinhalese king. Candrabhānu himself succumbed to the injuries he received in the battle.

S. Paranavitana thinks that the reason for Candrabhānu's attempted overthrow of the Sinhalese monarchy was not to secure the palladium of the Sinhalese monarch, viz., the Sacred Tooth Relic and

1 It could be inferred that Candrabhānu's invasion of the island for the second time had taken place after Parākramabāhu II had entrusted the government to his son Vijayabāhu in his twenty second year, i.e., between 1258–1262 A.C.

the Alms Bowl Relic of the Buddha. Paranavitana is of the opinion that Candrabhānu had an equal claim to the Sinhalese throne through paternal lineage. From certain newly discovered historical documents, Paranavitana makes a case for Candrabhānu's descent from the Polonnaruwa ruler, Māgha (S. Paranavitana, 'Newly discovered Historical documents relating to Ceylon, India and South-East Asia', *Buddhist Yearly 1967*, Halle, 1967, p. 36).

With regard to the identity of Candrabhānu, numerous speculations have been made by scholars interested in the history of Ceylon and also of South-east Asia. Some scholars took Candrabhānu to be a Jāvaka prince while others hold him to be a south Indian prince from the Pāndya stock (See S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, pp. 76 ff.; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, revised edition, London, 1947, p. 77; *JCBRAS.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85). There were also some others who believed that Candrabhānu hailed from the ruling house of Śrī-Vijaya (N. J. Krom. De Ouder gang van Cri Wijaya in *Med. Kon-Akad. van Wettenschappen-Afd. Letterkunde*, Deel 62, Ser. B., No. 5, pp. 8-9, 156-7). The French scholar George Coedès, maintained that a consensus was possible on the identity of Candrabhānu. in his publication, in 1918, of a Sanskrit inscription from Vat Hvavian in Jaiya, in his work, *Le Royaume de Crivijaya* (*BEFEO.* XVIII, 1918, pt. 6) and later in a paper 'A prospos de la chute du Royamme de Śrīvijaya' (published in 1927, *Bijderagentot de Taalland-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch, Indie*, Deel 83, pp. 459–72; see also *JCBRAS.* Vol. XXXII No. 83, pp. 190 ff.). Coedès identified king "Śrī Dharmarāja", bearing the epithet Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription, with Candrabhānu, the Jāvaka king of the Ceylon chronicles. In this inscription, Candrabhānu is also called Tāmbraliṅgeśvara.

Paranavitana, however, is not inclined to identify the Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription with the king of the same name who invaded Ceylon. He believes that 'Candrabhānu', of the Jaiya inscription, could be an epithet borne by the family of kings to which Candrabhānu of the Ceylon chronicles too, belonged (S. Paranavitana, op. cit. pp. 77 ff., see also Introduction, p. vi).

A.D.T.E.P.

CANDRABHĀNU (3), an epithet of king Prakramabāhu VI, a mediaoval Buddhist monarch of Ceylon.

This epithet Candrabhānu is used in reference to king Parākramabāhu VI by the hierarch Vimalakitti (q.v.) in his treatise *Saddharmaratnākaraya*. S. Paranavitana believes that the Sinhalese monarch bore this title because he hailed from a ruling house in Malaysia (see S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, p. 139), and comments further that the king had preferred to do away with his title of 'Candrabhānu' in his later years, on account of the antipathy the Sinhalese had had towards the Jāvakas and Malays after their encounters with the armies from Malaysia (loc. cit.).

Having given Parākramabāhu his due praise, Vimalakitti concludes his treatise with a final benedictory stanza of which the second line says: may the lord of the world, Candrabhānu, delight in justice, Dhamma (*Saddharmaratnākaraya*, ed. Kosgoda Ñāṇawimala thera, Colombo, 1948, p. 501).

A.D.T.E.P.

CANDRABIMBAPRABHĀ, a gandharva-maiden who was present with innumerable others in Jetavana to listen to the Buddha (*Kvyū.* p. 5).

CANDRABUDDHI, a Tathāgata living in the world-system (*lokadhātu*) called Ādarśamaṇḍalanirbhāsā (*Geyū.* p. 82).

CANDRADEVĪ-NĀMA-SĀDHANA, the reconstructed title of the Tibetan text, *Dpal zla-baḥi lha-mo shes-bya-baḥi sgrub-thabs*, occurring in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 67, No. 2911; *TM.* No. 2058). Although the *Sde-dge* edition mentions Śes-rab skyon as its author and Dānaśīla as the translator, the Chinese Tripiṭaka does not mention the name of the author; nor the name of the Chinese translator.

It is a very short text dealing with the method of propitiating the female deity Candradevī.

I.K.

CANDRADHVAJĀ, a world-system (*lokadhātu*) where the Tathāgata Sunetra lives (*Gvyū.* p. 222).

CANDRADHVAJAKETU, a samādhi or a concentration of mind, mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XII, p. 8). It is explained in the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* as one being like a banner unto all other samādhis (*ŚsP.* p. 1415).

CANDRADHVAJAŚRĪKETU, a Tathāgata living in the world-system (*lokadhātu*) called Maṇisūrya-candravidyotitaprabhā (*Gvyū.* p. 280). He is also called Indradhvajaketu in the same work (loc. cit.).

CANDRAGARBHA, a bodhisattva mentioned in a group of bodhisattvas who formed a part of the congregation in Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha where Śākyamuni lived (*ŚsP.* p. 6).

CANDRAGARBHA-PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-MAHĀ-YĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-C°*), a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is extant in the Śes-phyin (Prajñāpāramitā) section of the Tibetan Kanjur, under the title, *Ḥphags-pa zla-baḥi-sñiṅ-po śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TM.* 27).

CANDRAGARBHA-SŪTRA, known in Chinese as *Ta-fang-têng-ta-chi-yüeh-tsang-ching*, is incorporated in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This sūtra, also known as the *Mahā-vaipulya-mahā-sannipāta-candragarbha-sūtra* or the *Chandragarbha-vaipulya*, was translated by Narendrayaśas in the 6th cent. A.C. under the northern Chi dynasty. It consists of ten fascicles divided into twenty chapters (see *Nanjio*, No. 63 ; S. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Printed for the India Office, 1876, p. 7).

S.K.N.

CANDRAGOMIḤI GṬAM RGYUD, a Tibetan work included in the Thun-moṅ-ba lugs-kyi bstan-bcos (Nītiśāstra) section of the Tengyur. It is a translation of an original Sanskrit text which is presumably lost, the title of which has been reconstructed as *Candragomyākhyāna*. The work was translated into Tibetan by Vinayaśrī (*TM.* No. 4340). Cordier gives the title of this work as *Candra-go-mi-ḥi lo rgyud* and the corresponding Sanskrit title as *Candragomipravṛtti* (*Cordier*, III, p. 485).

L.R.G.

CANDRAGOMIN, author, reputed in the Buddhist world as a philosopher, poet and grammarian. Generally believed to have lived in the 6th or the 7th century A.C. (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1933, II, p. 365), and being an exponent of *Vijñānavāda*, he was an opponent of Candrakīrti, who was a follower of the Mādhyamika philosophy.

According to Tāranātha (*History of Buddhism in Tibet*, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 148–58) and Bu-ston (*History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Pt. ii, Heidelberg, 1932, pp. 132–4), there is a vast amount of legendary material woven around his life. His birth-place is given as Bengal and even as a youth he was greatly learned. According to Tāranātha (op. cit. pp. 148 ff.) he was born with a pearl in his mouth and a mark on his forhead to prove the fact of rebirth, and he spoke to his mother as soon as he was born. She took this as a bad omen and asked him to be silent. He was so obedient that he did not speak for seven years ! At that age he wrote an exposition to a poem which his father could not understand, and began to speak fluently again when his mother asked him to do so. That same day he was able to defeat his father's adversary in a debate on the Buddha's teaching. Under his teacher Sthiramati, he learnt the *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma Piṭakas* by hearing them recited only once. He was initiated in the tantric lore by the Vidyādhara Ācārya Aśoka, on completion of which he beheld the countenances of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā. In Vārendra, he compiled many *śāstras* relating to the science of medicine, to poetry and the plastic arts. But his main works deal with grammar. The king of Vārendra gave him his daughter, Tārā, as wife, but when one day a servant called her by name, Candra thought it unbecoming to have as wife a person with the same name as his favourite goddess. He therefore planned to go to another land. But, when the king learned that Candra refused to live with his daughter, he had him put into a box and thrown into the Ganges. Candra prayed to the goddess Tārā and the box drifted to an island at the mouth of the Ganges, which island is still known as Candradvīpa. On this island, he built statues of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, and, in due course, a town sprang up there. By the order of Avalokiteśvara he was called Candra the devotee, the *upāsaka*, the *gomin*, hence Candragomin.

In a company of merchants he came to Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon) where a disease caused by serpents was prevailing. After he had built a temple in honour of Ārya Siṃhanāda, the disease came to an abrupt end. (In the Tengyur collection of the Tibetan Canon the work *Siṃhanāda-sādhana* is ascribed to him.)

Returning to the south of Jambudvīpa he compiled the *Candravyākaraṇa* as a commentary to Pāṇini's work with an appendix, both of which are included in the Tibetan Tengyur.

After this he resided in Nālandā, where Candrakīrti was a *paṇḍita* (professor). When questioned by Candrakīrti as to where he came from, Candragomin replied that he came from the south. To a question about his knowledge, he replied that he knew Pāṇini's grammar, the 150 *ślokas* of Diṅnāga's song of praise and the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*. As he thus appeared to know grammar, the sūtras and the mantras, Candrakīrti suspected him to be Candragomin and, when questioned in this respect, he answered : " That is how people call me."

Candragomin followed the teachings of Asaṅga and grouped himself with the idealists. Candrakīrti, however, followed the commentaries of Buddhapālita and others to the works of Nāgārjuna and the doctrine of *śūnya*. For seven years they disputed and many people came from far and near to witness these disputes, in reference to which a saying arose: Nāgārjuna may have medicine for some, but Āryāsaṅga has nectar for all.

It is said that Candragomin drew his inspiration in debate from a statue of Avalokiteśvara which came to life every evening before the debate, instructing Candragomin in the answers to be given. On the final day, while Candragomin was in prayer before his beloved deity, Candrakīrti had followed him stealthily to the temple and heard the instructor's voice. On opening the door slightly to see who the teacher was, Candrakīrti only saw the statue which had become stone again but which had preserved its teaching attitude with a raised hand and an outstretched finger. This statue of Avalokiteśvara thus became known as the 'Ārya with the raised finger'.

Comparing Candrakīrti's *Samantabhadra-śāstra* written in exquisite *ślokas* with his own *Śabda-sūtra*, Candragomin thought that his work would be of no use to others and he threw it away into a well. But, the goddess Tārā thought otherwise, and said that, as Candragomin had written his work for the purpose of doing good to others, it would prove its usefulness in the future, whereas Candrakīrti's work, written with pride, would be without use. She thereafter saved the book from the water. Even now, it is believed that whoever drinks from that well obtains great wisdom.

Candragomin composed many *śāstras* on 100 topics of architecture, on grammar, dialectics, medicine, poetry, theatrical acting (in the Tibetan Tengyur there is a sūtra, i.e., a play of Candragomin with the title, *Lokānandanāṭaka-nāma*) lexicography, astronomy, etc.

But, following an exhortation of Tārā, he neglected the profane sciences and concentrated on expounding the *Daśabhūmika*, the *Candrapradīpa*, the *Gaṇḍālaṅkāra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, and the *Prajñāpāramitā*. To each he compiled a *śāstra*, apart from which he composed 432 smaller works, the best of which was the *Pradīpa-mālā-śāstra*, a complete book of instruction on the path of a bodhisattva. This, however, is lost. But it is said, it is still to be found in Sinhala and Tamil.

His works, the *Sambaraviṃśaka* and the *Kāvyatrayāvatāra*, became the textbooks for all later *paṇḍits* in Mahāyāna. In Tibetan translations are found his *Tārāsādhanaśataka* and *Avalokiteśvarasādhanaśataka*. Of his poetical works the religious poem written in the form of a letter to his pupil, the *Śiṣyalekhādharmakāvya*, presents his theories on Buddhist philosophy in elegant kāvya style. The *T.M.* attributes the following works to Candragomin :—

Deśanāstava (No. 1159); (*Ārya-*) *Mañjuśrīnāma-saṅgīti-nāma-mahāṭīkā* (No. 2090); *Bhagavadāryam-añjuśrīsādhiṣṭhānastuti* (No. 2710); (*Ārya-*) *Amogha-pāśapañcadevastotra*. (No. 2720) *Manoharapāha-vidāraṇa-nāma-lokanātha-stotra* (No. 2722); *Āryāvalokiteśvarastotra* (No. 2731); *Mahākāruṇikakuvākyastotra-nāma* (No. 2732); *Siṃhanādasādhana* (No. 2858); *Hayagrīvasādhana-nāma* (No. 3055); (*Ārya-*) *Sitātapatrāparāṇitā-nāma-sādhana* (No. 3083); (*Ārya-*) *Sitātapatrāparājitabalividhi-nāma* (No. 3084); (*Ārya-*) *Tathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatrāparājitapratyaṅgirā-nāma-dhāraṇīsādhana* (No. 3085); (*Ārya-*) *Tathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatra-nāmadhāraṇīvidhi-nāma* (No. 3096); *Caityasādhana-vidhikramanāma* (No. 3104); *Bhagavatyuṣṇīṣavijayāstotra* (No. 3115); *Siṃhanāda-sādhana* (No. 3329); *Saṃkṣiptaśrījambhalasādhana* (No. 3616); *Hayagrīvasādhana* (No. 3621); *Aṣṭa-śatasādhana* (No. 3665); *Āryurvardhanīvidhi* (No. 3666); *Śrī-Mahātārāstotra-nāma* (No. 3667); (*Ārya-*) *Tārāstotrakarmasādhana-nāma* (No. 3669); (*Ārya-*) *Tārādevīstotrapuṣpamālā-nāma* (No. 3670); (*Ārya-*) *Tārādevīstotra-nāma* (No. 3671); (*Ārya-*) *Tārāṣṭabha-yatrāta-nāma-sādhana* (No. 3672); *Bodhisattvasaṃ-varaviṃśaka* (No. 4081); *Lokānandanāṭaka-nāma* (No. 4153); *Śiṣyalekha* (Nos. 4183 and 4497); *Nyāyasidhayāloka* (No. 4242); *Candravyākaraṇa-sūtra* (No. 4269); *Viṃśatyupasargavṛtti-nāma* (No. 4270); *Varṇasūtra-nāma* (No. 4271); *Uṇādi-vṛtti* (No. 4279); *Candragomipraṇidhāna-nāma* (No. 4386); *Uṇādi* (No. 4427) *Candroṇādivṛtti-nāma* (No. 4428); *Candravyākaraṇavarṇasūtra-vṛtti* (No. 4458).

The *TM*. attributes the following works also to Candragomin, but their original Sanskrit titles have not been restored :—

Sgrol-maḥi naṅ-gi gtor-chog (No. 1738); (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Rdo-rje rnam-par-ḥjoms-paḥi sgrub-thabs mdor-bsdus-pa* (No. 2911); *Bsruṅ-baḥi ḥkhor-lo* (No. 3086); *Gor-sruṅ-baḥi cho-ga* (No. 3098); *Mṅon-sbyod-kyi las* (No. 3100); *Sbyin-sreg* (No. 3101); *Dṅos-grub bsgrub-paḥi sgo-nas sriḥu gsoba* (No. 3102); *Bzlog-paḥi zor-bya-baḥi cho-ga* (No. 3103).

When once a beggar woman called on Candragomin, he had nothing but the robe he was wearing and a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. While he was praying before a wall-

painting of Tārā on behalf of the beggar woman, Tārā appeared in person and gave him a priceless jewel. which he gave to the woman. The wall-painting thereafter remained without blemish and is now called ' the spotless Tārā.'

Finally, he wanted to retire to Potala and, with the help of Tārā, sitting on her *garuḍa*, he reached Dhanaśrī safely. There he erected 100 temples for Tārā and 100 temples for Avalokiteśvara and it is said that Candragomin still lives there in his own body.

In Ceylon, Candragomin was chiefly known as a grammarian. There is an abridged version of his grammar, *Candravyākaraṇa-sūtra* (*TM.* No. 4269), named *Bālāvabodhana*, written by a monk named Mahākāśyapa of Diṁbulāgala, of about the 12th century. A pupil of this thera, named Moggallāna, wrote the Pali grammar, *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, based on Candra's system. A commentary and a *ṭikā* to Candra's grammar were written by the monks Ratnamati and Sāriputta, respectively. Thus, the most popular Sanskrit grammar in Ceylon, when Sanskrit studies were pursued by the Sinhalese monks, was that of Candragomin (C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 5 and 315). The Sinhalese work, *Mahābodhivaṃsagäṭapadaya*, a commentary to the book written on the history of the Bodhi-tree, of about the 12th century, refers to Candragomin as a grammarian (ibid. pp. 34). The *Sidat Sañgarāva*, the Sinhalese grammar of about the 13th century, refers to the name Sañdagomi (i.e., Candragomin) as an example for *nipāta* (suffix), i.e., *gomin*, which means an *upāsaka*, a Buddhist devotee (ibid. p. 49). It may be mentioned here that a well-known Sinhalese writer during this period was Guruḷugomi. Not only Candra's grammars, but his poetical work, the *Śiṣyalekhā*, too, was read by the Sinhalese writers of this period, for the Pali poem *Saddhammopāyana* of Ānanda thera (circa 8th century) was based on Candra's *Śiṣyalekhākāvya* (ibid. p. 211).

A. G. S. K.

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CANDRAGOMI PRAṆIDHĀNA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of the Tibetan text, *Btsun-pa zla-baḥi smon-lam shes-bya-ba*, occurring in the *sna-tshogs* (miscellaneous works) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM.* No. 4386; *TT.* Vol. 150, No. 5931; *Cordier*, III, p. 526). The work is attributed to Candragomin. The translators are named as Jetakarṇa and Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan.

The author's first salutation is addressed to Mañjuśrī-Kumārabhūta. This text deals with a salutation to Candragomi.

I.K.

CANDRAGOMYĀKHYĀNA, the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the *Candragomiḥi gtam-rgyud*, occurring in the Thun-moṅ-bo-lugs-kyi bstan-bcos (*Nītiśāstra*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The name of the author is not mentioned, but the translator is named as Vinayaśrī (*TM.* No. 4340). This text is a commentarial work and it does not occur in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I K.

CANDRAGUHYATILAKA-NĀMA-MAHĀTANTRA-RĀJA, name of a Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation of which is incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Kangyur, under the title, *Dpal zla-gsaṅ thig-le shes-bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po*. The author is unknown. Rim-chen Bzaṅ-po is said to have translated this work (*TT.* Vol. 4, No. 11; *TM.* No. 477). The Mongolian edition of this text is mentioned in the *Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime* (ed. Louis Ligeti, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1). The author begins the work with a salutation addressed to Vajrasattva. The Buddha is said to have preached this sutta at the request of Vajrapāṇi.

I.K.

CANDRAGUPTA, an Indian monk who lived at the Nālandā university. He is considered to be a contemporary of Dharmagupta of the 6th century. Dharmagupta was one of the 10 great scholars of the Vijñaptimātratā school and head of the University. Candragupta is thought to have belonged also to the same school and to have written a commentary on the *Madhyāntavibhaṅgaṭīkā* of Vasubandhu (*TM.* No. 4027), in which Candragupta described his views on *ālaya-vijñāna* and insisted upon the theory of 'inherently-existing seeds' (*vāsanā-bīja*).

This work of his, however, is not known to exist to day, and no further information about his career and achievement is obtainable (*Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi*;

Taishō, No. 2087, Vol. 51, p. 924a ; *Ch'êng-wei-shih-lun-shu-chio : Taishō*, No. 1830, Vol. 43, p. 304 ; *Ch'êng-wei-shih-lun-yen-pi : Taishō*, No. 1833, Vol. 43, p. 859 a & c ; *MOC*. Vol. 2, p. 1161a etc.).

S.Mo.

CANDRAKĀLĪ, name of a yakṣiṇī mentioned in the *Sādhanamālā* (*Sādh.* p. 561).

Evidently there is some confusion regarding this name, for it occurs, immediately after the yakṣiṇī Vasudhāra, as Citrakālī, Candrakālī and Candrakāna in at least two manuscripts and Bhattacharyya adopts both Citrakālī and Candrakālī in his edition of the *Sādhanamālā* (loc. cit.).

U.K.

CANDRAKĀNTĀ, one of the eight yakṣiṇīs who waited upon Mahādevi (*Sādh.* p. 562).

CANDRAKĪRTI is one of the most celebrated teachers of Mahāyāna Buddhism, who together with Śāntideva, accorded to the Mādhyamika system its rigorous and orthodox form. His name is mentioned among 38 Buddhist teachers in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB*. XIII, 51). He is the principal representative of the Mādhyamika Prāsaṅgika school and carried on the work of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. A commentator and author of unequalled merit, he was gifted with dialectical skill of the highest order. Stcherbatsky rightly describes him as "a mighty champion of the purely negative method of establishing monism; he succeeds in driving Bhāvaviveka's school, *Mādhyamika Svatantra*, into the shade and finally settles that form of the *Mādhyamika* system which is now studied in all monastic schools of Tibet and Mongolia, where it is considered to represent the true philosophic basis of Mahāyāna Buddhism" (Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa*, p. 67).

According to Tāranātha and Bu-tson, Candrakīrti was born in South India in Samanta ; even in childhood, he showed great intellectual gifts. After entering the Order of monks, he studied the Sacred Scriptures and began to study the works of Nāgārjuna under Kamalabuddhi, the disciple of Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka. After completing his studies, he lived as a *paṇḍita* in Nālandā and wrote lucid and authoritative commentaries on the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva (*Tāranātha's Geschichte*, pp. 270 ff.; Bu-ston, *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, pp. 134 f. and Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*. English translation by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopādhyay, ed. D. P. Chattopādhyay, pp. 198–9).

Bu-ston further says that Candrakīrti was blessed during 500 successive births and had the power of milking a cow that was drawn on a picture as well as the power of hurling a column of stone without touching it with his hand (ibid. p. 134).

There is some difference of opinion with regard to the exact date of Candrakīrti. Winternitz thinks that Candrakīrti, as he was a pupil of Dharmapāla, must have lived in the sixth century A.C. and not, as is usually taken for granted, in the seventh (*History of Indian Literature* II, University of Calcutta, 1933, p. 363 ; see also S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 'History of Mādhyamika Philosophy of Nāgārjuna' in *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Pt. IV, 1897, p. 18).

Working on the basis of the *Kātyāyanavādasūtra*, to which specific reference has been made in the *Mādhyamakaśāstra* (xv. 7) and which is accepted as authoritative by the Buddhist schools in general, as is evident from the statement of Candrakīrti, (*idaṃ ca sūtram sarvanikāyeṣu paṭhyate* : Commentary on *Mādhyamakaśāstra*, xv. 7), Nāgārjuna presented his thesis, which is mainly embodied in his *Kārikās*, numbering more than four hundred and distributed over twenty seven chapters. Of several distinguished writers who have contributed their share towards the development of the Mādhyamika doctrine (for a descriptive list of works in the Mādhyamika philosophy by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, No. 7 (N.S.), 1908, pp. 367–79), Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka (q. v.) have offered new interpretations. Buddhapālita, takes up a stand that the technique of the Mādhyamika school consists in the use of *reductio ad absurdum* arguments (*prasaṅga-vākya*) alone. This *prasaṅga* should not be understood as an apagogic proof in which an assertion is proved inderectly through disproving the opposite view. It is simply disproof without the intention to prove any thesis. 'It accepts a particular thesis hypothetically and by eliciting its implication shows up the inner contradiction which has escaped the notice of the opponent.' Nāgārjuna himself in his *Vigrahavyāvartanī*[1] declares that he has no proposition of his own to be established.

1 The text was first published and edited by K. P. Jayswal and Rahula Saṃkṛtyāyana out of a single manuscript in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIII, III, Appendix ; and it was translated from Tibetan by G. Tucci in *GOS*. Dr. P. L. Vaidya has published the text along with the auto-commentary called *Svopajnavṛtti* by Nāgārjuna, as an appendix to his Madhyamakaśāstra edited by him (as Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 10, published by the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1960).

Yadi kā cana pratijñā syān me tata eva bhaved doṣaḥ
Nāsti ca mama pratijñā tasmān naivāsti me doṣaḥ.

(*v.* 29)

This idea has been carried out by Āryadeva in his *Catuḥśataka* in his concluding verse :

Sadasat sadasac ceti yasya pakṣo na vidyate
Upālambhaś cireṇāpi tasya vaktuṃ na śakyate

(xvi, 25)

Bhāvaviveka, the other distinguished writer of the Mādhyamika school, a younger contemporary of Buddhapālita, is critical of Buddhapālita on the ground that he does not advance a counter-position of his own. His point appears to be that the Mādhyamika philosophers should not remain satisfied by merely indulging in refutation of the doctrines held by other schools of thought. By showing the inconsistency of other doctrines, the Mādhyamikas should consistently advance an opposite view. It is unfortunate that we do not have original Sanskrit texts of the author so that his exact viewpoint could have been ascertained.[2] The school followed by him is called the Svatantrika (Mādhyamika) school. Candrakīrti criticises him in the strongest possible terms for being inconsistent though belonging to the school of Mādhyamika (*Ātmanas tarkaśāstrātikauśalamātram āviścikīrṣayā aṅgīkṛtamadhyamakadarśanasyāpi yat svantantraprayogavākyābhidhānaṃ tad atitaram anekadoṣasamudāyāspadam asya tārkikasyopalabhyate* : Commentary on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, I, 3). Candrakīrti's argument is that though Bhāvaviveka belongs to the school of Mādhyamaka, it is wrong on his part to hold an independent view (cp. *Tasmāt sarvathā priyānumānatām evātmanaḥ ācāryaḥ prakaṭayati asthāne'py anumānam praveśayan* : loc. cit.). He concludes in respect of Bhāvaviveka thus :

Tad ayaṃ ācāryo yathaivaṁvidhe viṣaye nācāryapādamatānuvartī tathā pratipāditam madhyamakāvatāre 'duraṅgamāyāṁ tu dhiyādhikaḥ' 1.8, *ity atra*......[3]

Candrakīrti follows and re-affirms the *prāsaṅgika* method of Buddhapālita whom he refers to several times in his commentary on *Mādhyamakaśāstra*.

He speaks of Nāgārjuna that he adopts the *prāsaṅgika* technique (*tathā ca ācāryo bhūyasā prasaṅgāpattimukhenaiva parapakṣaṁ nirākaroti sma* : Commentary on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, p. 8).

This method turns each thesis against itself and points out the thesis of the opponent as inconsistent. (Cp. *Prasaṅga-sādhanaṁ ca na svapakṣasthāpanāyopādīyate kiṃ tu parasyāniṣṭāpādanārtham. Parāniṣṭaṁ ca tadabhyupagamasiddhair eva dharmādibhiḥ śakyam āpādayitum* : *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 197). In his attempt to defend Buddhapālita against the attack of Bhāvaviveka (for which see p. 5 of his commentary to *Madhyamakaśāstra* and the pages following), Candrakīrti clearly states that the Mādhyamika standpoint is in the line of *prāsaṅgika* method :

'*Prasaṅgaviparītena cārthena parasyaiva sambandho nāsmākaṁ, svapratijñāyā abhāvāt. Tataś ca siddhāntavirodhasaṁbhavaḥ. Parasya ca yāvad bahavo doṣāḥ prasaṅgaviparītāpattyā āpādyante tāvad asmābhīṣyate eveti. Kuto nu khalu aviparītācāryanāgārjuna-matānusārinaḥ ācāryabuddhapālitasya sāvakāśavacanābhidhāyitvam, yato'sya paro'vakāśam labheta ? Niḥsvabhāvavādinā sasvabhāvavādinaḥ prasaṅge āpadyamāne kutaḥ prasaṅgaviparītārthaprasaṅgitā ? Nahiśabdāḥ daṇḍapāśikā iva vaktāram asvatantrayati, kim tarhi satyāṁ śaktau vaktur vivakṣām anuvidhīyante. Tataś ca parapratijñāpratiṣedhamātraphalatvāt prasaṅgāpādanasya nāsti prasaṅgaviparītārthā pattiḥ. Tathā ca ācāryo-bhūyasā prasaṅgāpattimukhenaiva parapakṣaṁ nirākaroti sma*' (pp. 7–8).

It is Candrakīrti who has explained fully the implication of the difficult and unintelligible verses of Nāgārjuna, which are often couched in a vague language. He quotes extensively from different texts of Buddhist philosophy, specially of the Mādhyamika school, in his attempt to explain the *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna and it may safely be stated that the proper significance of the Mādhyamika doctrine would have remained hazy but for the commentatorial expositions of Candrakīrti. It has been rightly observed that 'the commentator ācārya Candrakīrti is in no way less learned than the distinguished Ārya Nāgārjuna, the author of the original work.' (S.C. Vidyabhūṣana, 'History of the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna' in *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, IV, 1897, p.7.)

In the introductory portion of the text Candrakīrti takes up very critically the significance of the word

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2 For detailed list of texts of Bhavya or Bhāvaviveka see the supplementary notes, p. 401 of *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, translated from Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyay and edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyay, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1970. The *Madhyamārthasaṃgraha* of Bhāvaviveka has been restored from the Tibetan version with an English translation by Pandit N. Ayyaswami Sastri, in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. V. Part i, 1931, pp. 41–9.

3. Buddhapālita is the author of *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (*mDo*, xvii, 20)—Tibetan version printed partly in *BB*. Vide *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, trsl. 1970, p. 186.

pratītyasamutpāda and interprets it as Dependent Origination, i.e., manifestation of (separated entities as relative to their causes and conditions: (*tataś ca hetupratyayāpekṣo bhāvānāṃ utpādaḥ pratītyasamutpādārthaḥ*, p. 2). Here he comments on the interpretation of the word by the Theravādī teachers (e.g., Śrīlabha) as also by Bhāvaviveka (though he does not mention them by name).[4]

It is only through his scholastic interpretation that one may grasp the implication of the *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna. Thus, while explaining the *Kārikās* on causality he marshals an array of arguments. In the interpretation of *na svato nāpi parato*.. (*Madhyamakaśāstra*, 1.3.), he refers to his own text:

Tasmād dhi tasya bhavane na guṇo'sti kaścij
jātasya janma punar eva ca naiva yuktaṃ

(*Madhyamakāvatāra*, vi, 8).

While making a reference to the view of Buddhapālita and its comments by Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti rightly presents the viewpoint of the Mādhyamikas that their method consists in producing a contrathesis and the balancing two conflicting views without admitting either of them:

'*Na ca mādhyamikasya sataḥ svatantram anumānaṃ kartuṃ yuktaṃ pakṣāntarābhyupagamābhāvāt* (*Madhyamakaśāstra*, p. 5).

In his proposition he quotes from Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartanī* (*v.* 29) and Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (xvi, 25).

Candrakīrti refers to the Vijñānavāda doctrine and refutes their viewpoint. According to the doctrine of the Vijñānavāda, consciousness can exist without the object itself. Through its own potentiality (*śakti*), consciousness may be stated as giving rise to varied contents. It is self-determining and is governed by its own laws of development, it is creative of the object. Moreover, it is self-luminous and self-known (*svasaṃvittiḥ*).

'*Tathā taraṅgā mahatomburāśeḥ*
samīraṇapreraṇayodbhavanti
tathālayākhyād api sarvābijād
vijñānamātram bhavati svaśakteḥ'

(*Madhyamakāvatāra*, vi, 46).

The principal criticism against this view is that knowing consciousness cannot function in the absence of an object. If the objects are unreal what is it that is known? *Citta*, being empty, cannot cognise itself. It has to work on something, a mere form cannot provide the content. The sharpest sword cannot cut itself. The fingertip cannot touch itself. Similarly *citta* cannot know itself. (Candrakīrti's commentary on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, 1.3, p. 21). On the argument that the Buddha himself has mentioned the *vijñāna*, Candrakīrti observes that this has been instructed by the Buddha as a preparatory step leading to the doctrine of *śūnyatā*. They are *neyārtha* (secondary in import) and not *nītārtha* (ultimate teaching). (Candrakīrti's com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xv, 11).

His mode of exposition helps us to understand the Mādhyamika standpoint clearly. Thus, while explaining the stand taken by Nāgārjuna with respect to the categories, Candrakīrti explains that if the phenomenal point of view is adhered to, the concept of activity and the agent may be tenable. But from the noumenal point of view unreality of everything is to be understood. (Candrakīrti's com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, iii, 5.).

While explaining the position of the Mādhyamikas as pointed out by Nāgārjuna (xv, 7), Candrakīrti brings out the significance of the statement of Nāgārjuna. The nature of the reality is neither *bhava* nor *abhava*.

The term '*śūnya*' used by the Mādhyamikas may be responsible for the criticism that the system is not different from nihilism. No absolutism, however, can escape this charge. Śaṅkara himself observes that Brahman is often, misunderstood as *śūnya* by persons of meagre intellect because of the reason that he is devoid of empirical determinations:

Digdeśaguṇagatiphalabhedaśūnyaṁ hi paramārthasad advayam brahma mandabuddhīnām asad iva pratibhāti.

(Commentary of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, viii, 1).

Candrakīrti observes that the term *śūnya* as applied by the non-Buddhists in the sense of nihilism, has its special significance with the Buddhists (Com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv, 7).

He speaks of *śūnyatā* as *prapañcanivṛttisvabhāva* and explains it clearly in the light of Nāgārjuna's (*Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv, 18).

Yat pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatāṃ taṃ
pracakṣmahe

4 pp 2–3; see also Th. Stcherbatsky, *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, revised and enlarged edition, Varanasi, pp. 121 ff.

Sa prajñaptir upādāya pratipat saiva madhyamā and a *gāthā :*

Yaḥ pratyayair jāyati sa hy ajāto
na tasya utpādu svabhāvato' sti
yaḥ pratyayādhīnu sa śūnyu ukto
yaḥ śūnyatāṁ jānati so'pramattaḥ

He is clear in his exposition that the term *śūnyatā* should never be understood in the sense of negation (loc. cit.).

He explains the reason as to why *śūnyatā* has been interpreted as synonymous with *Pratītya-samutpāda*. According to him origination through dependence on causes and conditions amounts to non-origination by nature, which is nothing other than *śūnyatā :*

'*Yo'yam pratītyasamutpādo hetupratyayān apekṣya aṅkura Vijñānādīnāṃ prādurbhāvaḥ, sa svabhāvenānutpādaḥ yaś ca svabhāvenānutpādo bhāvānāṃ sa śūnyatā.*'

In support he quotes from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (p. 76, Nanjio's Ed.) : '*Svabhāvānutpattiṃ sandhāya mahāmate sarvadharmāḥ śūnyā iti mayā deśitaḥ,*' and the *Dvardhaśatikā :* '*śūnyaḥ sarvadharmā niḥsvabhāvayogena.*'

In a very lucid way Candrakīrti brings out the import of several synonyms of *śūnyatā* as *upādāya* (*prajñapti*) and *madhyamā pratipat* (Com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv, 18).

Candrakīrti very prudently and critically analyses the positions of the Mādhyamikas in respect of the concept of the absolute. Being devoid of any attribute of its own it may be indicated by any ascribed mark :

'*Anakṣarasya dharmasya śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca kā śrūyate deśyate cāpi samāropād anakṣaraḥ*'

(Text of Buddha's saying quoted by Candrakīrti in his com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xv, 2 ; cp. *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxii, 11).

The true nature of the absolute is brought into light through the removal of the superimposed character. The phenomena have their utility in the sense that they may be used as devices for the understanding of the real nature of the absolute :

'*Tasmān nirvāṇādnigamopāyatvād avaśyam eva. yathāvasthitā saṃvṛtir ādāv evābhyupeyā bhājanam iva salilārthineti.*'

(Commentary on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv, 10)

Candrakīrti explains in the clearest possible terms that *śūnyatā* is the reality of the apparent (*dharmānāṃ dharmatā*). In his words :

'*Yadi khalu tad adhyāropād bhavadbhir astīty ucyate kīdṛśaṁ tat ? yā sā dharmānāṁ dharmatā nāma, saiva tatsvarūpaṃ. atha keyaṁ dharmānāṁ dharmatā ? dharmānāṁ svabhāvaḥ. ko'yam svabhāvaḥ ? prakṛtiḥ kā ceyam prakṛtiḥ ? yeyaṁ śūnyatā. keyam śūnyatā ? naiḥsvābhāvyaṃ. kim idaṃ naiḥsvābhāvyaṃ ? tathatā ? keyaṃ tathatā ? tathābhāvo' vikāritvaṃ sadaiva sthāyitā. Sarvathā-nutpādā eva agnyādīnāṁ paranirapekṣatvād akṛtrimatvāt svabhāva ity ucyate*' (com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xv, 2).

In his highly scholastic commentary Candrakīrti expounds the significance and importance of the two types of truth—*Saṃvṛtisatya* and the *Pārmārthikasatya* (see his commentary on the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv, 8–12). In categorical terms he declares that the *Madhyamakaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna has been composed on the basis of the recognition of these two types of truth :

'*Ata evedaṃ madhyamakaśāstraṃ praṇītaṃ ācāryeṇa neyanītārtha-sūtrāntavibhāgopadarśanārtham*'—(Com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, i, 3: see also the colophon of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*).

'*Samāptaṃ cedaṃ madhyamakaśāstraṃ sakala-laukikalokottara-pravacana-nīta - neyārthavyākhyāna-naipuṇyaviśāradaṃ. . . . iti.*'

With reference to the final end of life which, according to the Mādhyamikas, is possible only through *śūnyatā* (*muktis tu śūnyatādṛṣtes tadarthā-śeṣabhāvanā*—a text attributed to Nāgārjuna in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*, p. 438, *BI.*), the question of Nirvāṇa has been raised. Candrakīrti in his exposition has very lucidly placed before us an idea of two types of Nirvāṇa—*Sopadhiśeṣa*, a Nirvāṇa at lifetime, being an annihilation with some residual substratum, and *Nirupadhiśeṣa*, final Nirvāṇa, being an annihilation without any residue. Candrakīrti very nicely compares this state to that of a town in which all the criminal gangs have been executed. The second one has also been compared to a village which itself is also destroyed after the execution of all the criminal gangs (Com. on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxv, 1.).

While explaining the Mādhyamika concept of Nirvāṇa as presented by Nāgārjuna (*Kārikā*, xxv, 3), Candrakīrti demonstrates his sound knowledge when he speaks of Nirvāṇa as 'undefinable essence, which can neither be extinguished as, e.g., a desire, nor can it be attained as, e.g., a reward for renunciation ; which neither can be annihilated, as, e.g., all the active elements of our life, nor is it everlasting, as a non-relative absolute principle ; which cannot really disappear, nor can it be created ; that some-

thing which consists in the quintessence of all Plurality, that is Nirvāṇa.

In this way it may be shown that the destructive dialectics of Nāgārjuna could not have been comprehended properly but for the scholastic manner in which Candrakīrti has explained them.

Candrakīrti's maturity of thought and skilful technique of interpreting the often unintelligible *Kārikās* of the Mādhyamika school, specially of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, are exhibited in his *Vṛtti* on the *Catuḥśataka* of Āryadeva. So far as the technique adopted by the celebrated commentator in the first seven chapters of the *Catuḥśataka* is concerned, it may be stated that Candrakīrti here takes to a *kāvya* style utilising similes and metaphors every now and then to make his point highly intelligible and interesting.[5] It is of interest to note that this method of exposition has not been adopted by this commentator elsewhere in his commentaries.

It would indeed be a difficult task to follow Āryadeva without the easy and scholastic guidance of Candrakīrti's *Vṛtti*. Thus on Āryadeva's :

Sad sat sadasac ceti nobhayaṁ ceti kathyate
Nanu vyādhivaśāt sarvam auṣadhaṁ nāma jāyate

(*Catuḥśataka*, viii, 20).

Candrakīrti's interpretation is clear :

'*Sarvabhavadarśanamalakṣalanaya bhagavatā vineyebhyah sad iti kathitam. Sarvabhavābhiniveśaprahanāyasad iti kathitam. Ubhayākaradarśanatyājāya sasad ity aveditam. Sarvākāraprapañcocchedāya nobhayam iti prakāśitam.*'

Candrakīrti's sound knowledge of different viewpoints of Brahmanical philosophers is demonstrated in his *Vṛtti* of the *Catuḥśataka*. This is evident from the *prima facie* positions that he points out by way of exposition of the *Kārikās* of Āryadeva. He thus refers to and refutes clearly the views of the *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Sāṅkhyas*, etc. The *Vaiśeṣika* concept of the atom that has been the object of attack of the Mādhyamikas, specially of Āryadeva, has been explained by Candrakīrti in his *Vṛtti*. Thus, the argument presented by Āryadeva in his *Catuḥśataka:*

Hetor yat pārimaṇḍalyaṁ phale tan naiva vidyate
Yogaḥ sarvātmanā tasmād aṇūnāṁ nopapadyate

(ix, 13).

may be understood only when the position of the opponent is lucidly presented. Accordingly Candrakīrti here expounds :

'*Hetutvaṃ pārimaṇḍalyam apradeśatvaṃ ceti paramāṇudravyasya lakṣaṇam. Yadi paramāṇuḥ sarvātmanā paramāṇvantarena yujyate na pradeśena tadā hetuḥ. Paramāṇuvṛtti yat pārimāṇḍalyaṃ tat phale dvyaṇukādāv api prasajyate. Tena sarveṣām avayavīnāṃ paramāṇumātratvād atīndriyatvaṁ bhavati. Na tu teṣāṁ paramāṇumātratvam. Tena paramāṇunām sarvātmanā yogo nopadyate.*'

In the exposition of the refutation of the doctrine of soul as made by Āryadeva in his *Catuḥsataka*, Candrakīrti demonstrates his knowledge of different branches of learning, specially in the field of philosophy of the Brahmanical schools. Thus, while explaining the doctrine of soul of the opponents which has been refuted by Āryadeva, Candrakīrti presents in the simplest possible language the views of the schools thus :

'*Dvividhaṃ hy ātmānaṃ varṇayanti tīrthikā yad utāntarātmānaṃ bahir ātmānaṃ ca. Tatrāntarātmā nāma yaḥ śarīrāgārāntar vyavavasthitaḥ śarirendriyasaṅghātas tatra tatra pravartayitāntarvyāpārapuruṣo jagadahaṅkāranibandhanaḥ kuśalādikarmaphalopabhoktā pratitantram anekavikalpabhedabhinnaḥ. Bahirātmā tu dehendriyasaṅghātarūpo' ntarātmana upakārī. . . . . .*' (Introductory commentary on x, i).

In his explanation of the verse (x, 3) of *Catuḥśataka*, the explanation offered by Candrakīrti is clear and convincing :

'*Itaś cātmā svarūpato nāsti. Yadi ātmā svarūpataḥ syāt sa yathaikasyāhaṃkārasyālambanaṃ syāt sarveṣāṃ apy ahaṁkārasyālambanaṃ syāt. Na hi loke agner auṣṇyam svabhāvaḥ kasyacid anauṣṇyam bhavati. Evam ātmā yadi svarūpataḥ syāt sarveṣām ātmeti syād ahaṃkāraviṣayaś ca.*'

The position of the commentator is clearer in his attempt to present both the viewpoints very clearly. In presenting the position of those who hold the view in favour of *ātmā* he says :

'*Yadyātmā na svarūpeṇa siddhaḥ tadā dehasya ceṣṭāsaṅkocanaprasārādīnāṃ kaḥ pravartayitā. Na hy acālako rathaś calati. Tasmād avaśyam eva rathacālakadevadattavad dehaceṣṭāhetuḥ kaścid antaḥkaraṇapuruṣo' bhyupetavyaḥ.*'

He states in his explanation that such a position is not tenable. Thus on *Catuḥśataka* (x, 5) he observes :

Ratho hi kenacid asparśavatā padārthena prerayituṃ na śakyate. Sparśavato hi sā preraṇā.

5 For a detailed discussion on the style of Candrakīrti see the present writer's article in the *Jagajyoti*, Annual Number, Calcutta, 1972.

Bhavadbhiḥ parīkṣita ātmāpi na spṛśavān kālavad dehābhāvāt. Kasyāpy asparśavatā kenacit padārthena sparśo na bhavati. Yadaitad evaṃ tadā kuto dehaceṣṭāhetutvenāsya sadbhāvānumānam asparśavato' smādbhāvāt preraṇā ca. . . . . anyac cāyam ātmā pradeśābhāvān na spṛśavān. Yo'pradeśa na tasya saṃyogaḥ. Saṃyogavirahitasya ca preraṇā na bhavatīti na kriyāvattvena tatsabhāvo'-bhyupagantuṃ yujyate.

In chapter xi Candrakīrti clearly explains the position of the Sāṁkhya school of thought which has been refuted by Āryadeva. It would be clear if the passage explaining the situation is cited in the original because that will show how far Candrakīrti was successful in depicting the Mādhyamika position against the logic of the then predominant Brahmanical school :

Tatra satkāryāsatkāryavādinor ubhayor api darśane hetunā phalasiddhir aśakyety abhivyañja-yannāha—

Stambhādīnām alaṃkāro gṛhasyārthe nirarthakaḥ
Satkāryaṃ eva yasyeṣṭam yasyāsatkāryam eva ca

(*Catuḥśataka*, xi, 15).

Sāṁkhyavaibhāṣikau satkāryavādināv eva. Sāṁkhyadarśane yat sat tad evāsti, yan na tan nāsty eva. Asato'nutpattiḥ sataś cāvināśa ity abhyupagamaḥ. Tatrāsadakaraṇād upādānagrahaṇāc chaktasya śakyakaraṇāc cetyādinā sad eva kāryaṁ jāyate. Asatkāryavādaś cet sarvataḥ sarvasambhavaḥ syāt. Na cedam evāsti. Tasmāt sad eva kāryam jāyate iti. Vaibhāṣiko'pi svabhāvānudbhutād udbhavaprāptibhiḥ kālatraye'pi sad eva kalpayati. Vaiśeṣikasautrāntikau [illegible] vādino'satkārya [illegible]vādinaḥ. Na hi sataḥ [illegible] sad eva kāryam [illegible]ata iti [illegible].

With these introductory remarks Candrakīrti very ably explains the position of Āryadeva as contained in the verse quoted above.

Tasmād anayor dvayor vādinoḥ satkāryavādinas tāvad gṛhārthaṃ yaḥ sthambhadvārakavātādīnāṃ alaṃkāro markaṭavihaṅgādiviśeṣakhacitasvarūpah sa na yujyate. Tasya kāryasya gṛhasya sattvāt. Prakārāntarasādhyatvābhyupagame cāsatkāryavādaprasaṅgāt. Yasyāsatkāryavādas tasyāpi darśane stambhādyalaṃkārasya yathoktaprayojanābhāva eva. Tasya kāryasyāsattvāt. Asau hi bandhyāputro na śakyaḥ kenāpi niṣpādayitum. Evaṃ asatkāryavāde'pi kāryam gṛhaṃ na siddhyati.

In the concluding verse of the *Catuḥśataka*, Āryadeva presents the Mādhyamika viewpoint :

Sad asat sadasac ceti yasya pakṣo na vidyate
Upālambhas cireṇāpi tasya vaktum na śakyate

(xvi, 25)

It is Candrakīrti who has very creditably pointed out the implication of the verse in the following lines :

Sati hi pakṣaparigrahe'nyathāsiddher mahatā kālena cireṇa tasya dūṣanaṃ sambhavati. Yasya tu sadasadubhayapakṣaprahāṇena pakṣaparigraha eva nāsti tasya sadasadubhayapakṣaprahāṇāc cireṇāpi dūṣaṇaṁ vaktum na śakyate. Ākāśasya rūpavattvaṃ sampratam na sambhavatīti cireṇāpi kālena sambhāvayituṃ na śakyate. Evaṃ vādibhir api tadāśrapakṣatrayasambhavāc chūnyatāvādadūṣaṇaṃ cireṇāpi vaktuṁ na śakyate. Paṇḍitair hi śūnyatāvādadūṣaṇaṃ ākāśacitrāyaḥpratimayor ārtivad avagantavyam. Yathā navasi sūryakiraṇasamūhena nirastais timirais cireṇāpi kālena sa śyāmīkartuṁ na śakyate evaṁgambhīrodārācintyapratītyasamutpādabhāvanāvagamasūryakiraṇena sakalavādisamayatimirāṇi nirasyanta ity avagantavyam.

From an analysis of the two commentaries by Candrakīrti, one on the *Madhyamakaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna and the other on the *Catuḥśataka* of Āryadeva, it may be stated that in the former Candrakīrti demonstrates his deep knowledge of the Buddhist texts which he quotes every now and then to substantiate his point.[6] In his commentary to the *Catuḥśataka* he does not refer to other texts as he does here.

The Tibetan sources reveal that Candrakīrti wrote commentaries on Nāgārjuna's *Śūnyatāsaptati* (Candrakīrti refers to it in his commentary on *Madhyamakaśāstra*, p. 31) and *Yuktisaṣṭika*. Great value should be attached to his independent work *Madhyamakāvatāra* which has been commented on by himself. Unfortunately, the text is lost in the original. The text has been translated into French by Poussin in *Le Museon* in 1907, 1910 and 1911. The Tibetan text was published in *BB*. series. There is a commentary named *Arthaprakāśikā* on this by Jayānanda of Kaśmīr. Extracts from Jayānanda's commentary on the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, chap. iv have been re-translated into Sanskrit from the Tibetan version by N. Ayyaswami, in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VI, pt. ii, 1932, pp. 171 ff. Jayānanda's commentary as it stands in the Tibetan translation, serves two objects. In the first place it explains very well the meaning of the passages of the text (*mūla*) which are otherwise unintelligible ; in addition

6 For a detailed list of the authorities quoted in the commentary of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, vide S.C Vidyabhuṣana 'History of the Mādhyamika Philosophy of Nāgārjuna,' in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, pt. iv, 1897, pp. 19–20.

to that it discusses at length now and then the important topics independently and secondly it supplies the valuable different readings of the Tibetan version of the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, e.g., *Tatra samādhiyate, yathā laukikaṃ pramāṇaṃ tathā āgamo'pi pramāṇam, tathā hi.* Pandit N. Aiyaswami Sastri has restored into Sanskrit chapter iv along with the commentary of the text (in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1929) but it is incomplete. Two other *Prakaraṇas*, namely, *Madhyamakaprajñāvatāra* and *Pañcaskandha* are also attributed to him in the Tanjur collection (*Mdo*, xxiii, 5 and xxiv, 3).[7]

In his commentary of the *Madhyamakaśāstra* Candrakīrti very often refers to his *Madhyamakāvatāra*. But the references are mainly from the sixth chapter of the text. In one of the verses he explains the proposition of Nāgārjuna (*Na svato* etc. *Madhyamakaśāstra*, i, 3) that the origination of an object from its own self does not carry any meaning :

Tasmād hi tasya bhavane na guṇo'sti kaścit
Jātasya janma punar eva na caiva yuktam

(*Madhyamakāvatāra*, vi. 8)

In the introductory portion of the xviiith chapter of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, Candrakīrti by way of explaining the doctrine (of the Mādhyamikas) refers to his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, vi, 120). In his explanation of *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xviii, 1, regarding refutation of the theory of soul (*ātmaparīkṣā*) Candrakīrti refers to his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, (vi, 127–8). In this context he refers to the views of the heretics regarding the soul :

Ātma tīrthyaiḥ kalpyate nityarūpo'py akartā bhoktā nirguṇo niṣkriyaś ca

Kaṃ cit kaṃ cid vedam āśritya tasya bhedaṃ yātā prakrīyā tīrthikānām

(vi, 141)

He often refers to this text and does not dilate on further on the ground that the point has already been discussed in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. See further MĀDHYAMIKA, VIJÑĀNAVĀDA.

H. Ct.

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CANDRAMĀLĀ-TANTRARĀJA, the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the *Dpal-zla-baḥi phreṃ-baḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* occurring in the Rgyud (Tantra) section of the Kangyur. The author of the work is unknown. Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes are mentioned as its translators (*TT*. Vol. 3, No. 40 ; *TM*. No. 395). The Mongolian edition of this text is mentioned in the '*Catalogue du Kanjur, Mongol Imprimé*' (ed. Louis Ligeti, New Delhi, 1964, No. 39).

The author's first salutation is addressed to Vajrasattva. The names of Vajrasattva, Heruka and the goddess Tārā are mentioned in this Tantric text.

I. K.

CANDRĀNANA, name of a former Buddha mentioned in the *Samādhirājasūtra* (ed. Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Calcutta, 1896, p. 57).

CANDRAPADMA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 137).

CANDRAPRABHA (1), name of a former Buddha given in a group of former Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja (*Svyū.* 6).

CANDRAPRABHA (2), two previous incarnations of Śākyamuni, so named because their bodies were shinning (*prabha*) like the moon (*candra*).

The first was a cakravartin king of Jambudvīpa in the Uttarāpatha who gave his own head to a brāhman called Candrākṣa (who was identified as Devadatta), and was reborn in the Deva-world called Śubhakṛtsna (*Lal.* p. 119 ; *Rpp.* p. 23 ; *Divy.* pp. 314–28).

The other was the son of a *śreṣṭhin* in the city of Utpalāvatī. (In his previous birth he was known as Rūpavata, q.v.) At the age of eight, he went to a cemetery and cut his own body with a sharp weapon and spread butter and honey over it. A bird living in the same cemetery came to him and started extracting his right eye and, replacing it. In the process, Candraprabha died and was reborn in a brāhman family in the same city; he was named Brahmaprabha (*Divy.* p. 474 ff.).

U. K.

7. For a detailed list of works attributed to Candrakīrti in the bstan-'gyur (Tanjur), vide Supplementary Notes, pp. 401–2 of *Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Simla, 1970. Translated into English from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopādhyāya, ed. Debiprasad Chattopādhyāy.

CANDRAPRABHA (3), name of a bodhisattva mentioned in Mahāyāna sūtras. He is also called Candraprabha-kumāra, Candraprabha-bodhisattva, or Chan-lo-fa (the reconstructed form of the name is unknown), and was the son of a millionaire at Rājagaha whose name was Shên-jih, Chan-lo-jih, or Śrīgupta. The difference of each person's name depends on the version.

According to the *(Fu-shuo-)yüeh-kuang-t'ung-tzŭ-ching*, a classical Chinese version of the *Candraprabha-kumāra-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 534, Vol. 14, p. 815a ff.), once when the Buddha was staying at Rājagṛha, the six heretic teachers of those days such as Pūraṇa-kāśyapa and others, feeling jealous of the gradually increasing prosperity of the Buddha's teaching, plotted against his life with Shên-jih, a millionaire and a minister at that place. Shên-jih planned to slay the Buddha by means of a fire-pit and a poisonous meal, and invited the Buddha to his residence. Being aware of the plot, the Buddha pitied him for his hopeless stupidity and accepted his invitation. At that time, his son, Candraprabha, 16 years of age, was sagacious and upright enough to remonstrate with his father, praising the virtue and the indestructible body of the Buddha. Without listening to the son's advice, the father sent a messenger to welcome the Buddha. The Buddha, decorated with various ornaments which appeared by his magic power and surrounded by bodhisattvas and followers, approached Shên-jih's residence. As soon as he reached there, the fire-pit turned into a beautiful bathing pond. The millionaire was very surprised and regretted for what he had done, while the six heretic teachers ran away in shame. The Buddha then, preached the Dharma to the millionaire who immediately gained belief in the Dharma.

Besides the above story, there is the following legend which states the reappearance of Candraprabha as a Chinese: In the *(Fu-shuo–)shên-jih-ching*, a classical Chinese translation of the *Candraprabha-kumāra-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 535, Vol. 14, p. 819a & b), it is described that the Buddha declared to Ānanda his prediction regarding Candraprabha, "1,000 years after my death, my teaching will fall into decay. At that time Candraprabha will appear as a wise lord in China and will make my teaching flourish again: because of his effort, the people in China and some other surrounding countries (several names are mentioned) will respect the Buddha; believe in the Dharma; and become Bhikkhus."

In the *(Fu-shuo-)tê-hu-ch'ang-chê-ching*, a classical Chinese translation of the *Candraprabha-kumārasūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 545, Vol. 14, p. 849b), the following passage is also found: Candraprabha will return as a Chinese king named Ta-hsing make all his people believe in the Buddha's teaching and lead them to good Buddhist lives.

In addition to the above two, in the *(Fu-shuo-)pao-yü-ching*, the classical Chinese translation of the *Ratanamegha-sūtra* (*Taishō*, No. 660, Vol. 16, p. 284 b), a similar tale concerning Candraprabha's reappearance in China occurs, though it is not exactly the same as those of the first two. See CANDRAPRABHA-KUMĀRA-SŪTRA. (*Moc.* Vol. 1, p. 758 b & c, etc.).

Candraprabha is mentioned as the chief interlocutor of the Buddha in the *Samādhirāja Sūtra* (*Srs.* chapter 8, §. 1; ch. 19, §. 1, 37; ch. 22, §. 1, 7).

The name Candraprabha occurs in a list of ninety-two bodhisattvas in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, ii). According to the *Sādhanamālā*, he stands in the southern direction on the occasion of *Mañjuśrīsādhana* (*Sādh.* I, p. 96). He is also mentioned in connection with the *Arapacana-sādhana* (*Sādh.* I, p. 114).

S.Mo.

CANDRAPRABHA (4), name of a nāga-king mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*Mhm.* p. 264; *BHS.* p. 224).

CANDRAPRABHA (5), name of the yakṣa who showed Supriya, the caravan-leader, the way how the crystal-rock could be climbed over (*Divy.* pp. 113-4).

He is identified with the monk Aniruddha, and Supriya with Śākyamuni (ibid. p. 122).

CANDRAPRABHĀ, queen of Rudrāyaṇa, the king of Roruka (*Divy.* p. 545). When the nun Śailā visited Roruka and preached to the women in the harem, the king used to play the lute and the queen danced. While doing this, the king noticed signs of the queen's impending death and revealed it to her. The queen felt remorse and, with the permission of the king, entered the Order of nuns under Śailā, and started meditating. On the seventh day she died and was reborn in the Cāturmahārājika deva-world. She visited the Buddha immediately afterwards and, on listening to his preaching, attained to the first fruit of the path (*sotāpattiphala*). Then she visited Rudrāyaṇa, her husband in previous life, and told him that if he wanted to join her

he should renounce the world under the Buddha. With these words she disappeared (*Divy.* pp. 553 ff.).

U.K.

CANDRAPRABHA-BODHISATTVA-SŪTRA, (var. *Candraprabha-avadāna-sūtra*), known in Chinese as (*Fu-shuo-*) *yüeh-kuang-p'u-sa-ching* occurs in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This was translated in 1001. A.C. by Fa-Hsien (*Nanjio*, No. 852 and *Taishō*, No. 166). The fifth chapter of *Taishō*, No. 153 is similar to this sūtra(cp. *Nanjio*, No. 1357).

It was translated into Tibetan by Dharmaśrībhadra and Śes-rab-legs under the title, *Zla ḥod-kyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa*, and was later revised by Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (*TM.* No. 348).

S.K.N.

CANDRAPRABHA-KUMĀRA-SŪTRA, reconstructed name of a Mahāyāna-sūtra. Although its Sanskrit original is lost today, the following three (or four) classical Chinese versions of the sūtra still remain :

(1) the (*Fu-shuo-*) *yueh-kuang-t'ung-tzŭ-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 534, Vol. 14, p. 815a ff.) translated by Dharmarakṣa in the western Chin dynasty (265–361 A.C.).

(2) the (*Fu-shuo-*)*shên-jih-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 535, Vol. 14, p. 817 c ff.) translated by Dharmarakṣa.

(3) the *Shên-jih-êrh-pên-ching* (*Taishō*, No. 536, Vol. 14, p. 819b ff.) translated by Guṇabhadra (394–468 A.C.) in the Sung dynasty.

Of the above three versions, the second seems to be translated not by Dharmarakṣa but by Chih-ch'ien in the 3rd cent. A. C. . The editor of the *Taishō* Tripiṭaka insists upon this opinion (*Taishō*, Vol. 14 , p. 817 c. & 819 b), depending on the statement of the *K'ai-yüan-shih-shih-chiao-lu* (*Taishō*, No.2154, Vol. 55, p. 596b), which is the most authentic and complete catalogue of the classical Chinese Tripiṭaka in those days edited by Chih-shêng in 730.

(4) the (*Fu-shuo-tê-*) *hu-ch'ang-chê-ching* (reconstructed title in the *Hōbōgirin* : *Śrīgupta-sūtra*, *Taishō*. No. 545, Vol. 14, p. 840) translated by Narendrayaśas (517-589) in the Sui dynasty.

Notwithstanding the fact that the index of the *Taishō* Tripiṭaka (*Hōbōgirin*) does not mention this fourth work as a translation of this sūtra, and even the contents of this work are enlarged in some degree with some difference from the other three, it may be regarded as being based on a common original. In this connection, the *K'ai-yüan-shih-chiao-lu* mentioned above, had already indicated the same point of view (*Taishō*, Vol. 55, pp. 489 c, 596 b). The following is the Tibetan version to be concordant with the fourth :

(*Ḥphags-pa-*) *Ḥdal-sbas-shes-bya-baḥi mdo* (*Ārya-Śrīgupta-nāma-sūtra*, *TM.* No. 217) translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde.

As regards the story in the sūtra, in spite of each version not being in exact accord with the others, its outline may roughly be described as follows : Once when the Buddha was staying together with many disciples at Rājagṛha, a millionaire called Shê-jih Chan-lo-jih or Śrīgupta (these differences depend on the versions) planned to take the Buddha's life by various means such as giving him a poisonous meal, enticing him to a fire-pit and so on, at the instigation of some other religious leaders who nursed jealousy against the Buddha. Although one Candraprabha or Chan-lo-fa clever and faithful son of the millionaire, at the age of 16, remonstrated with the father on his folly, the father was about to carry it out. But using his magic power, the Buddha frustrated his wicked design, and preached his teachings to the millionaire. He became an excellent Buddhist See CANDRAPRABHA (3).

S. Mo.

CANDRAPRABHĀSĀ, one of the five hundred female lay-devotees who visited Mañjuśrī. Mahāprajñā was their leader (*Gvyū.* p. 51).

CANDRAPRABHĀSVARARĀJA, a series of twenty times one hundred crores of former Buddhas. See CANDRASVARARĀJA.

CANDRAPRABHĀVADĀNA. See CANDRAPRABHA-BODHISATTVA-SŪTRA.

CANDRAPRADĪPA, a samādhi or a concentration of mind mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. It is one among many samādhis the bodhisattva Gadgadasvara has attained (*Sdmp.* pp. 352, 353).

CANDRAPRADĪPA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit text better known as *Samādhirāja-sūtra* (q. v.).

CANDRARĀJALEKHA, a Sanskrit text which has not been found in its original, but which is extant in its Tibetan translation under the title, *Rgyal-po-zla-ba-la spriṅs-paḥi spriṅ-yig*. It belongs to the Spriṅ-yig (*lekha*, literary-) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, where the author's name is given as Śrījagaṇmitrānanda. It is said that the

author himself translated the work into Tibetan with the help of Gnubs Tshul-khrims śes-rab (Śīlaprajñā : *TM.* No. 4189 ; *Cordier.* III, p. 430, No. 34).

H. G. A. v. Z.

CANDRĀRKADĪPA, a former Buddha. See CANDRASŪRYAPRADĪPA (1).

CANDRASKANDHĀRCITABRAHMAN, a bodhisattva mentioned in a long list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra.* Māyā claims maternity to all the bodhisattvas in the list (*Gvyū.* p. 443).

CANDRAŚRĪ, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana (*Gvyū.* p. 4).

CANDRAŚUBHA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139).

CANDRASŪRYAJIḤMĪKARAṆA, name of a former Buddha given in a group of former Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja (*Svyū.* p. 5).

CANDRASŪRYAJIḤMĪKARAPRABHA, a Tathāgata living in the world-system (*lokadhātu*) called Sūryāvartā in the north (*Lal.* p 292).

CANDRASŪRYAPRADĪPA (1), name of a former Buddha, who is said to have expounded the *dharmaparyāya* called the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.*

The account given in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* says that the Tathāgata Candrasūryapradīpa when a young prince, after expounding the *dharmaparyāya* called the *Mahānirdeśa,* sat cross-legged and entered upon the mental concentration called *anantanirdeśa-pratiṣṭhāna.* His body became motionless and his mind reached perfect tranquillity. As soon as he entered that state of concentration, there fell a great rain of divine flowers covering him and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha-field (*Buddhakṣetra*) shook. A ray that sprang from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Buddha extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all these Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance. There were twenty crores of bodhisattvas following the Buddha. One of these bodhisattvas was Varaprabha, and it was to this Varaprabha that the Buddha, on rising from his concentration, revealed the *dharmaparyāya* called the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.* He spoke it for sixty intermediate aeons (*antarakalpa*) always sitting on the same seat with immovable body and tranquil mind. The whole gathering continued sitting on the same seats, listening to the preaching of the Buddha for sixty intermediate aeons ; there being not a single creature in that assembly who felt fatigue of body or mind. While expounding the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* he announced his Parinirvāṇa, saying : "Today, O monks, this very night, in the middle watch, will the Tathāgata, by entering the element of absolute Nirvāṇa, become wholly extinct." Then he predestined the bodhisattva Śrīgarbha to supreme Enlightenment, saying ; "O monks, the bodhisattva, Śrīgarbha shall, immediately after me, attain supreme Enlightenment and become the Tathāgata Vimalanetra." Immediately after that, he became extinct by entering the element of absolute Nirvāṇa. (*Sdmp.* pp. 16 ff.). He is called Candrārkadīpa in the verse-account (*Sdmp.* p. 25).

U.K.

CANDRASŪRYAPRADĪPA (2), name of a Buddha living in the southern direction (*Svyū.* p. 97).

CANDRASŪRYAVIMALAPRABHĀSAŚRĪ, name of a former Buddha mentioned in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.* He had a great assembly of eighty crores of bodhisattvas and an assembly of disciples equal in number to the sands of seventy-two Ganges rivers. His spiritual rule was exempt from the female sex, and his Buddha-field had no hell, no brute creation, no ghosts, no demons ; it was level, neat, smooth as the palm of the hand. Its floor was made of heavenly lapis lazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), and was adorned with trees of jewel and sandalwood, inlaid with a multitude of jewels, hung with long bands of silk, and scented by censers made of jewels. Under each jewel tree, at a distance not farther than a bow-shot, was made a small jewel-house, and on the top of each stood a hundred crores of celestial nymphs performing a concert of musical instruments and castanets, in order to honour the Buddha while he was extensively expounding this *dharmaparyāya* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* to the great disciples and bodhisattvas, directing himself to the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana. The lifetime of the Buddha was forty-two thousand aeons. It was under the spiritual rule of this Buddha that the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana applied himself to his difficult course.

At the last moment of his life, the Buddha Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśrī entrusted to the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana his commandment, all the bodhisattvas and disciples, the Enlightenment, the whole world together with

bejewelled chariots, jewel-trees and celestial beings. He also entrusted to him his own relics after his demise and asked him to worship them, distribute them and build many thousands of stūpas over them. After giving these instructions to him he entered absolute Nirvāṇa in the last watch of the night.

The bodhisattva, perceiving that the Buddha had expired, made a pyre of sandal-wood and burnt the body of the Buddha. After the cremation he took the bones and caused eighty-four thousand urns of seven precious substances to be made, the bones of the Buddha to be deposited in them, and eighty-four thousand stūpas to be erected over them, reaching in height to the brahma-world, adorned with a row of umbrellas and equipped with silk bands and bells (*Sdmp.* p. 339 ff.).

In Kern's translation Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśrī is spelt as Candravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī (*SBE.* XXI, p. 376 ff.).

U. K.

CANDRA SŪTRA, a Sanskrit text, which, judging from the contents of its extant Tibetan and Chinese translations, was undoubtedly the Sanskrit version of the Pali *Candimā Sutta*, (*S.* I, p. 50).

There are two Tibetan translations of the *Candra Sūtra*, bearing the title *Zla-baḥi-mdo*. The translation made by Ānandaśrī and Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan is incorporated in the Śes-phyin (Prajñāpāramitā) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TM.* No. 42; *TT.* Vol. 21, No. 758). This corresponds very closely to the Pali sutta and is almost identical with it. The other Tibetan translation, by an unnamed translator, occurs in the Mdo-sde (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Kangyur (*TM.* No. 331; *TT.* Vol. 39, No. 997). This work, too, corresponds to the Pali, including three of the verses in the Pali sutta but has a few additions. Vemacitra, the lord of the asuras, is not mentioned here. The Chinese version of this sūtra is to be found in section 583 of *Taishō*, No. 99, and *Nanjio*, No. 544, *Tsa-a-han-ching* (*Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra*), translated by Guṇabhadra of the earlier Sung dynasty (420–79 A.C.). This, too, corresponds to the Pali *Candimā Sutta*, but has a few additions, including an extra verse at the end of the sūtra.

L. R. G.

CANDRASVARARĀJA, name of a series of two thousand crores of former Buddhas whom the bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta propitiated and under whom he promulgated the *dharmaparyāya* called the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Sdmp.* p. 321).

In Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the name is spelt as Candraprabhāsvararāja (*SBE.* XXI, p. 358).

U. K.

CANDRATEJA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 137).

CANDRAVAIROCANA, one of the two chief bodhisattvas dwelling in the Vaidūryanirbhāsā, the Buddha-field (*buddha-kṣetra*) of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-prabha. He along with Sūryavairocana and a host of other bodhisattvas preserve the teachings of the above mentioned Buddha, (*GM.* I, *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*, p. 8).

S. K. N.

CANDRAVARALOCANA, name of one of the many samādhis entered into by Avalokiteśvara. The Buddha, at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvaṇivaraṇaviṣkambhin (text has° ṇīvaraṇa-) who desired to know the numerous samādhis accomplished by Avalokiteśvara, enumerates a list which also includes this name.

But, during the time of the Buddha Krakucchanda (Pali : Kakusandha), when the two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra accomplished various samādhis separately, it is the latter who is said to have entered into this particular samādhi while the former accomplished the samādhi called *Sūrya-vara-locana* (*Kvyū.* p. 93).

S. K. N.

CANDRAVARMA, a learned monk of the Nāgavadana monastery (*DCBT.* p. 157).

CANDRAVIMALA, a samādhi or a concentration of mind mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII, 9). It is explained in the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* as one that illuminates all other samādhis (*ŚsP.* 1419).

U. K.

CANDRAVYĀKARAṆA-SŪTRA-NĀMA, the name of a Sanskrit grammar attributed to Candragomin. It was edited and published by Bruno Liebich under the title, *Candra-vyākaraṇa, Die Grammatik des Candragomin* (*AKM.* Vol. XI, Leipzig, 1902). The grammar along with the *vṛtti* on it has been published by the same scholar under the title *Candra-vṛtti, der original-kommentar Candragomin's zu seinem grammatischen sūtra* (*AKM.* Vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1918).

Another edition of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* based upon Liebich and utilising quotations in the commentaries of lexicons and of other systems of grammar current in Bengal has been made by K. C. Chatterjee (see preface to *Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin*, ed. K. C. Chatterjee, Pt. i, Chapters 1–3, Poona, 1953).

A Tibetan translation of the work occurs in the Sgra rig-pa (*śabda-vidyā*) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Luṅ-du ston-pa candra-paḥi mdo shes-bya-ba*. This translation is attributed to Jetakarṇa and Ñi-ma rgyal-mshan dpal-bzaṅ-po (*TT.* Vol. 140, No. 5767; *TM.* No. 4269; *Cordier*, III, p. 458).

R.H.

CANDRAVYĀKARAṆAVARṆA - SŪTRA - VṚTTI, (*°varṇasūtraṇivṛtti*, as it appears in the Tibetan work), the name of a Sanskrit work which is, preserved in its Tibetan translation under the title, *Luṅ-ston-pa candra-paḥi (yi-geḥi) mdoḥi ḥgrel-pa*, included in the Sna-tshogs (miscellaneous works) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The Sanskrit work was written by Candragomin and was translated into Tibetan by Skyogs ston lo-tsā-ba and Nag-dbaṅ Rin-chen bkra-śis (Vāgiśvara Ratnamaṅgalaśrībhadra). The translation was made at Dpal Gra-thaṅ (or Gryathaṅ) under the auspices of the great Lo-tsā-ba of Sha-lu, Dharmapālabhadra. The translation was later revised by the translators, in the vihāra of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs dgyes-pa (Mañjughoṣakānta), the principal centre of the Kārmika school in the country of Ñaṅ-po (*TM.* No. 4458; *Cordier*, III, 512).

L.R.G.

CANDRIMA, name of two former Buddhas occurring in two lists of the names of former Buddhas in the *Mahāvastu* (*Mhvu.* III, pp. 233, 236). In the first list Candrima is proclaimed by Vāsava; Candrima also proclaims Hetumanta as his successor in the city of Puṣpāvatī. Another Tathāgata by the same name, Candrima, was proclaimed by the Buddha Pauṇḍarīka, and Candrima proclaimed Bhāvitātman as his successor, according to the second list.

U.K.

CANDRODGATA, name of a bodhisattva mentioned in a long list of bodhisattvas in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Māyā claims maternity to all the bodhisattvas in the list (*Gvyū.* p. 442).

CANDROLKĀDHĀRIN, name of a bodhisattva mentioned in a list in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*Gvyū.* p. 441) of many bodhisattvas of whom Māyā claims to have been the mother.

CANDROPAMA-SŪTRA (Pali, *Candūpama Sutta*: *S.* II, pp. 197-200), belongs to the *Saṃyukta Āgama*. Some fragments of this sūtra that were discovered have been published by Hoernle (*Turf. Rem.* II, pp. 40–5). These fragments show that the Buddha preached this when he was sojourning at Rājagṛha; but according to the Pali it was at Sāvatthi.

The aim of the sūtra is to teach the monks the proper way of conducting themselves when visiting families. The Buddha instructs the monks to be like the moon, controlling both the body and the mind, even as new-comers, unassuming among the families, and further he cites Mahā Kāśyapa as the example to be imitated.

According to Hoernle, this sūtra was preached by the Buddha with reference to Devadatta, who boasted of his gain and honour. Hoernle, further, observes that the Sanskrit sūtra is much longer than the Pali.

This is extant in Chinese, incorporated in the *Saṃyukta Āgama* (*Nanjio*, No. 544) and also in a shorter collection of twenty-five sūtras under the same title (see *Nanjio*, No. 547). However, there is a separate translation of this, by Dhanapāla, under the title (*Fo-shuo-*) *yüeh-yü-ching* (*Buddhabhāṣita-candropama-sūtra*, *Taishō*, No. 121, Cp. *Nanjio*, No. 948). The Chinese translations agree closely with the Sanskrit.

S.K.N.

CANDROTTARĀ-DĀRIKĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ, a Sanskrit text named after the main character called Candrottarā. An extract from the text is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Śikṣ.* p. 78 ff.) to prove that a wife is an obstacle to higher spiritual attainments. The extract is in the form of a piece of advice given by Candrottarā to a large gathering of men stating the evil consequences of passion (*kāma*) and attachment (*rāga*) which she describes as causes leading to hell, low births and various other miseries.

Celibacy (*brahmacaryā*) is highly praised as a means of obtaining worldly and spiritual attainments. As the extract shows, the original text seems to have consisted of both prose and verse written in simple language.

S.K.N.

CANDROTTARĀ-DĀRIKĀ-VYĀKARAṆA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya–c°*), the name of a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title, (*Ḥphags-pa-*) *Bu-mo-zla-mchog lun-bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo*. This translation is attributed to Jinamitra and Ye śes-sde (*TT.* Vol. 34,

No. 858; *TM.* No. 191). The Chinese translation which was the work of Jñānagupta (591 A.C.) of the Sui dynasty, bears the title, *Yüeh-shang-nu-ching* and is incorporated in the *Sūtra Piṭaka* (*Taishō*, No. 480; *Nanjio*, No. 441).

The text relates the story of a beautiful maiden called Candrottarā, so named because a radiance that surpassed the lustre of the moon emanated from her body. She was the daughter of Dri-med-ma par grags-pa (Vimalakīrti) and Dri-med-ma (Vimalā) who lived in Vaiśālī at the time the Buddha resided there with a large congregation of monks. Many miraculous events accompanied the birth of Candrottarā. She spoke as soon as she was born and related one of her past births.

She was a resident of Vaiśālī, she said, when one day the Buddha Kāśyapa came to that city for alms. Seeing him from the terrace of her house she was full of devotion towards him. But she had no flowers, scents or incense, nor food or drink to offer him. At that moment she heard a voice which said that Buddhas do not lay emphasis on external offerings but came for alms through compassion for people; and that if she wished to make an offering to the Buddha, she could just as well do so by making a firm resolve to attain Enlightenment. She made up her mind to do so. As she came out of the house she saw the Buddha Kāśyapa and the other Buddhas in the ten directions. Through the power of the Buddha a handful of *mandārava* flowers appeared in her hands. When she offered these to Kāśyapa Buddha, they formed a parasol over him. Similarly the flowers she offered to the other Buddhas formed parasols over them. She then uttered her resolve aloud. Hearing her, a large number of beings who assembled there made the same vow. Speaking further, Candrottarā recalled how she made offerings to Śākyamuni when she was born in the world of the thirty-three gods. She explained that her beauty and the riches she was blessed with in her existence as Candrottarā was the result of these offerings.

Most youths of Vaiśālī who heard of Candrottarā's beauty wished to have her as wife. Each one offered expensive presents to the father and threatened to harm him if he did not give his daughter. The father was distressed on account of this. On hearing the reason for his distress, Candrottarā spoke at length on the merit of showing affection even to those who desired to harm her. She then requested her parents to have it proclaimed far and wide that Candrottarā would choose her own husband, on the seventh day from the day of the proclamation.

On the sixth day after the proclamation, Candrottarā observed the eight precepts. Without sleeping that night, she remained seated on the terrace of the house. Then, through the power of the Buddha, a lotus appeared on her right hand. In the centre of the lotus was the figure of a Buddha seated cross-legged. Delighted on seeing him, Candrottarā expressed her joy in verse and asked her parents to make offerings to him.

On the seventh day, a large crowd assembled, some wishing to see her, others to win her. Candrottarā addressed the assembly and uttered some stanzas on that occasion denouncing passion and praising continence. These stanzas are identical with those occurring in the *Candrottarā-dārikā-paripṛcchā* (q.v.) quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccya*, (*Śikṣ.* p. 79 ff.) At the conclusion of Candrottarā's sermon, people who were there, free of blemishes, regarded her as a mother or sister depending on their age.

Śāriputra and five hundred monks including Kāśyapa, who were on their morning round of alms, arrived there on that occasion. Śāriputra put several questions to Candrottarā which she answered ably. He then suggested that she should visit the Buddha. Candrottarā went to the Buddha and made offerings. There was a large assembly there. Several bodhisattvas asked questions from Candrottarā at this assembly and she answered them. In response to one of Śāriputra's questions, she said that the mode of gaining emancipation as a Tathāgata excelled that of gaining emancipation as a *śrāvaka*. The Buddha applauded this comment, and many miracles occurred at this moment.

At this moment, Candrottarā offered the lotus that was in her hand to the Buddha, whereupon the Buddha who was seated on that lotus paid obeisance to the Buddha and requested him to preach the doctrine. Nine other Buddhas who appeared miraculously on lotuses made the same request. A large number of gods and other beings assembled.

The Buddha smiled on that occasion, emanating a radiance from his mouth, which illumined a large number of world-systems. Ānanda rose at that assembly and asked the Buddha the reason for his smile. In response the Buddha asked Ānanda whether he had noticed Candrottarā who was seated at that assembly, recounted at length several good deeds she had done in her past lives and spoke of the various heavens in which she would be reborn. He then predicted that she would finally become a Buddha called Candrottara.

Delighted on hearing this prediction, Candrottarā rose to the sky. As soon as she did so, she became a male, Candrottara. Many miracles marked

this event. The bodhisattva Candrottara eulogised the Buddha and requested that he be ordained. On his having gained permission from his parents he was ordained.

R.H.

CANDROTTARAJÑĀNIN, a bodhisattva mentioned in a list (*Gvyū.* p. 2) of bodhisattvas residing with the Buddha in Jetavana.

CANDROTTARYA, name of a samādhi practised by Avalokiteśvara which occurs in the list enumerated by the Buddha at the request of the bodhisattva Sarvaṇivaraṇa-viṣkambhin (text reads, °ṇīvaraṇa°: *Kvyū.* p. 52).

CANDŪPAMA, a previous birth, as a king, of Vaṇṇakāraka thera. See VAṆṆAKĀRAKA.

CANDŪPAMA SUTTA, the third sutta of the *Kassapa Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* II, pp. 197–200).

In this sutta, the Buddha describes how the bhikkhus should behave when they visit families. He says that they should be like Mahā Kassapa who is compared to the moon in his behaviour in visiting families. Further, the Buddha declares that the bhikkhus should not preach the Dhamma for their self-glorification, but that they should do so with the idea of making the people understand the Dhamma by themselves, so that it would be of great benefit to them.

I.K.

CAÑGOṬAKIYA, an arahant thera. In a previous birth ninety-four kappas ago he lived by the sea among the hills, and offered Siddhattha Buddha a casket of flowers. As a result of this offering he was reborn in the deva-world where he spent a kappa (*Ap.* I, p. 235).

L.R.G.

CAṄKAMA (Skt. *caṅkrama* and *caṅkramā*), walking up and down (*S.* IV, p. 104), also the place where such walking is done. The usage of the latter is very common (*Vin.* I, pp. 15, 182 ; II, p. 220 ; *D.* I, p. 105 ; *S.* I, p. 212 ; *A.* I, pp. 114, 183 ; III, p. 29 ; IV, p. 87 ; *J.* I, p. 17 ; II, p. 273 ; V, p. 132).

A passage in the *Jātaka* (*J.* I, p. 7) says that a *caṅkama* should be a path, a cubit and a half in breadth, with a margin of a cubit on either side ; its length should be sixty cubits, and its surface should be soft and evenly sprinkled with sand. A *caṅkama* should be devoid of the five defects, namely, hardness and unevenness ; trees in the middle of it ; dense underbrush ; extreme narrowness and excessive width. If the *caṅkama* is on hard and uneven ground, then the one who uses it hurts himself and blisters his feet. This would result in the interruption of his meditation and concentration. On the other hand, if he were to walk on a soft and even surface, he would be able to concentrate and meditate well. If a *caṅkama* has trees on it, whether in the middle or at the end, then the one who walks on it might strike his forehead or head against them. If it is overgrown with grass, vines, etc., the one who uses it at night might tread upon snakes and other creatures and kill them, or they may harm him. If it is excessively narrow, the one who walks on it might stumble at the borders and hurt himself. If it is excessively wide, then the one who uses it is liable to have his mind wander and he would not be able to concentrate well (*J.* I, p. 7 ; Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, *HOS.* Vol. III, p. 9; cp. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, p. 89).

On the other hand, mention is made in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* III, p. 29) that there are five advantages of a terraced walk, namely, that it trains one for travelling, it encourages one to develop striving, it makes one healthy, improves one's digestion and promotes concentration. In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* I, p. 114) it is mentioned that a bhikkhu, who is given to watchfulness (*jāgariyaṃ*) by walking up and down, is able to purify his heart of things that retard its development (*āvaraṇīya-dhammehi*).

I.K.

CAṄKAMADĀYAKA, an arahant thera. Eighteen kappas ago he offered a beautiful cloistered walk (*caṅkama*) to Atthadassī Buddha. Thereafter, for three kappas he was born king of the devas and as a cakkavatti king three times (*Ap.* I, p. 99). The commentary repeats this account with greater detail (*ApA.* p. 373 ; var. Caṅkamanadāyaka).

L.R.G.

CAṄKAMA SUTTA of the *Pañcaṅgika Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.*III, pp. 29 f.), preached to the monks by the Buddha, states five advantages of walking up and down (*caṅkama*). It trains one to endure a long journey, encourages striving, improves health, helps digestion and promotes concentration.

H.R.P.

CAṄKĪ, a Mahāsāla brāhman who dwelt at Opasāda in Kosala as overlord of a royal fief given by king Pasenadi of Kosala with full power over it. He was of high birth, wealthy and prosperous, master of

the three Vedas, versed in vocabularies and rituals, handsome and stately in appearance. He was the teacher of many teachers and instructed three hundred brāhman youths in mantras. He was respected by king Pasenadi of Kosala and reputed brāhmans like Pokkharasāti (*M.* II, pp. 164 ff.). Several canonical texts (e.g., *D.* I, p. 235; *M.* II, p. 196; *Sn.* p. 115) mention Caṅkī, along with four other reputed brāhmans: Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Jānussoṇi and Todeyya. The *Majjhima-nikāya* commentary (*MA.* III, p. 431) states that these five brāhmans were the advisers (*purohita*) of King Pasenadi. The *Caṅkī Sutta* (*M.* II, pp. 164 ff.) refers to a visit by Caṅkī to the Buddha when the latter was staying at Opasāda, but it does not mention whether he became a follower of the Buddha, though the Buddha was highly respected by him. See also CAṄKĪ SUTTA.

H.R.P.

CAṄKĪ SUTTA, preached at Opasāda, the fifth discourse of the *Brāhmaṇa Vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M.* II, p. 164 ff.).

The brāhman Caṅkī of Opasāda wishes to join the crowds who were on their way to visit the Buddha. About five hundred brāhmans residing at Opasāda at the time, approach to request him not to go, for it is the Buddha who should come to him. Caṅkī explains to them why he should go and he goes with a large group of brāhmans.

The Buddha at the time of his visit is engaged in a conversation with a number of brāhmans. Among them is Kāpathika, a young but learned brāhman, interrupting the conversation at intervals. The Buddha rebukes the youth, but Caṅkī tells the Buddha that Kāpathika is a learned scholar and obtains for him a chance to question the Buddha. Kāpathika asks the Buddha his opinion about the ancient mantras of the brāhmans, which they consider is the truth. The Buddha questions Kāpathika and makes him admit that there is not a single brāhman, even through seven generations, who thinks that their mantras alone are true and all else is false.

Then he explains to Kāpathika how a man can care to have faith in truth, gain Enlightenment with regard to it and finally attain the truth itself through practice and development. At the end of the discourse, Kāpathika declares himself to be a follower of the Buddha.

The sutta finds a close parallel in the *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 111 ff.) as far as the introductory section is concerned. The discourse, though titled after the name of the brāhman Caṅkī, is only promoted by him, the main part of it being delivered to Kāpathika, which is the section that is doctrinally most important.

H.R.P.

CAṄKOLAPUPPHIYA, an arahant thera. In the time of Vipassī Buddha he was named Nārada Kassapa and offered the Buddha a *caṅkola* flower. As a result of this offering made ninety-one kappas ago, he escaped all evil births thereafter. He was born as a king by the name of Romasa seventy-four kappas ago. (*Ap.* I. p. 215 f.; var. Pakoḷa°, Cakola°, Pakoḷiya°).

CAṄKUNA VIHĀRA, (Var. Chankuna v°). The name given to two vihāras in Kāśmīr built by the Chief Minister of Lalitāditya called Chankuna, who hailed from the land of the Tukharas.

One of these is located at Paraspor (Parihasapora) at the north-eastern corner of the plateau, to the north of the Rajavihāra. This temple originally claimed a high stūpa; but its super-structure having entirely disappeared, one finds there at present only a mound of its debris, which, according to Stein, measures about 400 ft. square. On the top of it, about 30 ft. above the ground, is found a massive block of stone with a circular hole in its middle, 5 ft. deep. Stein conjectures that it could have been the base of a high column or of a colossus. However, this stone, in Kak's opinion, formed the *hti* (finial) of the stūpa and the hole "the mortice in which was embedded the lower end of the staff of the stone umbrellas which crowned the drum" (Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, p. 147).

The stūpa was supposed to be 128′—2″ square in plan, with off-sets and a flight of steps on each side, flanked by plain rails and side walls with decorated pilasters in front. The round torus-stones found in the south-eastern and south-western corners could have probably belonged to the string-course on the drum of the stūpa. Contained among the ruins were also fragments of trefoiled arches housing, according to Kak (loc. cit.), images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas.

Equally well-known was the other C(h)ankuna vihāra located at Pravarapura (Śrīnagar). It claimed the golden image of the Buddha that Lalitāditya had received from Magadha. Kalhaṇa records that Chankuna obtained the image from the king in return for a charm that enabled the possesser to cross the waters (*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī*, trsl. by M.A. Stein, Vol. I, Westminister, 1900, chap. v, *vv.* 215, 246-7, 249-52, 258-60 and 262).

In Kalhaṇa's time this vihāra was in an utterly dilapidated state, nothing except its name being in existence. Nevertheless Sussalā, the wife of the minister Rilhāna, resuscitated it by erecting, among other buildings, a shrine of stone (ibid. chap. viii, v. 2415). It is presumed that the buildings she erected served as residences for monks and students (J. N. and P. N. Ganhar, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, New Delhi, 1956, p. 123).

Since Chankuna was an alchemist, it is believed that, these vihāras originally possessed several golden images of the Buddha, produced by him through his knowledge of that science (J. N. and P. N. Ganhar, op. cit, p. 96).

C.S.R.

CANON. By Canon is meant the Tripiṭaka (Pali: Tipiṭaka) of the Buddhists, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Thus it is possible to speak of several Canons or Tripiṭakas, both in terms of tradition such as Sthaviravāda, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna as well as in terms of language like Pali, Chinese and Tibetan. The word is used basically to refer to the literature, the authorship of which is directly or indirectly ascribed to the Buddha himself.

It is generally believed that whatever was the teaching of the Buddha, conceived under Dhamma and Vinaya, it was rehearsed soon after his demise by a fairly representative body of disciples. The later systematised threefold division into Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma is based on this collection. Sharing a common body of Dhamma and Vinaya, the early Buddhist disciples appear to have remained united for about a century. The Council of Vesālī or the second Buddhist Council saw the break up of this original body and as many as eighteen separate schools were known to exist by about the first century B.C. It is reasonable to assume that each of these schools would have opted to possess a Tripiṭaka of their own or rather their own recension of the Tripiṭaka, perhaps with a considerably large common core.

It has long been claimed that the Buddha, as he went about preaching in the Gangetic valley in India during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., used Māgadhī or the language of Magadha as his medium of communication. Attempts have been made to identify this Magadhan dialect with Pali, the language in which the texts of the Sthaviravāda school are recorded. Hence we speak of a Pali Canon, i.e., the literature of the Sthaviravādins which is believed to be the original word of the Buddha. At any rate, this is the only complete recension we possess and the Pali texts seem to preserve an older tradition much more than most of the extant Buddhist works in other languages. Further, the Sthaviravādins admit of two other major divisions of Pali Buddhist literature which are non-Canonical. They are :

1. Post-Canonical Pali literature including works like Peṭakopadesa and Milindapañha, the authorship of which is ascribed to one or more disciples.

2. Pali Commentarial literature which includes (*a*) Aṭṭhakathā or Commentaries, the original version of which is believed to have been taken over to Sri Lanka by Thera Mahinda, the missionary sent by Asoka and (*b*) the different strata of Ṭīkā or Sub-Commentaries contributions to which were made by Buddhist monks of Sri Lanka, India and Burma. See further LITERATURE (PĀLI).

Besides this Pali recension of the Sthaviravāda school there are fragmentary texts of the Sarvāstivāda or of the Mūlasarvāstivāda which are preserved in Sanskrit. A large portion of their Vinaya texts in Sanskrit is preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts. But a more complete collection of the Sarvāstivāda recension (perhaps also of the Dharmaguptaka and Kāśyapīya), i.e., a Sanskrit Canon, must have possibly existed as is evident from the Chinese translations preserved to us. These include complete translations of the four *āgamas* (the equivalent of the Pali *nikāyas*). Of the Kṣudraka, (Pali:Khuddaka) only some texts are preserved in Chinese. In addition to these, the Chinese translations seem to preserve, to the credit of the Sarvāstivādins, a vast Vinaya literature and an independent collection of seven Abhidharma treatises. Thus what could be referred to as a Sarvāstivāda Cannon ranges between fragments of texts preserved in Sanskrit and the more representative collection of the Tripiṭaka preserved in Chinese. It may be mentioned here that a version of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya consisting of seven parts, even more faithful than the Chinese version, is preserved in Tibetan. Of the Abhidharma collection, only the Prajñaptiśāstra appears to have been translated into Tibetan. See futher LITERATURE (SARVĀSTIVĀDA). See also LITERATURE (SANSKRIT).

Speaking further of the Tripiṭaka in terms of language we have in Chinese different recensions of the Canon (preserved in part) belonging to different schools. These recensions are primarily based on the Tripiṭaka of Indian origin. In addition to the ancient texts which these recensions preserve they also contain independent expositions of the early doctrines or commentarial literature on them. The Chinese Canon preserves the Vinaya texts of

as many as seven different schools. In the realm of Abhidharma, the Chinese have, besides the works of the Sarvāstivāda and a few other Hīnayāna schools all of which they refer to as Hīnayāna Abhidharma, an Abhidharma of the Mahāyāna, comprising mainly of the philosophical works of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. The first edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka produced under the auspices of Emperor Wu Ti (502–549 A.C.) of the Liang dynasty, is said to have contained 2,213 works which included even the *Travels of Fa-hsien.*

In the Mahāyānic tradition of the Canon, the two main Tripiṭaka collections, the Chinese and Tibetan, contain all commentaries as well as treatises of distinguished teachers of the different schools. In place of the division into 'canonical groups' of Sūtra, Abhidharma and Vinaya, this new arrangement seems to reckon with a live and continuous tradition in accepting as authoritative both the *Sūtra* or words of the Buddha and *Śāstra* or commentaries, treatises, etc. of disciples of a later date. See further LITERATURE (CHINESE).

This tendency is best reflected in the stratification of the Tibetan canon which consists of two major divisions. The first of these, the Kanjur (*Bkaḥ-gyur*) which is said to consist of the words or the sayings of the Buddha has the following sub-divisions. (1) Dulva or Vinaya (Mūlasarvāstivāda version), (2) Prajñāpāramitā, (3) Avataṃsaka 4) Ratnakūṭa, (5) Sūtra (prominence and precedence being invariably given to Mahāyāna *sūtras*), and (6) Tantra. The second, the Tanjur (*Bstan-gyur*) is a supplement to the former, or in other words, a continuation of the tradition of the Kanjur. Among its contents are a collection of *stotras*, the commentaries on the *tantra* section of the Kanjur and the commentaries on the *sūtra* section. There are also works relating to Abhidharma and Vinaya as well as Mādhyamika and Vijñānavāda. Works coming under the *sūtra* section of the Tanjur are not necessarily commentaries on the texts contained in the *Mdo*-section of the Kanjur. They are believed to be authoritative works some of which, however, are not even Buddhist in character. They deal with logic, grammar, lexicography, poetry and drama, medicine and chemistry, astrology and divination, painting and biographies of saints. Their inclusion in this part of the Tibetan Canon is perhaps justified on the acceptance of the position that they are necessary aids and accompaniments in the practice of the religion. See further LITERATURE (TIBETAN).

It becomes clear from the foregoing analysis that speaking of a Buddhist Canon one has to admit that it is both vast in extent and complex in character. While the earlier and more orthodox schools of Buddhism reserved the term Canonical to refer to the body of literature the greater part of which could be reasonably ascribed to the Buddha himself other traditions which developed further away from the centre of activity of the Buddha and at a relatively later date choose to lay under the term Canon the entire mosaic of Buddhist literature in their possession, which is of varied authorship and is at times extremely heterogenous in character.

J. D.

CĀPĀ (var. Chāvā), the pretty daughter of a leader of hunters in a village called Vaṅkahāra. When the Ājīvaka Upaka arrived there the hunter invited him and along with his children attended on him well. Then, they offered him a place to live there. One day, the hunter went to a distant place asking Cāpā to attend to the needs of Upaka. When on the next day, Upaka visited them for his meals, he became so greatly attracted by Cāpā that he determined to die through starvation, if he failed in his attempts to make her his wife. On his return, the hunter found out that Upaka had not visited his house after the second day. When he went to see him, Upaka informed him about his great desire to make Cāpā his wife. Thereupon the hunter agreed to his proposal and helped him to get his wish fulfilled. She bore Upaka a son who was named Subhadda. Upaka, unable to bear his wife's taunts, renounced the world and joined the Order. Cāpā followed her husband to Sāvatthi, where she became a nun and attained arahantship (*Thīg. vv.* 291–311 ; *ThīgA.* pp. 220 ff. ; *SnA.* I, pp. 259 f.).

I.K.

CĀPĀLA CETIYA, a shrine near Vesāli (modern Besārh) where the Buddha stayed for some time, together with Ānanda, on his last tour, three months before his Parinibbāna. It was here that the Buddha definitely decided to accede to the request of Māra that he should pass away. When he announced this decision, the earth shook (*D.* II, pp. 102–6 ; pp. 113–4 , 118 ; *S.* V, pp. 259–62 ; *A.* IV, pp. 308–11 ; *Ud.* pp. 62–4 ; *Divy.* pp. 201–7).

According to the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, Cāpāla is situated in the region of the eastern quarter and is always ablaze with splendour (*Lal.* p. 282 ;*Mhvu.* III, p. 306).

The *Manorathapūraṇī* says that during the first twenty years of the Buddha's ministry, he sometimes dwelt at Cāpāla Cetiya (*AA*. III, p. 372).

It was once the residence of the yakkha Cāpāla, but, later, the Licchavis dedicated it to the Buddha and the saṅgha and a vihāra was erected there (*UdA*. pp. 222–3 ; *Mhvu.* I, pp. 299–300).

From Cāpāla Cetiya the Buddha went on to the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana also in Vesāli (*D.* II, 119).

Fa-Hsien in the fifth century A.C. found a pagoda there called 'Arms Discarded', and relates a story in connection with it (*Travels of Fa-Hsien,* translated by H. A. Giles, pp. 42–3).

U.K.

CĀPĀLA VAGGA, the first chapter (vagga) of the *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S*.V. pp. 254–63), dealing with the four bases of psychic power (*iddhipāda*). It has ten suttas, namely: *Apāra Sutta, Viraddha Sutta, Ariya Sutta, Nibbidā Sutta, Padesaṃ Sutta, Samatta Sutta, Bhikkhu Sutta, Buddha Sutta, Ñāṇa Sutta* and *Cetiya Sutta.* It is in this last sutta that the word Cāpāla occurs after which this chapter is named.

U.K.

CARA, a yakkha chieftain to be invoked by followers of the Buddha in times of need (*D.* III, p. 205). It should be noted here that the two editions of the commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya* differ with regard to the reading of the line where this name occurs: while the *SHB.* edition reads Māṇi and Cara as two separate names (*DA.* II, p. 708), the *PTS.* edition reads Māṇicara as one name (*DA.* III, p. 970).

U.K.

CARAKĀ, name of a goddess mentioned in the *Mahāsamāja Sūtra* (*Mhs.* p. 185 ; *BHS.* p. 225).

CARAṆA, generally means 'conduct'. In the Buddhist suttas the term is used in a technical sense to mean the course of conduct to be followed by an aryan disciple (*ariyasāvaka*) in his progress towards deathlessness. Being the abstract noun derived from the root *car* (to move) the term has the idea of movement implied in it, namely, the movement towards deathlessness. Thus, the *Visuddhimagga,* (vii, § 31) after explaining what *caraṇa* is, says that the *ariyasāvaka* who moves by this *caraṇa* goes to the deathless state (*amataṃ disaṃ*).

The term *caraṇa,* in this sense, is very often used along with *vijjā* (i.e., *vijjācaraṇa*) as an epithet of the Buddha in the well-known formula " *araham* .... *bhagavā*...." (e.g., *D.* I, p. 62 ; III, p. 237 ; *S*.V, p. 197, etc.). The term is explained in detail in several places—cf. the *Sekha Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M*.I, pp. 353 ff.) ; the *Visuddhimagga* (vii, § 31) ; the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D*.I, p. 87 ff.) and according to the definition of the term found in these contexts, the term includes a good part of sīla and to a certain extent of samādhi as understood in Buddhism.

The *Visuddhimagga* (vii, § 31) gives fifteen items as coming under *caraṇa* : i. restraint by virtue (*sīlasaṃvara*) ; ii. guarding the doors of the sense-faculties (*indriyesu guttadvāratā*) ; iii. knowledge of the right amount in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*) ; iv. devotion to wakefulness (*jāgariyānuyoga*) ; v-xi. the seven good states (*satta saddhammā*) ; and xii-xv. the four *jhānas* of the fine material sphere (*cattāri rūpāvacarajjhānāni*). The text says that it is by means of these 15 things that a noble disciple conducts himself, and goes towards the deathless (*gacchati amataṃ disaṃ*). As the Buddha is endowed with both *vijjā* and *caraṇa,* he is called *vijjācaraṇa sampanna.* Here (ibid. § 32), it is said that the *vijjā,* which the Buddha possesses, consists of his omniscience (*sabbaññutā*) and his *caraṇa* consists of his great compassion (*caraṇa-sampudā mahākāruṇikataṃ*), through which two qualities he warns all beings of the harm in doing evil and exhorts them to do good. Here, Buddhaghosa refers the reader to the *Sekha Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M*.I, p. 353 ff.) for further details on *caraṇa.* This is a sutta that Ānanda addressed to Mahānāma, the Sākyan, at the request of the Buddha. The 15 items referred to in the *Visuddhimagga* are here explained in further detail. Thus, i. *sīlasaṃvara* is explained as observing the moral restraint binding on a recluse (*pāṭimokkha-saṃvarasīla*), right behaviour (*ācāragocarasampanna*), seeing danger in committing even the slightest faults (*anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī*) and observing all the rules of conduct (*samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu*) ; ii *indriyesu guttadvāratā* is that when an aryan disciple (*ariyasāvaka*) having seen a material shape with his eyes, is not entranced by its general appearance (*na nimittaggāhī hoti*), is not entranced by detail (*nānubyañjanaggāhī*), knowing that if he dwelt with uncontrolled eyes, unwholesome mental states such as covetousness and dejection (*abhijjhādomanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā*) would overpower him. Thus, he controls his faculty of sight. In the same way he controls all the other five sense-faculties ; iii. *bhojane mattaññutā* : when an ariyan disciple takes food he does so reflecting carefully that he is eating

not for the mere pleasure of it, not for sensual vitality and not for personal charm or embellishment but just enough for maintaining the body and keeping it going, for keeping it unharmed and for furthering the brahma-life with the thought that he would destroy old feelings and would not allow new feelings to come up (regarding the eating of food) whereby there would be for him blamelessness and abiding in comfort (*anavajjatā ca phāsuvihāro ca*) ; iv. *jāgariyānuyoga* : an ariyan disciple while pacing up and down and while sitting down (in meditation) cleanses his mind of obstructive mental states (*āvaraṇīyehi dhammehi*, i.e., *nīvaraṇa*, q.v.). He does so during the first watch of the night, too. During the middle watch of the night he lies down on his right side in the lion's posture, foot resting on foot, mindful, clearly conscious and reflecting on the thought of rising again. During the last watch, when he has risen, while pacing up and down and sitting down, he cleanses his mind of all the obstructive mental states (*āvaraṇīyehi dhammehi* : i.e., *nīvaraṇa*, q.v.). Here follow the seven qualities referred to as *sattasaddhamma* : v. *saddho hoti*, means that an ariyan disciple has faith in the Buddha's Enlightenment and in the qualities that are in him : the formula of the nine qualities of the Buddha (*vide supra*) is given in the text ; vi. *hirimā hoti*, he comes to have shame : he is ashamed of wrong conduct in body, word or mind and he is ashamed to fall into unwholesome and evil states (*pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ samāpattiyā*) ; vii. *ottāpī hoti*, he has fear for the same things as in the preceding case ; viii. he is learned (*bahussuta*), remembers and keeps in mind the things he has heard, i.e., the Dhamma, which is lovely in the beginning, lovely in the middle, lovely in the end, with the meaning and the spirit, which declares the perfect (and purified) brahma-life ; such things are much heard by him, borne in mind, memorised and reflected and well-penetrated by correct insight ; ix. he lives with his energy stirred up (*āraddhaviriya*) for getting rid of all the unwholesome mental states (*akusaladhamma*) and for the acquisition of wholesome mental states (*kusaladhamma*), steadfast, energetic and persevering in regard to wholesome mental states ; x. he is mindful (*satimā*), possessed of the highest mindfulness and discrimination (*satinepakka*), remembering and recollecting things said and done by him even long ago ; xi. he is wise (*paññavā*), being endowed with the insight into the origin and cessation of things and with the penetrating ariyan wisdom leading to the cessation of all suffering. (The next four items constitute his acquisition of the four *rūpa-jhānas*, which are dependent on the purest consciousness and which lead to a happy condition in this very life. These he acquires without any trouble or difficulty.) xii. Aloof from the pleasures of the senses, aloof from the unwholesome mental states, he enters and abides in the first absorption which is accompanied by thought-conception (*vitakka*), discursive thinking (*vicāra*), is born of detachment (*vivekaja*) and filled with rapture (*pīti*) and joy (*sukha*) ; xiii. after suppressing thought-conception (*vitakka*) and discursive thinking (*vicāra*), and by gaining inner tranquillity and oneness of mind and free from *vitakka* and *vicāra*, he enters the second absorption which is born of concentration (*samādhija*) and filled with rapture and joy ; xiv-xv. in the same way he enters the third and the fourth *jhānas*, too.

These are the 15 things that go to comprise *caraṇa*.

The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* also describes *caraṇa*, but the description there is not so comprehensive and analytical as in the above analysis of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. It does not analyse the next 15 items so methodically.

In this sutta (i.e., *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*), in the discussion between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha on caste, the former recites a verse (*D*. I, p. 99), attributed to Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, in which it is said that whereas *khattiya* is the highest caste for those who worry about lineage, he who is endowed with knowledge and conduct (*vijjācaraṇa*) is the best among gods and men. This verse initiates a discussion between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha when the latter requested the Buddha to explain the knowledge and wisdom (*vijjā* and *caraṇa*) referred to.

The Buddha begins his explanation by saying that in the perfection of these concepts there is no reference to the question either of birth (*jāti*) or lineage (*gotta*) or of pride (*māna*). It is only by giving up such notions of bondage that one is able to cultivate such *vijjā* and *caraṇa*.

On a further request of Ambaṭṭha that these two terms be explained, the Buddha explains the two individually. The text (*D*. I, p. 100), in describing this term, substitutes the description of sīla as found in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D*. I, pp. 62–70). Thus, *caraṇa* comes to mean sīla to some extent which in the ultimate analysis is nothing but the *brahmacārī* life, as taught in Buddhism. When a supremely enlightened Buddha is born in the world, if any person were to listen to his doctrine, develop faith in the Buddha and his teaching and perceive the suffering inherent in the household life, if such a person were to renounce the worldly life and become an ascetic leading the *bramacārī* life, these

actions of his constitute *caraṇa.* According to the explanation in this sutta this is the starting point and the first stage in this course of behaviour called *caraṇa.* In the second stage he lives restrained by the disciplinary code of the monks known as the *pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla.* While practising *caraṇa* in this manner, he finds delight only in good conduct (*caraṇa*), finding danger even in its least violation. He observes all the precepts carefully, and all his actions, verbal as well as physical, are good. The means of his livelihood are pure and his sense-organs are well-guarded, he is endowed with mindfulness and self-possession and is always happy and contented. Next there follows a list of don'ts and do's one has to follow in the practice of *caraṇa.* Thus, he should abstain from killing, stealing, unchastity, uttering falsehood, slandering, harsh speech, frivolous talk, destruction of plant life, eating after midday, witnessing shows of entertainment, adorning oneself with garlands, scents and unguents, using large and lofty beds, accepting silver or gold, raw meat, women or girls, slaves or serfs, sheep or goats, fowls or pigs, elephants, cattle, horses or mares, lands of any type ; he should abstain from acting as a go-between or messenger, from buying or selling, from cheating with scales, measures or money, from bribery, cheating and fraud, from maiming, murder, putting people in bonds, highway robbery, dacoity and violence. While living on the alms provided by the faithful, he does not store up anything such as food, drinks, clothes, etc. He never visits shows of entertainment (*visūkadassana*), a number of which are individually described in the text. He does not live addicted to games and recreations, of which 118 varieties are described. He abstains from using high and large beds, of which 20 types are described. He holds himself aloof from the use of various methods of adorning and beautifying the person, of which 20 items are given. He does not engage in low types of conversation (*tiracchāna-kathā*) of which a long list is given. He holds himself aloof from quarrelsome talk like, "You don't know this doctrine, but I know" etc. which leads to arguments and quarrels. He never acts as a messenger or a go-between for any class of people. He never engages in making money by deceitful practices or by prophesying, exorcism, etc. Next, there follows a long list of 30 different occupations regarded as low and from which a person observing *caraṇa* should abstain. This is followed by yet another six lists of low arts which, too, are similarly regarded as wrong means of livelihood and the abstention from which is part of *caraṇa.* The description is wound up by saying that one who is endowed with this type of sīla (*caraṇa*) sees no danger from any side and full of self-confidence, he experiences within himself a perfect sense of ease.

Here ends the description of sīla, which is substituted for that of *caraṇa* in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*D.* I, p. 70). The next description of *caraṇa* in this sutta refers to the guarding of the six sense-organs (loc. cit.). First it describes how the faculty of sight is to be controlled. Thus, it is said that when one sees anything that attracts one's eyes (e.g., a member of the opposite sex) he controls his faculty of sight so that one does not become a victim to the attractions of that object, which attraction might result in unwholesome mental states such as covetousness (*abhijjhā*) and dejection (*domanassa*). In the same way he controls the other five organs of sense also, so that he never falls a victim to sense-attractions. In other words, he is free from desire for any kind of sensual enjoyment. When he is in this condition he comes to experience a perfect sense of ease into which no evil mental state can enter.

Mindfulness and self-possession (*satisampajañña: D.* I, p. 70) in every act or movement, in all places and on all occasions, is also a part of *caraṇa.* Even in the minutest act one does, or word one utters, one should be absolutely mindful of them which means that before acting or speaking one has to consider whether such an act or word is good or bad, whether they are suitable to the occassion or not, etc. etc.

Next follows contentment (*santuṭṭhi: D.* I, p. 71) as also coming under *caraṇa.* This *santuṭṭhi* is explained as being content with one's barest necessities. Contentment in what one has is a quality that is repeatedly taught in Buddhism.

Endowed with all the sīlas and the virtues enumerated so far, one chooses a lonely spot (*vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ*) in the woods, such as the foot of a tree, a hill-side, a mountain glen, a rocky cave, a cemetery, an open space in a forest or a heap of straw. After having his meals obtained by begging, he goes there and sits cross-legged, keeping the body erect and his intelligence alert and intent. While in this position he gives up and cleanses his mind of the five obstacles that obstruct the mental vision (*nīvaraṇa*) one by one. The value and the ease resulting from the destruction of these five *nīvaraṇas* is explained further by means of five similies in the text.

Once the *nīvaraṇas* are removed he comes to enjoy a perfect state of mental calm and peace and thus full of joy and gladness all his frame comes to be at ease and thus both mentally and physically he enjoys a state of extreme gladness and peace. This

is the important stage, wherein he is completely free from evil dispositions (*akusaladhamma*), after the attainment of which he pervades and suffuses his whole body with the joy and ease born of complete detachment from the world. Similarly, he enters the second, third and the fourth *jhānas* at the end of which his heart becomes extremely pure and cultured.

The above two discriptions of *caraṇa*, as found in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* quoted in the *Visuddhimagga*, too, show that although the basic concept of *caraṇa* is the same in both places, the one in the *Majjhima-nikāya* is more systematised and even more developed than the other.

At *A*. II, pp. 163–4, a clear distinction is made between the ordinary and the genuine *vijjā* and *caraṇa* as understood in Buddhism. According to this sutta it is only the person endowed with *caraṇa*, as taught by the Buddha that obtains the insight of seeing things as they really are (*yathābhūtañāṇa*) and thereby only he puts an end to Saṃsāra.

At *A*. V, p. 327, it is said that a person who is endowed with *vijjā* and *caraṇa* is said to be completely perfect, free from bondage. has lived the noble life (*brahmacariya*), fully reached the goal, and is the best among gods and men. Here too, the Buddha refers to the much-quoted verse attributed to Sanaṅkumāra, praises him for the ideas expressed and approving these ideas, he himself repeats the stanza.

At *S*. I, p. 153, Sanaṅkumāra personally appears before the Buddha to utter this stanza, where, too, the Buddha approves the ideas expressed therein (see also *D*. III, p. 97 and VIJJĀ).

A.G.S.K.

CARA SUTTA, the first discourse of the Cara-vagga of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 13 f.) preached to the monks by the Buddha while staying among the Vajjis at Bhaṇḍagāma, refers to two types of monks, those who are void of zeal and unscrupulous, and those who are ardent and scrupulous. If a monk admits thoughts sensual or malign or cruel in any of the four bodily postures then that monk is void of zeal, unscrupulous, sluggish and poor in energy. But if a monk rejects any such thought then he is ardent, scrupulous, strong in energy and resolute.

The sutta is named after the term *caraṃ* which means walking and is the first of the four bodily postures. It is perhaps intended to embrace all the four postures. The sutta occurs also at *Itivuttaka* (*It*. p. 115 ff.) in full, while the first line of the first stanza is identical with the first line of two stanzas in the *Itivuttaka* (*It*. p. 82) and the *Suttanipāta* (*v*. 193). In the *Sutta Saṅgaha* (*Ssṃg* p. 319 ff.) this sutta appears under the name *Āraddhaviriya Sutta*.

H.R.P.

CARA VAGGA, second chapter of the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A*. II, p. 13 ff.), contains ten short suttas, namely, i. *cara* (deportment), ii. *sīla* (virtue), iii. *padhāna* (effort), iv. *saṃvara* (restraint), v. *paññatti* (types), vi. *sukhuma* (subtle), vii. *agati* (no-bourn), viii. *gati* (bourn), ix. *gati-agati* (bourn and no-bourn) and x. *bhattuddesaka* (the food-steward). The chapter is named after its first sutta.

H.R.P.

CARAVAN. Caravans referred to in Buddhist literature always consisted of carts or waggons (*sakaṭa*, *sattha*), and normally of five hundred of them. These were drawn by bullocks. However, it is interesting to note that there is no reference to animals alone being used in caravans. Great merchants, who go from town to town trading their goods, travelled in caravans for safety (*J*. I, pp. 98, 107). Besides the lack of good roads, they had to face many other obstacles on their long journeys which lasted for many days.

Reference is made to five kinds of 'wastes' (*kantāra*) to be met on their way : those of robbers (*cora*), wild beasts (*vāla*), drought (*nirudaka*), demons (*amanussa*) and famine (*appabbhakkha* : *J*. I, p. 99).

Very often gangs of robbers lay in wait in forests to attack caravans carrying merchandise. Therefore, caravan leaders (*sattha-vāha*) employed either the wardens of the forest (*aṭavīpāla*) or the people who live at the entrances of the forests (*aṭavīmukhavāsi*), as they were more used to those areas, to lead their caravans safely (*J*. V, pp. 22, 471). The caravan leaders always made a point of taking with them the necessary provisions such as rice, water, firewood, etc. See also CARRIAGE.

S.K.N.

CĀRĀYAṆA, the charioteer of king Prasenajit, usually called Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa (Pali: Dīgha Kārāyaṇa).

CARELESSNESS (*pamāda*), heedlessness, a major obstacle to spiritual advancement. The Buddha's final words contained an exhortation to strive towards perfection without carelessness (*appamādena sampādetha* : *D*. II, p. 120). See also SATI.

CARENDRA, one of four yakṣas who reside in the south-east petal of the eight-petalled lotus of the universe (*Sādh.* II, p. 560). He is to be invoked in the *Jambhala-sādhana* (*Sādh.* II, p. 561).

CĀRIKĀ means walking, journeying or living. In Pali the word is always used in its literal sense : *caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ* (*Vin.* I, p. 21) 'wander, O monks' ; *cārikaṃ pakkāmi* (*Vin.* I, p. 83) 'went on a trip' ; *cārikaṃ caramāno* (*Miln.* p. 14) 'going on a trip' ; in all these places *carikaṃ* means journey or wandering. In the following compounds, too, the word means the same : *devacārikaṃ*, wandering in the deva-worlds (*VvuA.* p. 165) ; *janapadacārikaṃ*, wandering through the countries (*PvuA.* p. 14) ; *pubbatacārikaṃ*, wandering over the mountains (*PvuA.* p. 160).

Three types of wandering and their consequences are given in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, namely, *dīghacārikā*, wandering afield, *anavatthacārikā*, wandering aimlessly and *samavatthacāra* (*cārikā*), wandering with an aim (*A.* III, p. 257).

There are eight disadvantages to one who spends his days wandering afield and wandering aimlessly, namely, (1) he does not hear the not-heard ; (2) he does not purge things heard ; (3) he is not reassured by what he hears ; (4) he is stricken by some grievous disease ; (5) he is friendless ; (6) he reaches not the unreached ; (7) he falls from the reached, and (8) he is not reassured by the state reached. The opposites of these eight disadvantages are given as the advantages of wandering with an aim (*A.* III, p. 257).

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* has a detailed explanation of the Buddha's wanderings. They are of two kinds, namely, *turitacārikā*, quick journey, and *aturitacārikā*, slow journey. Going fast to a distant place to instruct a person who can understand the Truth and benefit by it is called *turitacārikā*. To wander leisurely in the villages and districts at the rate of half a yojana a day is called *aturitacārikā*. *Aturitacārikā* is of two kinds ; *anibaddhacārikā*, that is, walking in the villages, districts, etc. for the benefit of the people at large, and *nibaddhacārikā* that is walking for the benefit of a single person (*DA.* pp. 239–43).

Buddhaghosa further says that the Buddha in his *aturitacārikā* covers one of the three *maṇḍalas*, namely, the *mahā-maṇḍala* which is nine hundred yojanas in extent ; the *majjhima-maṇḍala*, which is six hundred yojanas in extent and the *antomaṇḍula* which is three hundred yojanas in extent. He takes nine months to complete the trip over the *mahā-maṇḍala*, eight months to cover the *majjhima-maṇḍala* and four to seven months to cover the *anto-maṇḍala* (ibid. p. 242). It is mainly for the benefit of the people (*bahujanahitāya*), that he goes on these trips. He also walks as a physical exercise (*jaṅghāvihāra* : loc. cit.).

In the Buddhist Sanskrit texts the word *cārikā* is used synonymously with *cariyā* ; in its technical sense : *caranti varabodhicārikāṃ*, they follow the path leading to *bodhi* (*Sdmp.* p. 123) ; *bodhisattva-cārikāṃ abhiśraddadhāti*, he has faith in the course of conduct of the bodhisattvas (*Śikṣ.* p. 316) ; *cariṣye varabodhicārikāṃ*. I will follow the course of conduct leading to bodhi (*Sadh.* I, p. 29) ; *carannuttama-bodhicārikāṃ*, following the path leading to bodhi (*Rpp.* p. 50) ; *puruṣottamacārikāṃ acari so bodhi-sattvacaryāṃ saṃsarati*, he lived the life of a noble one ; the course of conduct of bodhisattvas (*Mhvu.* I, p. 3) ; *bodhisattvacārikāṃ caranto*, living the life of a bodhisattva (*Mhvu.* II, p. 356) ; in these and many other places it is used synonymously with *caryā* (q.v.).

It is also used in its literal sense : *ekacārikā pratyekajinaputrānāṃ*, the solitary life of pratyekabuddhas. In this phrase *cārikā*, means living or wandering (*Lank.* p. 291).

U. K.

CARIMĀLOPA SUTTA, the sixth sutta of the third *vagga* of the *Itivuttaka* (*It.* pp. 18–19). It also occurs in the sixth chapter of the *Suttasaṃgaha* (*Ssṃg.* pp. 232–34). In this sutta, the Buddha addresses the bhikkhus thus : "people should know the result of the distribution of charity (Pali, *dāna*), just as I know it ; and they should not eat without having given ; and the stain of selfishness should not make its deep impression on their hearts. Whatever least bit or morsel (*ālopa*) they may have, if there should be anyone to receive it, they should not eat without first having shared it. People do not know the result of the distribution of charity, as I know it. They eat without having first given, and the stain of selfishness has made its deep impression on their hearts."

Thereafter the Buddha uttered the following :

1. " If creatures should know
Just as the Great Sage has said
What wonderous fruit
Cometh from giving gifts,

2. Having, with undisturbed mind
Put away all stain of selfishness.
They would give proper gifts to the deserving,
From this act there cometh (to them) great-reward.

3. And, having given much food,
As a gift to the deserving,
Benefactors, when they leave
This human life (Pali : *manussatta*), do go to heaven.

4. And those that have gone to heaven,
Rejoice there in bliss,
(And) loosing their selfishness they enjoy,
The result of generosity. "

(*Itivuttaka*, trsl. Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. V, 1908, p. 38, § 26).

I. K.

CARITA, a Pali term meaning 'living,' 'behaviour,' or 'accumulated karma', is also used in its developed sense of 'persons of different types of temperament.'

In *ekassa caritaṃ seyyo* (*Dhp. v.* 330), *carita* means 'life' or 'living;' in *sucarita* and *duccarita*, it means 'behaviour,' the way of life, good or bad. It again means previous karma, good or bad, which influence one's behaviour (*Ps.* I, pp. 123, 124; *PsA.* II, p. 394).

The term is also used in the post-canonical literature in its developed and technical sense of 'persons possessing different types of temperament' (*Miln.* p. 92; *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa, ed. in Sinhala characters by Ratanajoti and Ratanapāla, Government of Ceylon, 1963, pt. ii; *Vism.* pp. 82–93).

The *Milindapañha* mentions four persons of different temperament, namely, *rāgacarita*, the person whose temperament is that of lust, *dosacarita*, the one whose temperament is that of hate, *mohacarita*, the one whose temperament is that of delusion and *mānacarita*, the person whose temperament is that of pride (*Miln.* p. 92).

The most detailed treatment of the term *carita* is met with in the *Vimuttimagga* of Upatissa (op. cit. p. 11) and the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* pp. 82–93). Upatissa begins with a classification of fourteen types, plus three additional types, of temperament, but ultimately reduces the number to three basic types whereas Buddhaghosa, who apparently was aware of Upatissa's classification, limits himself to six types.

Both use the word *cariyā* in the sense of temperament and *carita* in the sense of persons possessing these temperaments.

The following is the list of fourteen given in the *imuttimagga*: (1) *rāgacarita*, person whose temperament is that of greed, (2) *dosacarita*, the one whose temperament is that of hate, (3) *mohacarita*, the one whose temperament is that of delusion, (4) *saddhācarita*, the one whose temperament is that of faith, (5) *buddhicarita*, the one whose temperament is that of intelligence, (6) *vitakkacarita*, the one whose temperament is speculative, (7) *rāga-dosa-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of greed and hate, (8) *rāga-moha carita*, the one whose temperament is that of greed and delusion, (9) *dosa-mohacarita*, the one whose temperament is that of hate and delusion, (10) *rāga-dosa-moha-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of greed, hate and delusion, (11) *saddhābuddhi-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of faith and intelligence, (12) *saddhā-vitakka-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of faith and speculation, (13) *buddhi-vitakka-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of intelligence and speculation and (14) *saddhā-buddhi-vitakka-carita*, the person whose temperament is that of faith, intelligence and speculation (*Vimuttimagga*, p. 11). Buddhaghosa criticises this classification of Upatissa saying "some would have fourteen types of temperament taking the first six single ones together with the four made of the three double combinations and one triple combination, with the greed-triad and likewise with the faith-triad." But, if this method of classification is admitted, he says, there are many more types of temperament possible by combining greed etc. with faith etc. Finally, he limits the number to six, namely, (1) *rāga-carita* (2) *dosa-carita*, (3) *moha-carita*, (4) *saddhā-carita*, (5) *buddhi-carita* and *vitakka-carita* (*Vism.* p. 82). He adds that as regards meaning, the temperaments are one, that is to say, personal nature, idiosyncracy (loc. cit.).

Buddhaghosa's criticism of Upatissa's classification seems justified because the latter himself reduces the fourteen types into three on the basis of basic passions, greed (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha* : *Vimuttimagga*, p. 11).

He sees no reason why the three additional types given by Upatissa are to be retained: namely, (1) *taṇhā-carita*, the person whose temperament is that of craving (2) *māna-carita*, the one whose temperament is that of pride and (3) *diṭṭhi-carita*, the person whose temperament is that of views. "Craving is simply greed," says Buddhaghosa, "and pride is associated with that." So neither of them exceeds greed. Since views have their source in delusion, the temperament of views falls within the temperament of delusion (*Vism.* p. 93).

Upatissa gives three causes for the difference in temperament of people, namely, the deeds done in the past (kamma), prominence of different elements (e.g., earth, *pathavī*, etc.) and of different cardinal humours (e.g., phlem, *semha*, etc.). But Buddhaghosa gives only one, i.e., the previous conditions (*pubba-hetu*) as the source of different temperaments (*Vism.* p. 84).

Thus, one who 'has greed' is one of greedy temperament ; one who 'has hate' and one who 'is dull' are, respectively, of hating temperament and deluded temperament. One who 'possesses understanding' is one of intelligent temperament. One who 'has no greed' and one who 'has no hate' are of faithful temperament because they are naturally trustful. Or, just as one, who is reborn through kamma accompanied by non-delusion, is of intelligent temperament, so one, who is reborn through kamma accompanied by strong faith, is of faithful temperament ; one, who is reborn through kamma accompanied by thoughts of sense desire, is of speculative temperament ; and one who is reborn through kamma accompanied by mixed greed etc., is of mixed temperament. Thus, it is the kamma productive of rebirth-linking and accompanied by one of the three root-causes that is the source of temperament, concludes Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* p. 84 ; cp. Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification*, Colombo, 1956, pp. 104–6).

Thus, all human beings fall into different categories on the basis of the temperament they possess. Since all subjects of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*) are not suitable for all persons, a knowledge of the temperament a particular person possesses is very essential for a spiritual teacher because it enables him to select for his disciple (or disciples) the correct subject of meditation and assign it to him. And, ways and means are given by which a teacher can know the temperament of a particular person. One is by penetration of the latter's mind. Another is by examining him by way of questioning. He also may recognise the temperament of a person by his gait, his manner of eating, of doing things, of looking at objects and of sleeping and so on, which are different in persons of different temperaments (*Vism.* pp. 85–7).

Eleven subjects of meditation are prescribed as suitable for a *rāga-carita* ; they are the ten foul things (*asubha*) and mindfulness as to the body (*kāyagatāsati*). Eight subjects, namely, the four divine states (*brahmavihāra*) and the four colour devices (*vaṇṇakasiṇa*) are suitable for a *dosa-carita*. For the *moha-carita* and for the *vitakka-carita* is suitable only one subject of meditation, to wit, mindfulness as to respiration (*ānāpānasati*). The first six recollections (*anussati*) are suitable for persons whose temperament is that of faith, (*saddhā-carita*). For persons whose temperament is that of intelligence (*buddhi-carita*) four subjects are suitable, namely, mindfulness of death (*maraṇasati*), of calmness (*upasamānussati*) defining, of the four elements (*catudhātuvavaṭṭhāna*) and perception of the abominableness of food (*āhāre-paṭikkūlasaññā*). The remaining devices and the four immaterial states (*āruppa*) are suitable for all kinds of temperament. And among the devices (*kasiṇa*), the limited ones, i.e., of the size of a pot-lid are suitable for those whose temperament is speculative, (*vitakka-carita*) and the infinite ones for those whose temperament is delusion.

The foregoing treatment of *carita*, it should be emphasised, has an ethical basis in that different subjects of meditation are prescribed for persons of different temperaments, so that they may get rid of the defilements predominent in them, namely, *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha*.

U. K.

CARITA SUTTA. There are four suttas by this name, two in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and two in the *Itivuttaka*. The first sutta gives the fourfold wrong conduct in speech, namely, lying speech, spiteful speech, harsh speech and idle babble, while the second sutta gives their opposites as fourfold right conduct in speech, namely, truthful speech, speech not spiteful, mild speech and the speech full of meaning (*A.* II, p. 141).

The two suttas in the *Itivuttaka* enumerate threefold wrong conduct and threefold right conduct by deed, word and thought, respectively. Those with wrong conduct will be reborn in hell and those with right conduct in heaven (*It.* pp. 54–5).

U. K.

CĀRITRAMATI, a bodhisattva who lived in the Ratnārci Tathāgata's Buddhakṣetra, in the Upaśāntā *lokadhātu* in the western direction of the universe. One day, having witnessed three miracles, namely, the appearance of a great light, a Tathāgatakāya and an earth-quake, Cāritramati went to the Tathāgata Ratnārci and asked him the reason for the miracles. The Buddha Ratnārci said that the reason for the miracles was that the Tathāgata Śākyamuni in the Sahā-lokadhātu in the eastern quarter was teaching the *Prajñāpāramitā* to bodhisattvas. Cāritramati decided to visit Śākyamuni and announced this decision to Ratnārci who consented and gave him

a thousand lotuses of thousand petals each and asked him to offer them to the Śākyamuni. Cāritramati, together with a great number of bodhisattvas, went to the Śākyamuni and, having offered the lotuses to him, sat on a side. Śākyamuni accepted them and, in turn, offered them to the innumerable Tathāgatas in the east (*ŚsP.* pp. 34–7).

U. K.

CĀRITRAVATĪ, a samādhi or a concentration of mind mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*BB.* XIII. p. 10). It is explained in the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* as that which reveals the nature of all other samādhis (*ŚsP.* p. 1421).

CĀRITTA (Skt. *cāritra*), has four meanings: (1) intercourse; (2) to call on; (3) customs, traditions and conventions and (4) manner of acting.

Thus, in the sentence: *yā tā māturakkhitā . . . . tathārūpāsu cārittam āpajjati*—has intercourse with girls protected by mother. . . . *cāritta* means intercourse (*M.* I, pp. 286, 287; III, p. 46; *J.* III, p. 46).

In *kulesu cārittam āpajjati*—calls on families—it means to call on (*M.* I, p. 470; *S.* II, p. 270; *Prāt.* p. 522).

The compound form *pubbacāritta* means customs and traditions coming down from the past (*J.* V, p. 285; *VvuA.* pp. 31–2); and *lokacāritta* means conventions accepted by society (*J.* I, pp. 90, 367; II, p. 277). These two words mean the same.

The most important use of the word is found in combination with *vāritta*; thus the form *cāritta-vāritta* means doing and avoiding. This forms the twofold division of virtue (*sīla*: *Thag.* *v.* 591; *J.* III, p. 195; *Miln.* p. 133; *Vimuttimagga* (trsl. N.R.W. Ehara, Soma and Kheminda thera, Colombo 1961, p. 10) has 'precepts governing usage, *cāritta*; and precepts governing prohibition, *vāritta*; *Vism.* p. 9; *VvuA.* p. 37).

Fulfilling a training course announced by the Buddha thus: 'This should not be done' is doing; refraining from what is prohibited by him thus: 'This should not be done' is avoiding (*Vism.* p. 10). See further SĪLA.

U. K.

CARIYĀ, meaning walking, conduct or behaviour, state of life, and temperament, is a word used in Pali in its literal as well as technical sense. In forms like *dhammacariyā*, living in righteousness (*S.* I, p. 101; *A.* II, p. 5; III, p. 448; V, pp. 87, 302; *VvuA.* p. 282 etc.), *samacariyā*, living in spiritual calm, quietism (*S.* I, pp. 96, 101; *A.* I, p. 55; *It.* pp. 16, 52, etc.), *brahmacariyā*, holy life, religious life as way to end suffering (found very often in the *Nikāyas*), *ekacariyā*, living alone, solitary life (*Dhp. v.* 61; *Sn. v.* 820, etc.), *naggacariyā* living or walk naked (*Dhp. v.* 141; *DhpA.* III, p. 78); *cariyā* means living, way or state of life; and in forms like *uñchācariyā*, wandering for or in search of gleaning (*J.* II, p. 272; III, pp. 37, 515; V, p. 3; etc.) and *bhikkhācariyā*, going about for alms, begging round, it means walking or wandering.

Cariyā in the sense of behaviour is used in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. Knowledge of the definition of behaviour (*cariyā*) is identical with the knowledge of the diversity of behaviour (*cariyāvavatthāne paññā cariyānānatte ñāṇaṃ*: *Ps.* I, p. 1). Here *cariyā* means behaviour. In explanation of the above statement, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* gives three types of behaviour, namely, the behaviour of awareness (*viññāṇacariyā*), behaviour of ignorance (*aññāṇacariyā*) and the behaviour of insight, (*ñāṇacariyā*: *Ps.* I, p. 79).

The adverting (*āvajjana*) of the doors of the senses towards their objects, the sixfold consciousness (*viññāṇa*), their resultant mind-element, (*vipākamanodhātu*) and the resultant mind-consciousness element (*vipākamanoviññāṇadhātu*) are called the behaviour of awareness or consciousness (*viññāṇacariyā*).

It is called *viññāṇacariyā* because it is dissociated from greed (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), pride (*māna*), views (*diṭṭhi*), restlessness (*uddhacca*), doubt (*vicikicchā*) and inclinations (*anusaya*), and it has nothing to do with profitable actions (*kusalakamma*) and unprofitable actions (*akusalakamma*), wrongful actions (*sāvajjakamma*) and actions which are not wrong (*anavajjakamma*), 'black' actions (*kaṇhakamma*) and 'white' actions (*sukkakamma*), actions yielding pleasure (*sukhudrayakamma*) and actions yielding pain (*dukkhudrayakamma*), actions resulting in pleasure (*sukhavipākakamma*) and the actions resulting in pain (*dukkhavipākakamma*). It is called *viññāṇacariyā* because it behaves in what is cognised (*viññāta*); it is of the nature of consciousness (*viññāṇa*); this *citta* is pure by nature, not defiled (*Ps.* I, p. 80).

The apperception (*javana*) obtained in connection with the six objects of the senses and accompanied by greed, etc., and dissociated from profitable actions, etc. (given with regard to *viññāṇacariyā*) is called the behaviour of ignorance (*aññāṇacariyā*).

It is so called because it behaves in what is not known. It is of the nature of ignorance (*Ps.* I, pp. 80–2).

Three sets of eight *cariyās* each are given in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* II and in the *Niddesa* II. In these, *cariyā* means conduct.

The first set has the following eight : (1) *iriyāpathacariyā*, conduct with regard to the four postures, to be found in those endowed with resolution (*paṇidhi*), (2) *āyatana-ca°*, conduct with regard to the sixfold internal and external spheres of perception, to be found in those whose doors of the senses are guarded (*guttadvāra*), (3) *sati-c°*, conduct with regard to the fourfold mindfulness, to be found in those who are diligent (*appamāda*), (4) *samādhi-ca°*, conduct with regard to the fourfold *jhāna*, to be found in those who have applied themselves to meditation (*adhicitta*), (5) *ñāṇa-ca°*, conduct with regard to insight into the Four Noble Truths, to be found in those endowed with insight (*buddhi*), (6) *magga-ca°*, conduct with regard to the fourfold path, to be found in those who are practising well (*sammāpaṭipanna*), (7) *paṭipatti* or *patti-ca°*, conduct with regard to the fourfold fruit of recluseship (*sāmaññaphala*), to be found in those who have attained to fruition (*phala*), and (8) *lokuttara* or *lokattha-cariyā*, conduct of the Tathāgatas, the paccekabuddhas and the arahants (*Ps.* II, pp. 19, 225 ; *Nd.* II, p. 141).

The second list consists of the following eight : (1) living with faith (*saddhā*), (2) with effort (*viriya*), (3) with mindfulness (*sati*), (4) with concentration (*samādhi*), (5) with knowledge (*paññā*), (6) with awareness (*viññāṇa*), (7) with correct practice aimed at accumulating *kusala dhamma* (*āyatana*) and (8) with practice aimed at gaining special qualities (*visesa : Ps.* II, pp. 20, 225–6 ; *Nd.* II, p. 141).

The third list gives the following eight : (1) living with right understanding (*dassana*), (2) with right thoughts (*abhiropana*), (3) right speech (*pariggaha*), (4) right action (*samuṭṭhāna*), (5) right livelihood (*vodāna*), (6) right effort (*paggaha*), (7) right mindfulness (*upaṭṭhāna*) and (8) right concentration (*avikkhepa : Ps.* II, pp. 20, 226 ; *Nd.* II, pp. 141–2). This list covers the Noble Eightfold Path.

In the *Visuddhimagga* and in the *Vimuttimagga*, the term *cariyā* is used in the sense of temperament. The former has six types of temperament, namely, (1) the temperament of greed (*rāga*), (2) of hate (*dosa*), (3) of delusion (*moha*), (4) of faith (*saddhā*), (5) of intelligence (*buddhi*) (6) and of speculation (*vitakka : Vism.* p. 82).

The latter has seventeen types, namely, six types given in the *Visuddhimagga* plus (7) the temperament of greed-hate (*rāga-dosa-cariyā*), (8) of greed-delusion (*rāga-moha*), (9) of hate-delusion (*dosa-moha*), (10) of greed-hate-delusion (*rāga-dosa-moha*), (11) of faith-intelligence (*saddhā-buddhi*), (12) of faith-speculation (*saddhā-vitakka*), (13) of intelligence-speculation (*buddhi-vitakka*), (14) of faith-intelligence-speculation (*saddhā-buddhi-vitakka*), (15) of craving (*taṇhā*), (16) of pride (*māna*), and (17) of views (*diṭṭhi-cariyā : Vimuttimagga*, ed. Galkätiyāgama Śrī Ratnamali thera, Colombo, 1963, ch. vi). See also CARITA.

U.K.

CARIYĀ-PIṬAKA, the fifteenth book of the Pāli *Khuddakanikāya*. It is a collection of thirty-five jātakas in verse, showing how the bodhisatta had attained the ten perfections (*pāramitās*) in the previous births.

The verses are written in the *anuṣṭubh* metre. The language is simple and the style is similar to that of the *Dhammapada*.

The work is divided into three books. The first book contains ten stories (*cariyā*), viz., Akatti, Saṅkha, Dhanañjaya, Mahā-sudassana, Mahāgovinda Nimirāja, Candakumāra, Sivirāja, Vessantara and Sasapaṇḍita, all illustrating the perfection of generosity (*dānapāramī*). The second book illustrates the perfection of virtue (*sīlapāramī*) also in ten stories, namely, Sīlavanāga, Bhūridatta, Campeyyanāga, Cūḷabodhi, Mahīsarāja, Rururāja, Mātaṅga, Dhammādhammadevaputta, Jayaddisa and Saṅkhapāla. The third book has fifteen stories in illustration of five more *pāramīs*, namely, the stories of Yudhañjaya, Somanassa, Ayoghara, Bhisa and Soṇapaṇḍita, illustrating the perfection of renunciation (*nekkhammapāramī*), the *Temiya Cariyā* illustrating the perfection of resolution (*adhiṭṭhānapāramī*), the stories of Kapirāja, Saccasahayapaṇḍita, Vaṭṭapotaka, Maccharāja, Kaṇhadīpāyana and Sutasoma, illustrating the perfection of truthfulness (*saccapāramī*), two stories of Suvaṇṇasāma and Ekarāja, illustrating the perfection of kindness to all beings (*mettāpāramī*), and finally the story of Mahālomahaṃsa, illustrating the perfection of equanimity (*upekkhāpāramī*).

Three *pāramitās*, wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*viriya*), and patience (*khanti*), have been left out.

It is the Buddha himself who is stated as having related the stories. He records the event in brief, scanty words, sometimes only hinting so slightly that a knowledge of the story is evidently already assumed, in fact, to a certain extent, the intention is merely to recall it.

Most of the stories are such as appear in the Jātaka book, but in this work only what is essential to illuminate some perfection is mentioned. The stories are often adapted in order to make them into examples of some perfection.

There is a commentary by Dhammapāla under the title *Paramatthadīpanī* (q.v.).

U.K.

CARMAVASTU, a section of the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinayavastu*, written in Sanskrit, and corresponding to some extent, to the *Cammakkhandha* of the *Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I, pp. 179-98). Yet, even those sections that correspond are not literal translations, but adaptations. The manuscripts of the Sanskrit texts were discovered at Gilgit (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Calcutta, 1950, III, pt. iv. pp. 159-210). The first few pages of the manuscript that were lost have been restored with the help of the *Śroṇa-koṭīkarṇāvadāna* found in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 1-24).

The extant *Carmavastu* begins with the story of Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa (Pali : Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa or Soṇa Koṭikaṇṇa), whereas the Pali *Cammakkhandha* opens with that of Soṇa Koḷivisa (Śroṇa Koṭīviṃsa). Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa's youthful activities and his journeys, along with his visits to the preta-worlds (worlds of the departed beings) are described in great detail. Episodes regarding his visits to the preta-world are related in such a manner as to induce the readers to set their minds on practising virtuous qualities. Most of these bring out the good results that follow *dāna* (gifts) offered to the Saṅgha. Later a female inmate of the preta-world brings Śroṇa to his village called Vāsavagrāma in the Aśmaka district. After the death of his parents, he enters the Order under the guidance of Mahākātyāyana. In the Pali *Cammakkhandha* these details of the story of Soṇa Koṭikaṇṇa are not found (but cp. *DPPN*. s.v.).

Śroṇa had to wait for his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) because of the scarcity of monks in the Aśmāparāntaka. It is said that in those days monks assembled twice, during the rainy season retreat, i.e., either in the month of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) or in the *Kārtika* (October-November). It was during such occasions that novices received higher ordination. Śroṇa, too, received the higher ordination after the termination of the months of the rainy season. But according to the Pali text he had to wait for three years . Later, he desired to see the Buddha in person and requested permission from Mahākātyāyana to do so. Mahākātyāyana while granting permission had wanted Śroṇa to ask of the Buddha regarding five things, namely, (i) what course of action should be followed in performing the ordination (*upasampadā*) ceremony in Aśmāparāntaka where it was difficult to summon an assembly consisting of ten monks (*daśavarga-gaṇaḥ*) required to perform that ceremony ; (ii) whether foot-wear made of leather could be used by monks dwelling in Aśmāparāntaka, which was full of gravel ; (iii) whether leather spreads could be used by monks in that region ; (iv) whether monks dwelling in Aśmāparāntaka could bathe frequently, as the people in that region attached great importance to bathing ; (v) who would be guilty of a *naisargika* offence (forfeiture), if a robe sent by a monk residing in one place to a monk residing in another place was not received by the latter.

There is a difference between the Sanskrit and Pali text with regard to this last mentioned question. The *Cammakkhandha* (*Vin.* I, p. 196) says, "At present Lord, people give robe material to monks who have gone outside the boundaries, saying: we are giving this robe material for so and so. When these have come back (the others) announce : Your reverences, robe material was given for you by the people of so and so. But these, being scrupulous, do not accept it, thinking : Let there not be an offence involving forfeiture (*nissaggiyam*). Perhaps the Lord would explain the procedure in regard to the robe-material" (*Book of the Discipline*, IV, p. 263). Differences of this nature, show that the Sanskrit text instead of being a mere translation of the Pali work embodies the traditions of a different school.

Later Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa visited the Buddha and at the latter's request recited the sūtras called *Arthavargīyāni* (Pali. *Aṭṭhakavaggikāni*).Then Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa put the five questions to the Buddha, who wanted him to raise them in the assembly of monks. This minor detail, too, is not found in the Pali text.

When those questions were raised by him in the assembly, the Buddha gives his reply by saying that monks in the border districts should act as follows : I approve, in all border districts, ordination with a group of five monks, with the fifth as an expert on discipline (*vinayadharapañcamena gaṇena*). I approve, in all border districts, the use of foot wear with one lining (*ekapalāśika*), but not with two or three, and to repair it, if it happen to be worn out, by a covering (*argalaka*).[1] I approve, in all

1 But according to the Pali text the Buddha permitted these monks to use sandals with many linings (*gaṇaṃganūpāhanaṃ*). Cp. *VinA*. p. 1083.

border districts, the use of leather spreads. I approve frequent bathing, in all border districts, where great importance is attached to bathing. No one would be guilty of a *naisargika* offence (forfeiture) if a monk does not receive a robe sent by another.

In the Pali text this last rule, too, differs, along with the question. There it is said, "And moreover, monks, people give robe material for monks who have gone outside the boundaries, saying : We are giving this robe material for so and so. I allow you, monks, to consent (to it). That reckoning is not necessary until it reaches the hand" (*Vin.* I, p. 198 ; see also *SBB.* XIV, p. 267, n. 2 ; p. 263, n. 6).

Then on the request of a monk called Udāli, whose name is not found in the Pali context, the Buddha lays down the limits of the border districts.

On the east is the town called Puṇḍravardhana. (On the identification of this city, see B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 7). To the east of that city is the forest range by the name of Puṇḍrakakṣa and beyond that lie the border district. On the south is the city called Śarāvātī beyond which flows the river by the same name. Beyond that river is the border district. On the west are the two brāhman villages called Sthūṇaka and Upasthūṇaka beyond which lies the border district. On the north is the mountain called Uśīra and beyond that is the border district.

Some of the names of the boundaries as given in the Pali text differ from the above list. It is not quite certain whether the same places are referred to by different names (*Vin.* I. p. 197).

The *Cammakkhandha* ends with the Buddha's approval regarding the five questions. But the *Carmavastu* goes further and cites the past story of Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa (q.v.) as related by the Buddha.

Then follows an incident which led to the rule prohibiting the use of luxurious, high beds. However, the Buddha, later allowed monks to sit on high seats if offered by a householder at his own house. But, he emphatically prohibited monks to use such luxurious, high seats at monasteries and never to sleep on them whether in the house of a layman or in the monastery.

This is followed by an incident which led to the laying down of the rule forbidding the monks to use leather spreadings for seats or beds. This rule, too, was amended and monks were allowed to sit on them when offered by laymen (cp. *Vin.* I, pp. 193 f.). It is also mentioned briefly that sick monks only were allowed to go about in vehicles (cp. *Vin.* I, p. 191).

Monks were permitted to learn swimming, but were strongly advised not to teach females under the pretext of helping them even if they needed help. But, later this rule, too, was relaxed, with many restrictions and the monks were permitted to help females who fall into difficulties while crossing streams.

Monks were not permitted to hold on to the tails of cows while crossing streams and rivers. Instead, they were allowed to cling on to the tails, as support, of five kinds of animals namely, elephants, horses, bulls (*vṛṣabha*), buffaloes and yaks (*camara*) (but cp. *Vin.* I, p. 191, which relates a different incident). Besides these, they were permitted to use a *bhṛṣi*, which probably meant a particular kind of raft.

The use of wooden sandals was restricted and the monks were advised to wear them when going to lavatories (*varcaskuṭi*) and latrines (*prasrāvakuṭi*). Only those monks who suffered from the disease called *vātśoṇita* (a diseased state of wind and blood) were allowed to use sandals made of ropes (*rajju-pādukā*).

Then follows the episode of Śroṇa Koṭiviṃśa (Soṇa Koḷivisa). Certain details of this story that occur in the Pali text are not found in the *Carmavastu* (cp. *Vin.* I, p. 179 f.). The Buddha allows Śroṇa to use sandals with one lining, but at the request of the latter the Buddha extends this privilege to the other monks, as well. Monks were also asked to use such sandals to protect beds and seats from getting spoilt by the dirt on their feet.

However, monks were permitted to use sandals with many linings (*bahupuṭī*) if offered by laymen after they had used them for some time. But the use of luxurious sandals was completely prohibited. In this connection it also relates an incident which made the people believe that monks, in general, were in the habit of stealing such luxurious sandals. Sandals with crosswise leather straps (*tiryagbaddhikā*) and another kind of comfortable footwear, called *puṭāpuṭī*, were allowed to be used by monks when climbing and descending mountains. Sandals made of reeds were allowed to be used instead of those made out of fresh grass which hurt the feet.

Monks dwelling in areas subject to snowfall were permitted to use a special kind of shoes called *pūlā*. Monks could accept a gift of a bear skin, yet it should only be used as a door-mat to the bed room. Monks were permitted to mend their own sandals, provided they did it in a secluded place ; they were also allowed to carry the necessary equipment, such as a shoemaker's knife (*ārā*) and leather straps (*baddhikā*).

The Tibetan version of the *Carmavastu* known as *Ḥdul-ba gshi* (*ko-lpags kyi-gshi*), too, is incorporated in the *Vinayavastu* (*Ḥdul-ba gshi* : *TM.* No. 1). Its Chinese version is called *Kên-pên-shuo-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu-p'i-na-yeh-p'i-ko-sh'ih* (*Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu* ; *Carmavastu* : *Taishō*, No. 1447).

S.K.N.

CARPENTER, JOSEPH ESTLIN (1844–1927) , English Unitarian scholar who collaborated with Professor Rhys Davids in editing Buddhist texts and was one of the recognized authorities on Pali (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 936 f.). Attempting to elucidate Buddhism in the light of Christianity and other religions of India, he also brought forth several remarkable contributions in that less trodden field.

Carpenter was born on October 5, 1844 at Ripley in Surrey as the son of William Benjamin Carpenter. He received his secondary education at the University College, London, and Manchester New College (later, Manchester College, Oxford) respectively. He served the Unitarian community as the minister of Oakfield Road Chapel from 1886 to 1889 and of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds from 1869 to 1875. In 1875, accepting a lecturership, he joined the Manchester (New) College, which was established in Oxford from 1906 to 1915. In 1906, he became the principal there, where he continued to lecture until 1924. He died in Oxford on June 2, 1927 at the age of eighty-three.

Carpenter was a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Oxford Society. His erudition and assiduity in academic pursuits are well evinced from the high degrees he earned from various Universities of repute. Carpenter showed a penchant for the study of comparative religions and it was in this connection that he was appointed to the Wilde Lectureship at Oxford in 1914. Moreover, he was greatly responsible for organizing, in 1908, the Third International Congress for the History of Religions in Oxford. His enthusiasm for the history of religions led him to study various oriental languages including Pali, in which he gained mastery. It is interesting to note that at the same time he was hailed as a distinguished exponent of Pentateuchal criticism. He also wrote on the synoptic problem and on theism in Mediaeval India.

Carpenter contributed to Buddhist scholarship in two ways. Firstly, by means of his careful edition of Pali texts, which he did in colloboration with T. W. Rhys Davids, for the Pali Text Society ; the texts he thus edited are the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* Vol. I (1886) ; the *Dīgha-nikāya* Vol. I (1890), II (1903) and III (1911). Although he and Rhys Davids commenced to edit the second volume of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, they could not complete it. However, it was from material left behind by them that W. Stede finally edited it.

Secondly, by means of his writings on Buddhism, enumerated among his remarkable contributions in this connection are Buddhist and Christian Parallels in '*Studies in the History of Religions*' presented to Crawford Howell Toy (New York, 1912) ; *Comparative Religion* (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge Series, London, 1913) ; *Theism in Mediaeval India* (The Hibbert Lectures, second series, London, 1921) ; *Buddhism and Christianity,* A contrast and a parallel, (London, 1923) ; *Visuddhi-Magga,* Abstract of Contents (*JPTS.* 1890, pp. 14–20), 'The obligations of the New Testament to Buddhism' (See *A Buddhist Bibliography,* London, 1935, p. 145), 'How Japanease Buddhism Appeals to a Christian Theist' (*Hibbert Journal,* Vol. IV, No. 3, April 1906, pp. 503–26); 'The Buddhist Doctrine of Salvation' (ibid, Vol. XI, 1912–13, pp. 497–507) and 'The Religion in the Far East ; or Salvation by Faith', 'A Study of Japanese Buddhism' (*The Quest,* Vol. I, No. 3, 1909–10, pp. 460–75 ; No. 4, 1909, pp. 649–65).

Despite the fact that Carpenter's writings earned him an esteemed place among scholars of Buddhism, he is better known in the West as a great biblical critic who wrote on both Old and New Testaments.

C.S.R.

CARRIAGE. So many and varied were the means and modes of conveyance prevalent in Buddhist India, that all of them cannot be grouped under this general topic. The term 'carriage', though parallel to the Pali term *yāna,* which denotes all modes of conveyance in general is, in usage, closer in meaning to the word 'vehicle' which is a particular mode of conveyance. Therefore, in this article the word 'carriage' is limited to the few wheeled vehicles and the palanquin ; the rest will be dealt with elsewhere (see YĀNA).

In a broad sense carriages come under the category of conveyances designated as *thalayāna* (land-vehicle). Various types of carriages were used for different purposes and of these, too, the most common seems to have been the chariot (*ratha*) used for riding, driving and war-fare.

Generally, chariots were of two kinds (*MA.* II, p. 194), the war-chariot (*yodha-ratha*) and the embellished chariot (*alaṅkāra-ratha*) though these were not the only kinds.

The structure of the chariot seems to have been almost similar to those of other types of wheeled vehicles. The *Milindapañha* (p. 27) gives a list of the constituent parts of the chariot, viz., the pole (*īsā*), axle (*akkho*), wheels (*cakkāni*), frame work (*rathapañjara*), flag-staff (*rathadaṇḍaka*) and the yoke (*yuga*) (cp. *Mhvyut. BB.* XIII, p. 74). The hinder part of the chariot was called *apālamba*, which is also the Vedic term for it (*S.* I, p. 33). Some take this to mean either the 'leaning-board' which prevented the rider from falling or a particular mechanism applied to stop a chariot (*PED.* s.v.). The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 191) mentions two other parts called the triplebar (*tidaṇḍa*; cp. Skt. *triveṇu*) which probably were three poles or sticks fixed in from the front of the chariot to hold the pennons; and the carriage-railing (*ratha-kubbara*; cp. Skt. *kubara*) which may have been the railing that ran round the two sides and the front of the floor of the chariot to protect the occupants from falling (*JRAS.* 1931, pp. 577 ff.). The *Buddhacarita* (iii,60) describes how prince Siddhārtha on seeing a corpse for the first time, was dejected and leaned against the chariot railing (*aṃsena saṃśliṣya ca kūbarāgram*).

Generally, thoroughbred horses were harnessed to chariots and their number differed. Four seems to have been the most common figure (*Thig. v.* 229). There are references, which show that other animals such as the goat and the bull, too, were used (*BHS.* s.v. *rathaka*). Ancient Buddhist sculpture, e.g., the Gandhāra sculpture depicting prince Siddhārtha going to school in a chariot drawn by rams, too, establish this point (cp. also the *Nd.* I, pt. I, p. 145, *hatthiyāna*, etc.).

The capacity of the chariot differed according to its size but all references show that a chariot was meant to carry more than one person.

The charioteer (*rathin*) had to be skilled in driving for, sometimes the horse becomes uncontrollable and causes damage to the chariot as described in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 191), "... when an excitable horse is told to go on, being beaten and urged by the driver, he backs and twists the carriage round with his hind quarters"; and again "...he jumps back, batters against the carriage railing and breaks the triplebar." The situation when the charioteer is about to drive on is described as "... as soon as the coachman, a capable trainer and driver of horses, had mounted and grasped the reins in his left hand and with his right seized the goad..." (ibid. III, p. 28). When driven by expert drivers, chariots travelled quite fast, yet, when covering long distances, relays of chariots (*rathavinīta*) were used (*M.* I, p. 49).

War-chariots (*yodha-ratha*) formed one section of the fourfold army (*caturaṅginī senā*). To facilitate their swift movement only thoroughbred horses were used. The general structure of the war-chariot was probably different from that of the ordinary chariot. It was quadrangular in shape (*caturassasaṇṭhāno*) and not very big; it could only carry two or three men (*MA.* II, p. 194). The *Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā* (*VinA.* IV, p. 858) specifically says that it had the capacity to carry four men, namely, the charioteer, the fighter and the two men who looked after the linch-pins (*āṇirakkhakā*).

The driver of a war-chariot had to be more skilled than an ordinary charioteer. In the curriculum of studies of the brāhmans, there was a special branch of training called *rathaśikṣā* (art of chariot driving), which was a part of *dhanurveda* (science of archery) and by which one acquired a knowledge of the special art of manipulating a war-chariot. This subject probably come within the range of studies of, at least, *kṣatriya* princes for there does not seem to be a marked difference in the studies of *kṣatriyas* (warriors). A warrior who was skilled in chariot warfare was called in Sanskrit *rathadhūrya* (*SED.* s.v.; also cp. *rathika*; *M.* I, p. 397; *D.* I, p. 51). The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 224) cites an incident in which Sakka, the king of the gods, had used his chariot yoked with thoroughbreds, (*ājañña-rathaṃ*) in a battle against the Asuras.

There is no evidence to show that chariots were part of the belongings of the common folk. Yet, it is quite evident that the embellished chariot (*alaṅkāra-ratha*) with all sorts of accessory comforts, was the property, exclusively, of the richer people. The eminent brāhman Jāṇussoni owned such a chariot (*M.* I, p. 175). The *alaṅkāra-ratha* was bigger than an ordinary chariot and, therefore, could easily accommodate eight or ten persons, whether seated or lying-down (*MA.* II, p. 194). These chariots had room for parasol bearers and chowry bearers and had all sorts of embellishments. Rugs (*rathatthara* or *rathūpatthara*) were used to cover their floors (*D.* I, pp. 7 and 103).

A chariot of this type was used in the ceremony of choosing a king and then it was called either the festive-chariot (*maṅgala-ratha*) or the state-chariot (*phussa-ratha*, *J.* III, p. 238; cp. Sanskrit *puṣpha-ratha*). This chariot, fully decorated and yoked with four lotus coloured (*kumudavaṇṇa*) horses, spread with a rug, and also bearing the five royal insignia (*rājakakudhabaṇḍāni*), was sent out, followed by musicians and the fourfold army, to proceed at its own will. And the person near whom the chariot stopped was declared king (*J.* IV, p. 39).

Occasional references are found regarding divine chariots sent by Sakka to kings and queens, e.g., Sakka sent a chariot yoked with a thousand horses to king Nimi (*M.* II, p. 79) and also to the queen of Ariṭṭhajanaka (*J.* VI, p. 32). The latter reference leads one to infer that there were some chariots which were covered on all sides. These large, covered (*paṭicchanna-mahā*) chariots were called *yogga* (lit. what may be yoked; see *DphA.* II, p. 151).

The term *rathaka* is found used both in Pali and Sanskrit, (See *Jm.* p. 63 ; and *D.* I, p. 6) and merely means a small chariot or a toy-chariot for, the suffix '*-ka*' gives a diminutive sense to the whole term (see also *BHS.* s.v.). In Pali, this term is defined as *khuddaka rathaṃ* (small chariot ; see *DA.* I, p. 86).

Various other types of carriages, which in build were very similar to that of chariots, were prevalent and these were used mainly for transporting goods. Yet, the possibility of their being used for the purpose of travel also cannot be completely ruled out.

One such carriage was called the *sakaṭa* (Skt. *śakaṭa*) which was probably similar to the present day cart. It was used by merchants to carry their merchandise from place to place. These were drawn by bullocks. Very similar, in form and use, to this was the carriage called the *sattha* (Skt. *sārtha*), used in caravan or convoy. The caravan leader, who owned a large number of carts, often given as five-hundred, was called the *satthavāha* (*sārthavāha*). The *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka* (*J.* I, p. 100) refers to a particular practice follwed by caravan leaders in driving their caravans. It is said that when the wind blows in their faces they ride on at the head of the caravan surrounded by attendants in order to escape the dust ; but when the wind blows from behind they, in like fashion, ride in the rear.

Carts carrying valuable merchandise travelled in caravans and convoys for safety. There seem to have been special men, as is evident from the term *sakaṭa-gopaka* (cart-guard), who were entrusted with the duty of guarding these. The caravan leaders took all provisions such as fire-wood, water, oil, and rice, which were necessary for their journey. Even vast deserts were crossed in these caravans drawn by bullocks. When crossing deserts they travelled by night and at day-break they halted and arranged the wagons in a circle to form a camp with an awning spread overhead under which the men, after their meals, used to sit in the shade all day. When travelling during the night they had to find their way with the aid of stars. Therefore, on a couch in the first cart sat the land-pilot (*thalaniyāmaka*) with his gaze always fixed at the stars.

There are no descriptions regarding the types of carriages sometimes referred to as *sandana* (cp. Skt. *syandana*—chariot) and *sandamānikā* (*Vin.* III, p. 49), both derived from the Sanskrit root *syand*, to move. The available references indicate that these were somewhat similar to the chariot and were also used for travelling (*J.* IV, p. 104 ; *DA.* I, p. 82).

The other mode of conveyance prevalent at the time was the palanquin or litter (*sivikā*) which was rectangular in shape and used solely by royalty and the nobility and specially by the females of these classes. Quite often references are made to golden palanquins (*suvaṇṇasivikā*). It is probable that the palanquins used by females were closed on all sides with curtains. Thus, Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā saw the outcast Mātaṅga through the curtain (*sāṇi-antarena : J.* IV, p. 376) of her palanquin. These palanquins were borne by attendants, probably on their heads (*suvaṇṇasivikaṃ sīsena ukkhipitvā : J.* IV, p. 378).

There was another variety of palanquins called *mañcasivikā* (lit. couch-palanquin) for which the *PED.* suggest the meaning 'throne palanquin'. The *Jātaka* (V, p. 262) says that Devadatta was travelling in such a palanquin to ask forgiveness from the Buddha, when he was swallowed up by the earth. It is not quite clear whether a carriage of any sort was designated by the word *pāṭaṅkī* when cited alongside with *sivikā* in the phrase '*sivikaṃ pāṭaṅkiṃ*' (*Vin.* I, p. 192). To this term the *PED.* suggests the meaning 'sedan chair' and further adds that this could be a variant reading for *pallaṅkaṃ* (sofa or couch).

S.K.N.

CARTESIANISM, the philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650), deserves the attention of being compared with Buddhist philosophy as their main tenets are directly opposed to one another, whereby Buddhism provides the most efficient refutation of the method in which Descartes attempted to obtain real knowledge by the natural light of reason.

Descartes was a revolutionary against the prevailing reliance of scholasticism on authority and dogma. The certainty of mathematics he attributed to the character of its method which, especially as in analytical geometry, appeared to him to be applicable to all forms of science. Hence, a random search for knowledge was condemned by him as fruitless, and pure knowledge could be obtained only by proceeding cautiously by inference from the simplest and elementary notions. This inference can be made through experience or by

means of deduction. Experience involves many complex objects, and inference from experience (which is always partial, however extensive) may, therefore, lead to false conclusions. Hence, inference through deduction appeared to him the safest and only reliable method for obtaining knowledge. But the very basis of such analytical knowledge cannot be deducible, and has, therefore, to rely on intuition. It is admitted that if the initial premises, as understood by intuition, are false, even the soundest deduction cannot lead to knowledge. And it is here at the very basis that Cartesianism and Buddhism stand as opponents, although the subsequent method of analytical deduction is approved by both.

Descartes' intuition, which is the direct and immediate apprehension by a knowing subject of itself or of objective states and values, gives him the perception of the ego in the very act of thinking : 'I think ; therefore, I am' (*cogito ergo sum*). Without this initial deduction the entire system becomes baseless.

His *Discourse on Method* begins with a methodical doubt which is intended to serve as a starting point and testing ground. "Everything must be questioned (*de omnibus dubitandum*) so that we may discover something that is beyond doubt." Well, the fact of doubting this is beyond doubt. And doubt is an act of thinking. And thinking implies a thinker. And, therefore, I doubt, I think, I am.

It will be noticed immediately that the Buddhist viewpoint does not reach similar conclusions from the premise that doubt is an act of thinking, because in the act of thinking no thinker is implied, just as there is no fire apart from the act of burning. There is no subject apart from the action, no substance apart from the phenomena, no static 'I' or 'self' or 'soul' which agitates the varying moods, acts and states of the mentalised body. In stating the premise 'I think,' Descartes has already introduced the 'I'—concept, and it is, therefore, quite logical that the 'I' is found also in the deduction : 'therefore, I am.'

With the collapse of this initial thesis, the entire dualistic system of Cartesianism lacks a foundation, which has not been provided even by succeeding adherents of this school, Geulincx and Malebranche.

For a detailed explanation of the Buddhist doctrine of insubstantiality or soullessness, see ANATTĀ, and for the doctrine of 'conciousness only,' see VIJÑĀNAVĀDA.

H.G.A.v.Z.

CĀRU, name of a cakravartin or world-ruler, one of the successors of Mahāsammata and a member of the Sākya tribe (*BB.* XIII. p. 52). In Pali tradition we find Cara or Caraka for Cāru (*Dpv.* iii, *v.* 5 ; *Mhv.* ii, *v.* 2 ; *J.* III, p. 454 ; *DA.* I, p. 258 ; *SnA.* i, p. 352).

CĀRUBHĀṆA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 139).

CĀRUCARAṆA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 138). Edgerton (*BHS.* s.v.) questions the reading here, which according to Senart's edition reads *Cārucaraṇaḥ Prasiddharaṅgaḥ.* The MSS., however, contain the reading *Cārucaraṇāda-siddharaṅgaḥ.*

CĀRUCHADA, (var. °chattra) a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, p. 137).

CĀRUḌANTA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p. 141).

CĀRUGANDHA, a former Buddha, mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, p.139).

CĀRUMANT, name of the tenth cakravartin (world-ruler) of the Mahāsammata dynasty (*BB.* XIII, p. 52).

CĀRUNETRA, name of a present Buddha who lives in the Buddha-field situated in the southern quarter of the world (*Mhvu.* I, p. 123).

CARUS, PAUL (1852–1919), a German-American editor and philosopher, who initiated a vigourous movement for religious tolerence, which indirectly contributed to popularize Buddhism in the West. He tried to expound Buddhism from an unbiased, neutral standpoint. Most of his writings, which display a remarkable originality of thought, are aimed at bringing about a harmony between existing religions and formulating a religious philosophy that would incorporate the best insights of both Buddhism and Christianity.

Carus was born on July, 18, 1852 at Ilsenburg, Germany, as the son of Dr. Gustav and Laura Carus, a family of eminent scholars. His father was a pastor who subsequently became the first

Superintendent-General of the Church of Eastern and Western Prussia. Carus received his education in mathematics and Classics at the Gymnasia of Posen and Stettin and later studied at the Universities of Greifswald and Strassburg. From the University at Tübingen, he received his Doctorate in 1876. After completing his military service, he became a teacher in the military academy at Dresden. "...but his liberal views soon brought him into opposition to the authorities and he eventually resigned" (*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 3, 1957, p. 548a). He began to express, in pamphlets, his liberal views on religion and, as a result, in the early eighties, he was forced to leave Germany for England, whence he migrated to America. "He had by now worked through a devasting period of religious scepticism into what was to remain his life-long philosophy. This consisted in a thorough-going monism of mind-matter, based on community of form and on the identity of the laws of nature and the laws of mind. ...he believed that the religious aspirations of mankind could be satisfied with a scientific conception of God as the impersonal world-order, and a historical conception of immortality as the survival of one's influence" (loc. cit.). The rest of his long life he devoted in working out this philosophy in detail. Carus's was a delectable personality, endowed with a generous spirit and extraordinarily broad interests. He died in La Salle, Illinois on February 11, 1919 at the age of sixty-two.

In 1885 Carus published *Monism and Meliorism*, which aroused the interest of Edward Carl Hegeler, a German chemist in La Salle, Illinois. Hegeler had already started *The Open Court*, a journal devoted to the establishment of religion and ethics on a scientific basis. At Hegeler's request, Carus accepted its editorship and the journal, first as a weekly, then as a monthly, flourished under his capable management. By his marriage to Hegeler's daughter on March 29, 1888, he was drawn closer to the Hegeler family. In 1890, Hegeler founded another, a more technical, periodical called *The Monist* and Carus was entrusted with editing that as well. The journal often carried articles on the history and philosophy of religion, science and archaeology and also Carus's criticisms of these articles. The reprinting of such valuable articles subsequently led to the establishment of the Open Court Publishing Company, which, under Carus's direction, brought out several noteworthy contributions on religion and philosophy. Also he is credited with publishing a series of philosophical classics, edited by prominent professors of philosophy, which are still widely used in classrooms (*The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, Vol. II, 1967, p. 43).[1]

Carus's aim, as evinced from his writings, was to achieve a religious synthesis, irrespective of any religious predilection. "Mankind," he says, "does not want Buddhism. nor Islam, nor Christianity ; mankind wants the truth, and truth is best brought out by an impartial comparison."

In order to achieve that religious synthesis and to understand one's own religion, he stressed that "...every religious man should study other religions..." (*Buddhism and its Christian Critics*, Chicago, 1899, preface, p. 5).

Carus was particularly keen on establishing a sound understanding between Christians and Buddhists,—something that was sadly lacking in those early days of vigorous Christian missionary campaign. Christianity and Buddhism, he maintains, "are in many respects so similar as to appear almost identical ; in other respects they exhibit such contrasts as to represent two opposite poles and it is on this account that a study of Buddhism is indispensable for a proper comprehension of Christianity."

Carus discovered, in Christianity and Buddhism, "many striking coincidences in their philosophical basis as well as in ethical applications of their faith, while their modes of systematizing them in dogmas are radically different..." (*Gospel of the Buddha*, Chicago, 1898, preface, p. viii). He believed that those resemblances must be due to a similarity of conditions (cf. *Buddhism And Its Christian Critics*, Chicago, 1899, p. 219).

With a few exceptions, all the early European Orientalists, who ventured to expound and interpret Buddhism to the West without a proper grasp of the subject, caused much damage to Buddhism. They quite often erred and misinterpreted such pivotal Buddhist concepts as *anatta* (soullessness), Nibbāna, kamma, etc. As a result there were serious misconceptions and prejudices against Buddhism. Carus, who had a thorough grasp of Buddhist concepts, rendered yeoman service to Buddhism in particular and to scholarship in general by dispelling some of those misconceptions and prejudices with his penetrating but, well-meant criticisms of such distorted writings.

Among Carus's works on Buddhism, special mention should be made of *The Gospel of Buddha* (1894), by which he purported to "serve both Buddhists

1 This has been revived in 1962 under the editorship of Eugene Freeman.

and Christians as a help to penetrate further into the spirit of their faith, so as to see its full width, breadth and depth" (sixth edition, 1898, preface, p. xi). The salient feature of this work is its grasp of the "difficult subject and the clear enunciation of the doctrine of the most puzzling problem of *ātman* as taught in Buddhism" (ibid, preface, p. vii : cf. pp. vi-viii ; pp. 130–32). This book, proved a best-seller, was widely translated and is used as a text book in Buddhist schools in Ceylon and Japan.

Carus's bibliography embraces more than 1,000 titles, of which more than fifty are monographs written in book form. The following could be enumerated among his significant contributions to Buddhism: *Amitābha, A Story of Buddhist Theology*, Chicago, 1906 ; *The Dharma, or the Religion of Enlightenment*, An exposition of Buddhism, Chicago, 1907 (fifth edition) ; *Karma, A Story of early Buddhists*, Chicago, 1896, (second edition) ; *Metaphysik in Wissenschaft, Ethik und Religion, Eine philosophische Unterschung*, Dresden, 1881 ; *Lieder eines Buddhistens*, Dresden, 1882 ; *Nirvāṇa, A Story of Buddhist Philosophy*, Chicago, 1896 ; *The Surd of Metaphysics*, Chicago, 1903 ; *Portfolio of Buddhist Art*, historical and modern, Chicago, 1906 and *The Buddha*, a Drama. Chicago, 1911. He is also the author of *The Canon of Reason* (Chicago, 1913) and *T'ai-Shang Kan-Yin P'ien* (jointly with D. T. Suzuki, Chicago, 1913).

C.S.R.

CĀRUVARṆA, one of the monks who accompanied the Buddha on the occasion of the conversion of queen Kusumā (*Mhvu.* I, p. 18).

CĀRVĀKA, one of the names used to denote the materialistic philosophy of ancient India. The exact meaning of the term is not clear. It is not possible to say with any certainty whether Cārvāka was the name of a historical person or not. Some authorities are of opinion that it is the name of the disciple to whom the philosophy was first communicated by its founder.[1] The first occurrence of the word is, probably, in the *Mahābhārata* (xii, 38 and 39) where Cārvāka is described as a *rākṣasa*, in the guise of an ascetic, a friend of Duryodhana. L. de la Vallée Poussin says that this Cārvāka is none other than the founder of the philosophy by his name[2] (*ERE.* VIII, p. 493). Some others interpret it as sweet-speech (*cāru-vāka* : see Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Harvard University Press, 1955, p. 80). There are yet others who seek a derivation for it from the root *carv*, to eat, to chew, and add that this is the name given to the philosophy whose main tenet is : eat-and-drink-for-tomorrow-we-die.[3]

This philosophy was also known by such names as Bārhaspatya, Nāstika and Lokāyata. It was called Bārhaspatya because some thought that it was founded by Bṛhaspati. It was called Nāstika[4] probably because it denied a soul, a future world, and so forth. This philosophy is quite well-known by the term Lokāyata, a term which is also interpreted in many ways by different authorities. Some say that it was called Lokāyata because it was prevalent among the common people (see E. B. Cowell's translation of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, London, 1908, p. 2, n. 1).[5] Mādhavācārya, too, used the two names Cārvāka and Lokāyata as synonyms.[6] There is further textual evidence to show that these two names denoted one and the same philosophy. The *Padma-Purāṇa* in the *Sṛṣṭi-kaṇḍa* (xii, 318-40) cites Lokāyata philosophy as being the instruction of Bṛhaspati. Kamalaśīla refers to Cārvāka as being a follower of Lokāyata. The *Prabodhacandrodaya* mentions Cārvāka as being the teacher who taught the Lokāyata philosophy.

There are diverse views regarding the origin of this philosophy. S. Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, Gt. Britain, 1951, Vol. I, pp. 271–6) has attempted to prove that this philosophy was a product of the unsettled conditions of India during the epic period, i.e., 600 B.C.—200 A.C. and adds that "Cārvāka philosophy is a fanatical effort made to rid the age of the weight of the past that was oppressing it" (ibid. p. 283). J. Muir, too, regarded this as the outcome of the freedom of speculation in ancient India (*JRAS.* XIX, pp. 299 ff.). According to Das Gupta this was originally a foreign belief imported to India from the Sumerians (*History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1940, III,

1 F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1916, p. 99.

2 Cp. B. M. Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 288.

3 S. Chatterjee and D. Datta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, University of Calcutta, 1950, p. 57.

4 The *Śukra-nīti* (iv, 3, 55) describes this system of thought, i.e., *Nāstika* as being very strong in logical arguments and regarding all things as proceeding out of their own nature (*svabhāva*). It also denies the existence of god and the value of the *Veda*. These features are similar to the teachings of Cārvāka philosophy.

5 Cp. H. P. Shastri, *Bauddha Dharma* (in Bengali), pp. 37–8 ; Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1940, III, p. 514 ; Guṇaratna's *Tarka Rahasya Dipikā* (Commentary on *Saṭ Darśana Samuccaya*), p. 300 ; Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Lokāyata*, People's Publishing House, 1959, pp. 1 ff.

6 The two names *Cārvāka* and *Lokāyata* denoted the same school of thought. Early texts use these two terms as synonyms. Therefore, in this essay, too, the term *Lokāyata* is considered as another name for *Cārvāka*.

Appendix). M. Hiriyanna (*Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1958, pp. 187 ff.) cites Yadṛcchāvāda as the possible source of the Cārvāka philosophy. There is another view which regards this philosophy as a synthesis of the teachings of the old schools of thought such as those of Ajita Kesakambalin, Makkhali Gosāla, Bṛhaspati and so on (B. M. Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 288). G. Tucci holds the view that this was originally a part of priest craft (See *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 40).[7]

However, it is quite obvious that there are doctrines similar to the tenets of the Cārvākas in early texts. The Vedic texts themselves make allusions to sceptics who doubted the existence of gods and such accepted beliefs. In later texts there is still more concrete evidence to show the prevalence of similar ideas. Jābāli in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii, 108) seems to preach a doctrine similar to that of the Cārvāka philosophy. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (i, pp. 629–31) makes reference to certain people who did not believe in the efficacy of sacrifice and of the *Vedas*. The *Mahābhārata* (xii, 186) says that a belief in a soul is not at all necessary to explain the functioning of the life principle, for it can be explained by physical and psychological reasons. Yet, as to when these ideas were grouped together and formed into a separate school of thought is not known. Some eminent scholars doubt the existence of a separate school of thought by this name. T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1956, Vol. I, p. 172) says "Throughout the whole story we have no evidence of any one who called himself a Lokāyatika or his own knowledge Lokāyata... And of a real existence of a school of thought, or of a system of philosophy that called itself by the name there is no trace." He is of opinion that "the expressions used point rather to an opinion held by certain thinkers, in union with other opinion and not expounded in any special treatise" (ibid. p. 167).[8]

The existence of treatises on Cārvāka philosophy is established beyond doubt.[9] Garbe cites two authorities, namely, Patañjali (see *Mahābhāṣya*, vii, 3, 45) and Bhāṣkarācārya (on *Brahma Sūtra*, iii, 3, 53) as reliable evidence for the existence of texts on this philosophy. Das Gupta while citing the same authorities, mentions also a reference in the *Divyāvadāna* (*Divy.* pp. 630, 633) where Cārvāka is regarded as a special branch of study which had a commentary (*bhāṣya*) and an annotation (*pravacana*) on it. Even though there is evidence to prove the existence of such texts, they are lost now, probably having been deliberately destroyed by opponents. Therefore, information available at present is to be gathered mainly from scanty and stray references found in texts belonging to opponent schools of thought.[10] As their main purpose was to ridicule and refute Cārvāka views, it is doubtful whether they present the Cārvāka philosophy in its true spirit. The chief source of information is Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, in which the tenets of Cārvāka philosophy are presented in a somewhat coherent manner. Yet this, too, cannot be considered an unbiassed version of Cārvāka views, for the author does not seem to have been favourably disposed towards those views. Besides this, there is considerable information in Guṇaratana's *Nyāyamañjarī* and also in the *Tattvopapplavasiṃha* and *Tarkarahasyadīpikā*. An allegorical play, called the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, belonging to the 11th or 12th century, too, contains some information.[11]

It seems quite probable that the available information brings out only a partial view of the Cārvāka philosophy, and that this philosophy may have been much more complete and profound. Otherwise it would not have drawn the attention of profound thinkers of other philosophical schools. However, such a conjecture cannot be conclusively established unless texts, other than those bearing the testimony of the opponents, are discovered.

Unlike other philosophical schools, the Cārvāka holds that perception (*pratyakṣa*) is the only means of obtaining valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*, q.v.) and on this is based his whole philosophy. In postulating a particular means of gaining valid knowledge it differs from Buddhism, for in Buddhism the question of *pramāṇa* is not treated in a systematic manner. It may be due to the fact that Buddhism

7 T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, *SBB*. London, 1956, p. 171) says that "about 500 B.C. the word *Lokāyata* was used in a complimentary way as the name of a branch of brāhman learning, and probably meant *Nature-lore*—wise sayings, riddles, rhymes, and theories handed down by tradition as to cosmogony, the elements, the stars, the weather, scraps of astronomy, of elemetrary physics, even of anatomy, and knowledge of the nature of precious stones, and of birds and beasts and plants." This interpretation is not endorsed by other scholars.

8 L. de la Vallée Poussin (*ERE*. VIII, p. 493) also says, "we are not convinced that a materialistic 'school,' a 'system', in the exact sense of the word existed.

9 See G. Tucci, *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 36.

10 Cp. S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade (*History of Indian Philosophy*, Poona, 1927, Vol. II, p. 459) who aptly say, that "this philosophy had the misfortune of being known only through the writings of its opponents."

11 The *Bṛhaspati-sūtra* recovered by F. W. Thomas and published in 1921, seems to be a late work and, therefore, cannot be regarded as representing the original views of Cārvāka philosophy.

is mainly concerned with the realisation of the truth of Nirvāṇa and as such the Buddha did not place complete reliance in any *pramāṇa* in the realisation of such truth, which is to be achieved by oneself (*attanā va sacchikātabbaṃ*). This is evident also from the Buddha's advice to the Kālāmas (*A*. I, p. 189). He asked them not to be led by report (*annussavena*) or tradition (*paramparāya*) or hearsay (*itikirāya*) or the authority of religious texts or logic (*takkahetu*) or inference (*nayahetu*); nor to be led by considering appearances (*ākāraparivitakkena*) or delight in speculative opinions (*diṭṭhinijjhānakkhantiyā*) or by seeming possibilities (*bhavyarūpatayā*) or by the idea, 'this is our teacher' (*no garū'ti*). His final advice to them is, 'You should know for yourselves' (*attanā va jāneyyātha*). This piece of advice shows that the Buddha did not categorically denounce these means of knowledge as useless, but on the other hand tried to stress the fact that one should not totally depend on these for realisation, which one has to achieve for oneself. Such an interpretation is further corroborated by a statement attributed to Sāriputta who lays down two conditions, namely, the utterance of another (*paratoghosa*) and methodical thought (*yonisomanasikāra*) as essential for achieving right understanding. Later Buddhist philosophers went further and held the view that the two kinds of *pramāṇa*, viz., perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference (*anumāna*) were considered valid, in Buddhism, as means of acquiring knowledge.

The Cārvāka philosophers, on the other hand reject inference (*anumāna*) on the ground that there is no proof to believe in the validity of inductive relation (*vyāpti*). They say, that, even if its validity is accepted, that acceptance also depends on observed facts. But, observation is limited in scope and, therefore, it is not at all possible to universalise the conclusions arrived at by perception, for a general postulation will hold good only for observed cases. According to their view, belief in inference is due to a psychological process and it has no logical certitude. They admit the fact that inference comes true at times, but regard such instances as due to accident.

Whether the Cārvāka view with regard to inference is correctly represented in the available texts, is doubtful. It may be that they did not totally deny the validity of inference, for Purandhara, a follower of Cārvāka philosophy, admits the usefulness of inferential knowledge with regard to worldly matters which also falls within the range of perception. Yet he admits that inference cannot be regarded as a *pramāṇa* for establishing any belief such as life after, or god that belongs to the trancendental world.

Their theory of knowledge led them to presume that matter alone is real. They, just as the Buddhists did, postulated four gross elements (*S*. III, p. 59), viz., water, fire, air and earth.[12] According to their view the body is composed of these four elements. In this view, too, they differed from the Buddhists who held that the body is composed of the four gross elements and their derivatives (*mahābhūtānaṃ upādāya rūpaṃ*).[13] The Cārvākas did not postulate anything beyond the four gross elements which by their own nature (*svabhāva*) combined together to form the body.

Their theory of 'being' or 'individual' is also quite different from that of the Buddhists. According to their view the individual is composed of the body and consciousness. Like the body, consciousness, too, according to them, is produced from the four elements. They say that it is produced by the combination of the four elements just as the power of intoxication is produced from the mixture of certain ingredients.[14] They do not regard consciousness as ultimate or independent. As it is the product of the four elements they held that it disappeared when these elements disintergrated.

Like the Buddhists, the Cārvākas, too, argued against the concept of a soul as it was held by other Indian philosophical schools such as Sāṅkhya. But the line of thought adopted by the two schools greatly differs. It is evident that the Cārvākas do not completely reject the idea of a soul as the Buddhists do; instead they say that there is no separate entity called the soul. According to them, the soul is the body qualified by consciousness (*caitanya-viśiṣṭadeha eva ātmā*). The *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (ii, 6), presenting the Cārvāka viewpoint, says that the soul is the body itself characterised by such attributes as are implied in the expressions, "I am stout," "I am young," "I am old," "I am an adult," etc. The main ground on which they reject the existence of a separate soul is that its existence cannot be

12 They rejected *ākāśa* (space-element) on the ground that it cannot be perceived.

13 The Cārvākas only regard the four elements as real. They do not postulate any derivatives or subtle elements.

14 Cp. also *Sarvasiddhāntasār asaṅgraha* (ii, 7) which says, "that consciousness which is found to be embodied in modified forms of the non-intelligent elements is produced in the same way as the red colour is produced from the combination of arecanut and lime."

established by perception.[15] However, it is obvious that their rejection of a separate entity, called the soul, is not the same as the 'no-soul' (*anatta*) doctrine of the Buddhists.

The Cārvākas admit the existence of consciousness but again they differ, with regard to its origin and nature, from the Buddhist point of view. As already pointed out, the Cārvākas regard consciousness as a product of the four elements, and as such, it is destroyed at the disintegration of the elements, i.e., at death. On the contrary the Buddhists not only regard consciousness as some sort of awareness which has one of the six sense-faculties as its basis and one of six external phenomena as its objects, but also consider it to be continuing even after death. The Cārvākas say that consciousness is the cognition of objects, a view which is stressed by the Cārvāka exponent, Kambalāśvatara. Basing his argument on this premise he adds that it is wrong to presume that there is any consciousness, even in a dormant form, in the early stages of foetal life. Consciousness is produced only when the sense organs are properly developed. He further says that not only in foetal life, but even in a state of swoon there is no consciousness.

Death, according to them, is the end, not a violent breach in the continuity of life, as the Buddhists held. Therefore, all questions regarding life before and life after, and enjoyment of the result of *kamma* are just meaningless. This is the outcome of their epistemological and metaphysical theories. Such concepts as life after death the Cārvākas rejected totally, as they cannot be proved by perception. They considered death to be the final liberation. Life is bound up with pleasure as well as pain. The Cārvākas' attempt is not to overcome pain; instead, they bring about a compromise between the two. The pains, they say, are inevitable. The only thing that could be done is to minimise pain by enjoying more and more pleasures. They regard as fools those who attempt to overcome both pleasure and pain in life by various means. One should not give up enjoying the pleasures of life merely because they are bound up with pain, for no wise man will put away unpeeled rice, which encloses excellent grain, because it is covered with the husk (*Prabodhacandrodaya*, act ii) or give up eating fish, because there are bones. One should not put away the opportunity of enjoying life with the futile hope of enjoying bliss in a life hereafter. Thus, the sole goal of life according to them appears to be the enjoyment of the maximum amount of pleasures. The Cārvākas rejected two (*dharma* and *mokṣa*) of the four human ends (*puruṣārthas*) generally accepted by many Indian philosophical schools and regarded only *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (enjoyment) as being worthwhile.

To them the two terms virtue and vice are just meaningless. They say that these distinctions are only found in scriptures on which the Cārvākas do not place any reliance. Thus, irrespective of the nature of the action, they set their minds on enjoyment.[16]

The Cārvākas do not believe in the existence of a god who is the creator and the lord of everything. Neither do the Buddhists. They explain that everything comes into being from the four elements. There is no external efficient cause that shapes the material into various forms. It is their own inherent nature (*svabhāva*) that combines them to form the whole world. Therefore, there is no need to postulate a creator god and, in this explanation, one finds a similarity between the Cārvāka on the one hand and Svabhāva-vāda and Yadṛcchā-vāda on the other.

They are on the same footing with the Buddhists when they declare the *Vedas* and Vedic rites to be of no use at all. They even go beyond the Buddhists in ridiculing Vedic rites. The Vedic texts, which they declare to be tainted by falsehood, self-contradiction and tautology, are said to be the works of knaves, buffoons and demons. Vedic rites such as *śrāddha* (offering for the dead) are ridiculed in an unprecedented manner. They ask, if the *śrāddha* ceremony provides gratification to the dead why does the food offered on the ground floor not satisfy the hunger of those on the upper floor. Regarding the *jyotistoma* sacrifice they say that if the beast killed in this rite attains heaven why should the sacrificer not offer up his own father. To them

15 There seems to have been two groups of Cārvākas, namely, the *dhūrta* (crafty) and the *suśikṣita* (disciplined). It is probable that the latter group was more refined in their outlook and were moderate in their hedonistic practices, and there seem to have been minor differences in their philosophical views. Even with regard to the view of the existence of a soul the *suśikṣita* Cārvākas differed from the *dhūrta* Cārvākas in that they held that there was an entity apart from the body which remains as the constant perceiver, enjoyer of all experiences. This remained only as long as the body lasts and disappeared at death.

16 It is somewhat doubtful whether the Cārvākas were on the whole devoted to the enjoyment of pleasures. Available information does not permit to say with any certainty that they were not so. However, the distinctions, such as *dhūrta* and *suśikṣita-cārvākas* seem to suggest that all Cārvākas did not follow or advocate a life of gross sensual pleasures.

these rituals are costly and useless and are merely means of livelihood for the wily brāhmans.

It is doubtful whether these statements, criticising the *Vedas* and Vedic rites, belonged to the earliest stage of the development of Cārvāka philosophy, which is said to be one of the branches of study of a good brāhman (*A.* I, p. 163). However, when it became more and more critical of accepted brāhmanic views, it lost favour with the brāhmans.

Cārvāka philosophy was prevalent during the Buddha's time,[17] but it does not seem to have been looked upon favourably by Buddhism. In the *Piṭakas* this philosophy is referred to as *taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ* (is the soul the same as the body). Ajita Kesakambalin, whom some scholars regard as the historical founder of Indian materialism (cp. B. M. Barua, op. cit. p. 287 ff.), too, held views similar to those professed by the Cārvākas. According to him, there was no such thing as alms, offerings or sacrifice ; there is neither fruit no result of good or evil deeds ; there is no life hereafter. He also postulates four elements and says that, when a man dies, the earthy element in him returns and relapses to earth, the fluid to water and so forth. Further, he says that there is no separate entity called the soul which survives death. Pāyāsi (q.v.), the chieftain of Setavyā, was also a materialist of the Cārvāka type who held the view that there was no world other than this, no fruit of actions and no rebirth (*D.* II, pp. 316 ff.).

The terms *lokāyata* and *cārvāka* have acquired a very disparaging sense from very early times.[18] The particular reason for this ridicule and disparagement is not quite clear. One reason may be that it was too critical of the *Vedas*, Vedic rites and similar brāhmanic beliefs. Certain inherent shortcomings, such as the denial of the significance of virtue and vice, fruits of actions and so forth, too, may have contributed to its downfall and becoming an object of ridicule.

The term *cārvāka* does not occur in the Tripiṭaka. However, the term *lokāyata* occurs a few times and allusions are also made to people who held views similar to Cārvāka tenets. These views are refuted by the Buddhists. The commentators define *Lokāyata* as a text book of sophists (*Lokāyataṃ vuccati vitaṇḍa-vāda satthaṃ*).[19] In the *Vidhura Jātaka* (*J.* IV, p. 286), too, it is said that one should not follow the *Lokāyata* and the commentator defines the term as mere sophistry concerned with useless matters, neither giving paradise nor leading to salvation (*Lokāyatikaṃ ti anatthanissitaṃ sagga-maggānam adāyakaṃ aniyyānikaṃ vitaṇḍa sallāpaṃ*).[20]

S.K.N.

CARYĀ, the course of conduct of bodhisattvas, in the Mahāyāna tradition which has four aspects or stages, namely, *prakṛticaryā*, *praṇidhāna-caryā*, *anuloma-caryā* and *anivartana-caryā*. They seem to be aspects or, possibly successive stages of the bodhisattva's long course of development ; *prakṛti* refers to his original natural life at home, *praṇidhāna* to his vow to attain Enlightenment, *anuloma* alludes to his progressive approach to the goal and *anivartana* refers to the point at which it becomes impossible for him to backslide (*Mhvu.* I, pp. 1, 46, 47–63).

U. K.

CARYĀDOHAKOṢAGĪTIKĀ - NĀMA (var. *Cāryādohagītikā-nāma*), the name of a Sanskrit work written by Kaṅkana and extant in its Tibetan translation, the *Spyod-paḥi do-ha mdsod-kyi glu shes-bya-ba*, in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The translator's name has not been mentioned (*TM.* No. 2347 ; *TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3175).

L.R.G.

CARYĀ-DṚṢṬYANUTPANNA-TATTVA-BHĀVANĀ-NĀMA (var.—*anutpannatvata*—), a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which is extant under the title, *Lta spyod skye-med-kyi (de-ñid) bsgom-pa shes-bya-ba*, in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author of the work was Panaha (Upānaha) while the translator's name has not been mentioned (*TM.* No. 2419 ; *TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3261). The text describes a form of meditation.

L.R.G.

CARYĀGATA, a bodhisattva mentioned in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. It occurs in a long list of names of bodhisattvas (*Gvyū.* p. 443).

17 H. P. Shastri says that there survive in India even to-day living examples of the *Lokāyata* sects. See *Lokāyata*, Dacca, 1925 pp. 4 ff.

18 See *Naiṣadhīya-carita* (xvii, 39–83) ; Cowell and Gough, trsl. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, London, 1908, p. 2 ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (Ānanda Āśrama Grantha Series, No. 15, 1927), pp. 552 ff.

19 *DA.* I, p. 247 ; ed. W. Subhūti Thero, *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, Colombo, 1883, p. 112.

20 Cp. also a passage of *Sadda-nīti* quoted in Subhūti's *Abhidhānappadīpikā Sūci*, (Colombo, 1893), p. 310.

CARYĀGĪTIKOṢA.*

I. Discovery and Studies of the Caryāgītis

The *caryāgītis* were discovered in 1907 and were published in 1916 in a collection called *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Hara Prasad Shastri. The work contained 50 *gītis* with a Sanskrit commentary by Ācārya Munidatta.

Regarding the *gītis* of the Siddhas, Sunitikumar Chatterjee was the first to exmaine their language critically and for this purpose the printed edition was used. He, however, recognized the necessity of preparing a critical edition and, with the help of Jean Przylusky of Paris, examined similar poems in the Tengyur in order to find out if there was any Tibetan translation of these poems (Jean Przylusky, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, p. 116). His attempt was, however, unsuccessful. M. Shahidulla made a similar attempt but, again in vain.

P. C. Bagchi, however, was more fortunate and discovered the Tibetan translation of these *gītis* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel, XLVII, 35, section of the Tengyur (*Cordier*, II, p. 225). With the help of Tibetan materials, he in collaboration with Sunitikumar Chatterjee, settled the text of *gītis* and published them in the *Journal of the Departments of Letters of Calcutta University*, Vol. XXX, 1938, under the title "Materials for a Critical Edition of the Old Bengali Caryāpadas." Two years later Shahidulla, in his work *Buddhist Mystic Songs*, studied the *gītis* and presented them with modern Bengali *Chāyā*, English translation and notes, suggesting further improvements in the readings of the text. Sukumar Sen prepared and published a Word Index of the *gītis* in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. IX, and translated them into English in the same quarterly bulletin, Vol. X. This material, in its Bengali garb, called *Caryāgītipādāvalī*, has also been published in book-form by the same author with a few modifications, here and there.

At the instance of P. C. Bagchi, the present writer has revised the *gītis* published by him and edited and annotated the Commentary of Munidatta with the help of its Tibetan version. The present writer has added Sanskrit *Chāyā* to every *gīti* and has filled up the lacuna with the help of the Tibetan translation. The work was published in 1956 at Santiniketan.

II. Saṃdhyābhāṣa or special terminology of Caryās

The special terminology which has been used in the *caryās* for preaching the esoteric doctrines is characterised as *Saṃdhyābhāṣa*. The term *saṃdhyā* here stands for *abhisaṃdhi*, i.e., implied sense or simple *saṃdhi*, i.e., union. A term of this type is a union of two meanings, ordinary as well as intended in a single word-sound.

The grammatical correctness of the word *saṃdhyābhāṣā* and of many others used in works like this is always doubtful. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya thinks that the term *saṃdhābhāṣā* should be corrected as *saṃdhyābhāṣā*, i.e, intentional speech. The Tibetan equivalent *dgoṅs paḥi skad* for the term *saṃdhyābhāṣā* confirms that the meaning of the term is 'intentional language' and not *twilight language*, as Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri maintained.

In the Sanskrit commentary, the words *abhisaṃdhāya*, *saṃdhyā* occur here and there in the same sense and in a few places the same sense is expressed by the words *vyāja* and *utprekṣā*. All these words are rendered into Tibetan by *dgoṇs paḥi skad kyis*, i.e., intentional language. Though the Tibetan word *dgoṅs pa* does not faithfully bring out the literal sense of *vyāja*, *utprekṣā* or *saṃdhyā*, still it makes clear that these terms were used in a technical sense to mean a way of expression, to explain the mystic doctrines as intended by the speaker.

III. The analogy of union in the Saṃdhyābhāṣā

In some of the *caryās* the authors address a female companion and say that marriage with her has led to the attainment of great bliss. Thus, in song number 10, Kānhupāda addresses a *ḍombī*, a low-caste woman, and the Sanskrit commentary clearly says: *dombīśabdaḥ saṃdhyābhāṣayā kathayati.*

Kānhu says: "Oh Ḍombī," you live outside the city; but how is it that you have now dared to touch the son of a *brāhmaṇa*? But, Oh Ḍombī, I will live with you because I am only a naked yogin, who uses the skull (for drinking) and is hated by all. The lotus is one but it has 64 petals and the Ḍombī is now dancing on it. She is now eating the lotus stalk in the lake. I shall now get hold of her and reach the other shore."

In song No. 19, Kānhu describes his marriage with the Ḍombī in the following terms: "Existence

*CARYĀGĪTI of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) was translated into Tibetan by Jayaśīla (Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba) under the title *Spyod-paḥi glu* and was included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. Later, the translation was revised by Vajrapāṇi and Dharmaprajñā (Chos-kyi śes-rab: *TM*. No. 1496, *Cordier*. II, p. 46). The work recurs also in Jo-bohi chos chun (Atiśa's works) section of the Tengyur (*TM*. No. 4474; *Cordier*, III, p. 338).

Munidatta's (Thub-pas byin) commentary on the work was translated into Tibetan by Kīrticandra, Candrakīrti and Kīrtidhvaja (Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan) under the title *Spyod- paḥi gluḥi mosod-kyi ḥgrel-pa shes-bya-ba*(*Caryāgītikoṣavṛttināma*) and was included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur (*TM*. No. 2293; *Cordier*. II, p. 225).

(*bhava*) and *nirvāṇa* and the mind and the vital air (*mana-pavana*) serve as different musical instruments. Kānhu is going to marry the Ḍombī. After marrying her, he has now stopped further birth and has got the *anuttara* world as the dowry. He is now spending his time in her company, surrounded by the yoginīs in great bliss. Whoever has once lived with the Ḍombī can never leave her for a moment and is maddened by the *sahaja* bliss."

In the analogies of union, a Ḍombī plays the most important part and that serves as the key to the inner meaning of the image. Ḍombī is explained as the *nairātmā* or the *avadhūtī* purified : *Ḍombi' ti pariśuddhāvadhūtī nairātmā boddhavyā* (*Caryā* No. 10). *Avadhūtī* is the middle *nāḍī* and as soon as it is purified through the removal of the influx of illusion, the *śakti*, which is characterised as *Nairātmā* in these texts, ascends upwards, and reaches the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located. In the *Caryāgīti*, we read the same idea in other words, i.e., Ḍombī lives outside the city and dances on the lotus with 64 petals. When it is said that the Ḍombī eats up the stalk of the lotus, the implication seems to be that the way, by which further influx of illusion upwards may be possible, is destroyed.

IV. The analogy of the fermentation of wine

Viruvāpāda, in one of his *caryās* (No. 3) introduces the analogy of the fermentation of wine. He says : "The female wine-dealer (*śuṇḍinī*) is alone but she enters both the chambers and introduces the powder for fermenting the wine. The wine now flows straight towards the *sahaja* and that brings immortality. On seeing the sign (of wine) at the tenth door the customer comes by himself and, after visiting the 64 stations, enters without leaving any sign behind. The pipe of the vessel is narrow and, therefore, the wine should be sent through it carefully."

The analogy of the fermentation of wine leads to an image of a different kind. In this image, the central idea is suggested by the two words, *śuṇḍinī* and *vāruṇī*, i.e., the female wine-dealer and the wine. The *śuṇḍinī* stands for the *avadhūtikā* which, as we have seen, is no other than the *nairātmā* or the *śakti* that marches upwards. The *vāruṇī* or wine stands for the *sāmvṛtika bodhicitta* or the *semen virile*. According to a particular belief of the *yogins*, when the *śakti* marches upwards through the *nāḍīs*, the *śukra* or the *sāmvṛtika bodhicitta* also proceeds upwards to the head. The aim of the *yogin* is to see that it proceeds quietly through the middle *nāḍī* after leaving the *nāḍīs* on either side and gets accumulated in the *vajramaṇi* in the head and loses its restless character. This *bodhicitta* attains the *pāramārthika* state and becomes conducive to the attainment of supreme bliss. This process is implied in the present image.

When it is said that though the *śuṇḍinī* is alone she enters both the chambers, the implication is that he brings the two, the sun or the *prāṇa* in the right side of *nāḍī* and the moon or the *prāṇa* in the left side of *nāḍī* together and sends them through the middle one. The wine, i.e., the *śukra* at this stage is made to enter it and goes upwards to reveal the *sahaja* bliss. The customer who comes on seeing the signs of wine, seems to be the *antarābhava citta*, who now enters the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, without leaving any sign behind, and drinks the nectar from the lotus of great bliss.

V. The aim of the Caryā

The aim of the *caryā* is a complete introversion of all the faculties of the senses, *bodhicitta* (*semen virile*) and of the vital air. They then, without becoming the source of distraction to the *yogin* and of his bondage to the illusory world, all help him in his transformation to the higher plane where he enjoys a state of great bliss.

In the *Caryāgītis*, therefore, the vital air and *bodhicitta* (*semen virile*) and their cultivation for higher purpose take a most important place. These mystic and yogic doctrines have been discribed by analogy and for this purpose a number of images have been chosen. The present writer has propounded here the analogy of union and the analogy of the fermentation of wine. In the *caryās* Nos. 13, 14 and 38 the images of the boat and the analogy of rowing have been used to express the same doctrines. Besides the analogy of carding the cotton in *caryā* no. 26, the image of the stringed musical instrument, the *Vīṇā* in *caryā* No. 17, the image of the rat in *caryā* No. 21, the image of the elephant in *caryās*, Nos. 9, 12 and 16, and the image of the deer in *caryā* No. 6, contain the same doctrines again and again.

The *bodhicitta* alone is the source of compassion (*karuṇā*) and is the most important doctrine in the Mahāyāna. The resolution to attain bodhi through service of beings is the exoteric aspect of *bodhicitta* in the earlier Mahāyāna. The *bodhicitta* in the sense of *semen virile* is the esoteric aspect of Sahajayāna. This aspect of the *bodhicitta* was not unknown to the early Mahāyāna. The word *urdhvaśrotas* in early Buddhism points to the same

idea. In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (*Śikṣ.* p. 103) we read about the esoteric *bodhicitta* as follows :

Bodhicittakalalaḥ kṛparbudo
Maitrapeśir acalāśayo ghanaḥ
Bodhi-aṅgam anupūrvasambhavo
Buddhagarbha āyu sampravardhate

"The *bodhicitta* is the *kalala* or germ, *arbuda* or the second stage of growth is compassion, *pesi* or the third stage of growth is *maitrī* or brotherly love, *ghana* or, the further stage of growth is *acalāśaya* or firmness of mind, thus, the elements of the *bodhi* grow stage by stage till the Buddha-embryo is fully developed." See also BODHICITTA.

S.B.S.

CARYĀGĪTIVṚTTI, commentary on *Caryāgīti,* extant in its Tibetan translation, the *Spoyd-pahi gluḥi ḥgrel-pa,* which is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. Jo-bo-rje (Dīpaṅkara) was the author of the work, while the author himself and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) translated it into Tibetan (*TM.* No. 1497 ; *TT.* Vol. 52, No. 2212).

L.R.G.

CARYĀMĀRGABHŪMI-SŪTRA, known in Chinese as *Hsiu-hsing-tao-ti-ching* was composed by the Indian monk Saṅgharakṣa about 700 years after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, and was translated into Chinese in 284 A.C. by Chu-fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the western Tsin dynasty. This sūtra consists of eight fascicles divided into thirty chapters. The last three chapters of this mainly depend on the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*Nanjio,* No. 1325 ; *Taishō,* No. 606 ; cp. *Nanjio,* Nos. 1326, 1338 ; *Taishō,* Nos. 607 and 608).

S.K.N.

CARYĀMELĀPAKA-PRADĪPA (var. *Cāryāmelāpanapradīpa, Caryāmelāyanapradīpa*), the name of a Sanskrit work written by Āryadeva (the later tantric writer) and extant in its Tibetan translation under the title, *Spyod-pa bsdus-paḥi sgron-ma* in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur. It was translated into Tibetan by Śraddhākaravarma of India, and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra : *TM.* No. 1803 ; *Cordier,* II, p. 136).

L.R.G.

CARYĀPĀDA, the name by which the verses composed by the Siddhācāryas (i.e., the preceptors who have attained perfection) are popularly known. These songs deal with the tenets of Sahajiyā

Buddhism, an offshoot of tantric Buddhism, and are written in a form of the Bengali language. A collection of such verses, composed by different Siddhācāryas, was first discovered by Haraprasāda Sāstri, in the Darbar library in Nepal. He published them under the title *Caryā-carya-viniścayaḥ.* Later he published them under the caption, *Bauddha-Gān-O-Dohā.* Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya suggested that the title should read as *Āścarya-carya-caya* (a collection of verses on mystic practices) and this title is found in the commentary of Munidatta on the opening verse (*IHQ.* 1928, IV. No. 2).

The verses contain a mixture of Mādhyamika, Vijñānavāda and Vedāntic philosophical thought. As S. B. Das Gupta says, "The dominating philosophical note of the *caryā* songs is, however, of an inherent idealistic vein as associated with the various theories of illusion. As this idealistic association with the various theories of illusion is common to the Mādhyamika, and Vijñānavāda Buddhism as well as to Vedānta, we find a mixture of the philosophical views of these schools in the songs of the Buddhist Sahajiyā poets" (*Obscure Religious Cults,* Calcutta, 1946, p. 41).

The first verse of this collection by Lui-pa says that the mind (*citta*) is the sole source of creation of this illusory world. Another verse stresses the impermanent nature of all things: "whatever came also went away ; in this (reaction of) coming and going Kānhu has become convinced (of the unsubstantial nature of the fleeting world)." Bhusukapāda in one of his verses compares the mind to a rat. He says, "Dark is the night and the play of the rat begins." He advices the yogins to kill this rat in order to escape the vortex of life and death. The same Siddhācārya, in another verse, compares the mind to a deer. Like the deer who is surrounded by hunters for the sake of its flesh, the mind, due to its defilements, is surrounded by the evils of life. Just as the doe comes to the rescue of the deer in trouble, the goddess Nairātmā appears to save the troubled mind.

The phenomenal world is described as being neither existent nor non-existent ; it is like the moon in the water. The ultimate truth is inexplicable ; it has to be realised.

In keeping with tantric teaching Caryāpādas, too, speak of the four gradations of *śūnya,* viz *śūnya, ati-śūnya, mahā-śūnya,* and *sarva-śūnya.* However, the knowledge of the essencelessness of all things is not the ultimate truth. The highest truth, according to the philosophical teachings of the Caryāpāda verses, is the state in which *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* (compassion) are united together. Thus,

Kambalāmbarapāda says that he filled his boat of *karuṇā* with the gold of *śūnyatā*. Kānhapāda, expressing a similar view on the nature of the ultimate truth, says that he has realised existence in a non-dual state of compassion and voidness. (For details see S. B. Das Gupta, op. cit., *JDLC*. Vol. XXX.) See also CARYĀGĪTIKOṢA.

S.K.N.

CARYĀPRATIPATTIBHŪMI, the third of the six or the fourth of the seven bodhisattva bhūmi (stages) mentioned in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (*Bbh.* pp. 84 and 367). This is a very important stage as it includes the six *vihāras*, namely, *adhiśīla-vihāra*, *adhicitta-vihāra*, three *adhiprajñā-vihāras* and *sabhoga-nirnimitta-vihāra* (cp. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, London, 1932, p. 278).

S.K.N.

CARYĀ-SAṂGRAHA-PRADĪPA, the name of a Sanskrit text attributed to Śrī Dīpaṃkarajñāna. A Tibetan translation of it called *Spoyd-pa bsdus-paḥi sgron-ma* made by the author and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba occurs twice in the Dbu-ma (*Mādhyamika*) section of the Tibetan Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 103, Nos. 5357, 5379). The text is in verse. As expressly stated by the author the text describes a code of conduct to be followed by bodhisattvas.

A bodhisattva should generate in himself the mind of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and then take upon himself the relevant vows. He should practise restraint of body, speech and mind. He should observe all monastic vows most attentively, without impairing any of them. Details regarding the manner in which he should spend his time are specified. For instance, he is expected to divide the night into three sections, get up during the last, wash his face, sit on a comfortable seat and meditate on the Dharma.

R.H.

CARYĀSAMUCCAYAPRADĪPA - NĀMA - ṬĪKĀ (°*samucchaya*—as it appears in the Tibetan work), a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan translation of which is extant in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur, under the title, *Spoyd-pabsdus-paḥi sgron-ma shes-bya-baḥi rgya-cher bśad-pa*. The author of the original Sanskrit work was Śākya bśes-gñen, while the translator's name has not been mentioned (*TM*. No. 1834). This text does not occur in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

L.R.G.

CARYĀ-TANTRA, one of the four classes of Buddhist tantras, generally placed second in the list.

Both in Buddhism and Hinduism the tantras are grouped into various divisions. This was necessitated by the fact that in the course of tantric religious practice, the novice was expected to follow certain rules of discipline before he became a full-fledged priest. A disciplinary code for beginners was deemed necessary as the various rituals and practices were associated with the consumption of various kinds of food and drink and with women involving various sexual practices. A beginner could not be initiated at once into these practices, which had symbolical values even in their details. Hence, the neophyte had to go through a course of training, before he could qualify to be initiated into these practices. He had to learn and understand the symbolical meanings and the philosophy behind those practices before he himself could practise them. While these practices, if properly done, with a full comprehension of their import, would relieve one of all suffering, if done improperly would have the opposite results.

It was on this practical basis that the Buddhist tantras were divided into the four classes as *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *anuttarayoga*. The first division deals mainly with the ceremonies connected with the building of temples, erection of images of gods, etc. and the *caryā* division with the practical cults for beginners. Thus, the *caryā-tantra* division is meant for beginners and lays down strict celibacy and restrictions on food, drink, etc. The term *caryā* itself means 'conduct', which implies the discipline expected of the novice. Only after he has practised complete celibacy and strict rules regarding food, drink, etc., as laid down in the *caryā* division of the tantras, is he initiated into the secrets of the other two classes, wherein there is complete freedom regarding food, drink, etc. and the enjoyment of women—all, of course, as religious practices and not for mere pleasure. By these practices, properly done, advance *sādhakas* would attain perfection (*siddhi*) through yoga. L. A. Waddell (*The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 152) describes the first two classes as 'lower' as they are meant for the beginners and as such they contain hardly any higher philosophy.

On this same practical principle the Hindu tantras are divided into two categories as *Dakṣiṇācāra* and *Vāmācāra*.

However, these divisions cannot be taken as strict, because the tantras contain material belonging to all the classes and, therefore, this classification has to be taken only as a rough one. See also ANUTTARAYOGA-TANTRA.

A.G.S.K.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, University of Calcutta, 1950; B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Bombay, 1932; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1932; *JRAS*. 1901, p. 900.

CASTE. The origin of caste in India could be traced to the racial superiority which the invading Aryans claimed when they first entered India. They treated the conquered aborigines as inferior, mainly on grounds of colour of the skin (*varṇa* : *Ṛgveda*, III, 34, 9), calling them *dasyus* or barbarians. In the process of settling down in India the Aryans, too, must have divided themselves into groups, mainly on the principle of division of labour, such as priests (brāhmaṇas) and warriors (*kṣatriyas*). By the time of the latest period of the evolution of Ṛgvedic society, its division into the well-known four castes (i.e., *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*) seems to have been finalised as shown by the hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (x, 90, 12) which says that when the cosmic man was sacrificed his mouth became the *brāhmaṇa*, his arms the *kṣatriya*, his thighs the *vaiśya* and his feet the *śūdra*.

By the time the Buddha appeared, the Indian caste system had come to stay and its place in society had become both functional and hereditary. The brāhmans, as the highest caste, claimed every social privilege and supremacy as an inalienable heritage by birth. However, this claim was challenged by the *kṣatriyas*, who took the vanguard in the fight against this brāhmanic attitude, when their power as the rulers of society increased.

The Buddha's main argument against caste was that no man could be superior or inferior in society merely by reason of his birth. He clearly pointed out that the position of man in society depended on his conduct. This meant that it was a person's attitudes and his behaviour (kamma) which made a man superior or inferior.[1] The Buddha's approach was thus based on ethics. The outward behaviour of a person who is morally superior, is a result of his inward knowledge and it is that kind of person that the Buddha described as being endowed with true knowledge and practice (*vijjācaraṇa*) and it is he who is the best both among men and gods (*D.* I, p. 99).

The Buddha did not find it easy to put across this simple teaching of social philosophy to the haughty brāhmans of his day. Despite the immense popularity which his teaching enjoyed in Indian society, the Buddha seems to have met very strong opposition from the brāhmans in propagating his teaching. The Buddhist suttas record some interesting discussions which the Buddha had with some of the well-known brāhmans of his day.

The *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (*D.* I, pp. 87 ff.) is one of the more important discourses in this respect. It mainly deals with the sociological aspect of the caste problem. Ambaṭṭha was a learned brāhman who, on the advice of his teacher, went to meet the Buddha in order to find out whether the Buddha deserved all the respect and reputation that was accorded him. Ambaṭṭha was so proud of his brāhmanic birth that he disparaged the Sākyans to the Buddha's face who, in order to humble his pride, explained to him that Ambaṭṭha's lineage was traceable to the son of a slave girl of the Sākyas. In the course of the argument that followed the Buddha concluded by pointing out that if lineage is taken into consideration the *kṣatriyas* are the best,[2] but he who is endowed with knowledge and conduct (*vijjā* and *caraṇa*) is the best among both men and gods, thereby implying that the righteous life leading to Nibbāna is independent of caste distinctions.

One of the strongest arguments adduced by the Buddha against caste distinctions by birth is the biological unity of mankind. Men differ not by birth but by kamma and, therefore, all men belong to one species genetically. This fact can be easily observed if we look at the distinctions between the vegetable and animal kingdoms on the one hand and human beings on the other. This scientific truth has been very well expressed in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (*HOS*. Vol. 37, pp. 146 ff.).[3] The sutta opens as a discussion between two brāhmans as to whether one becomes a brāhman

1 Buddha's attitude to caste is well summed up in the stanza occurring in the *Vasala Sutta* (*Sn.* v. 142):

No birth makes an outcaste
No birth makes one noble
It is conduct that makes one outcaste
It is conduct that makes one noble.

This idea of ethical superiority should not however, be developed into a psychological complex by being proud of one's moral worth

2 The statement attributed to the Buddha that *kṣatriyas* are the best caste if lineage is taken into consideration, is not without its sociological and historical significance, for it seems that during the Buddha's days *kṣatriyas* had overcome brāhmanic superiority in society. The fight against brāhmanic snobbery came mainly from the *khattiyas* from whom the two non brahmanic religions of the then Indian society, Buddhism and Jainism, arose.

3. This sutta recurs verbatim as Sutta No.98 of the *Majjhima-Nikaya*

by birth (*jāti*) or by conduct (kamma). Unable to decide the matter for themselves, they visited the Buddha and asked him for a solution. The Buddha pointed out that among grass, trees, worms, moths, fishes, beasts, birds, etc. there are various types, whereas in the case of men they constitute only one.[4] The differences among men are only nominal (*samaññā*). Then the Buddha cites examples of how men are designated by different names according to their occupations. These divisions among men are conventional and not biological. These and other classificatory divisions made by sociologists and ethnologists (e.g., based on colour of skin, hair, form, shape of skull, etc.) are not absolute, and the human species remains one, despite these differences. After exposing the myth of biological superiority of one class of men over another, the Buddha goes on to explain how a man becomes truly superior in the world as a genuine brāhman by true knowledge and conduct[5] which superiority cannot be overthrown by any secular power.

The *Madhura Sutta* (*M.* II, pp. 83-90), attributed to the thera Mahākaccāna, shows how economic superiority can defeat caste superiority by birth. This sutta points out that the ability to command the services of another did not depend on one's caste but on one's wealth. The claim of the brāhmans that they are the highest caste is referred to here as a propagandist cry (*ghoso yeva eso lokasmin*) on their part. If one has wealth, whether he be a *kṣatriya, brāhmaṇa, vaiśya* or a *śūdra* he can obtain the services of a member belonging to any caste: even a *śūdra*, if he has wealth, can employ a poor brāhman as his obedient servant. The king of Madhura, to whom the discourse was addressed, is made to admit that in this respect there is no difference among the four castes as claimed by the brāhmans. And, in fact, the profession of brāhmans was not only that of priest: there were those who earned their living even as butchers and carriers of corpses which were normally confined to *śūdras* in the laws drawn up by the brāhmans themselves (*SBE.* Vol. XXV, pp. 150–68). This shows that the brāhmans could not maintain their so-called superiority by birth in society, although they preached it in theory. In such circumstances, it is natural that their claim is referred to by Buddhists as a propagandist cry.[6] It is only moral superiority that can stand against secular temptation. The next point raised by Kaccāna is an ethical one, in that he makes the king admit that in the retribution of kamma, both in reward and in punishment, there is no caste difference. Moral and spiritual development is not a special privilege by virtue of birth, but is open to all. The Buddha taught that all men, irrespective of caste, are equal before moral law.

The *Assalāyana Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*M.* II, p. 147 ff.) is another discourse that contains some arguments against the social attitude of the brāhmans. Here the brāhmans seem to have been offended by the Buddha's statement that all the four castes had the ability to practise virtue and achieve purity (*catuvaṇṇiṃ suddhiṃ*). They send Assalāyana to the Buddha to ascertain what his views were about the claim of the brāhmans that they are the highest caste, the legitimate sons of Brahmā. The Buddha asks Assalāyana why, if brāhmans are the only legitimate sons of Brahmā, born from his mouth, and therefore heirs by birth to all the good things of life, why is it that brāhman women are known to have their seasons and to conceive, to give birth and to give suck, like other women.[7] Buddhaghosa further adds that brāhman women are seen being led to marriage so as to provide brāhmans with sons (*MA.* III, p. 408). The Buddha's irony is further seen when he meets Assalāyana's argument that only brāhmans can cleanse themselves (*sujjhanti*) with water by asking him whether a *śudra* cannot go to the river and wash himself of dust and mud.

There can be a certain stage in the evolution of human society when there were only two castes, masters and slaves, and the Buddha points out that this phenomenon exists in some parts of India itself (i.e., Yona and Kamboja) and that at one stage the masters became the slaves and at another the slaves became the masters, which fact shows that caste by birth is only a conventional and a relative phenomenon which is neither universal nor unalterable. The Buddha again points out that

4 The biological unity of mankind as against genetical caste distinctions is further shown by the Buddha in the ***Assalāyana Sutta, M. II***, p. 154 where he argues that if by the union of a brāhman and a khattiya a child were born, this offspring would remain a human being whereas if a he-ass and a mare were to mate the offspring would be called a mule.

5 How good conduct is superior to mere book-learning is shown by the example adduced by the Buddha in the ***Assalāyana Sutta*** where he refers to two brāhman children born of the same mother, one learned and immoral and the other not learned but morally good. The Buddha shows how the latter is held in respect despite their being born of the same mother.

6 For a list of so-called low professions engaged in by the brāhmans see *The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time* (Calcutta, 1920) by R. Fick, p. 9, n., 1. Offspring of mixed marriages were the people who normally did such work as fishing (*pukkusa*), reed-working (*veṇa*), cartmaking (*ratha-kāra*), hunting (*nesāda*), etc. The lowest among such mixed castes was the *caṇḍāla*, the scavenger.

7 This same argument recurs in the *Aggañña Sutta* in a similar situation (*D.* III, pp. 81–2).

fire kindled with a piece of sandalwood by a man of so-called high birth serves the purpose of fire just as it would serve if kindled with a branch of the castor oil shrub by a man belonging to a low caste. Irrespective of the source, the fire is the same, and in the same way whatever be the caste of a man by birth, he can have the ability for self-development to the highest degree. Any divisions whether they be social, economic, intellectual or racial, is an obstacle for the realisation of the spiritual unity of mankind.

Well-known brāhmans are very often referred to as pure by birth, back to seven generations on both their father's and mother's side (e.g., *D.* I, pp. 113, 121, 123 ; *A.* I, p. 162). This question is taken up towards the end of the *Assalāyana Sutta* where the seer Asita Devala questions seven brāhmans (who made that claim) whether they can be sure of the fact that their mothers and grandmothers, back through seven generations, never committed adultery. The same question is put with regard to their forefathers and to both questions the brāhmans have to reply that they cannot be sure on this point. These questions are followed by a more interesting question, where the brāhmans are asked whether they know the caste of the *gandhabba,* the spirit that takes conception in a mother's womb. Ultimately, the irony that is found in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* recurs here when these caste-conscious brāhmans are made to admit that they do not know who they are (*evaṃ sante bho na mayaṃ jānāma keci mayaṃ homā'ti*).

The Buddha's opposition to the attempt of the brāhmans to divide society into watertight compartments on the basis of caste by birth is clearly seen in his discourses. His interview with the brāhman Esukārī (*M.* II, p. 177 ff.) is specially interesting. Esukārī asked the Buddha about castes and their distinctions from the point of view of their functions. The Buddha points out that the divisions imposed on society by the brāhmans are quite arbitrary and are not conducive to the good of the individual or of society. Giving his own alternative, the Buddha says that all the four castes alike, can practise the pure life which is the true service (personal as well as public) and follow the dhamma, which is the true wealth (spiritual as well as material). Here the Buddha never forgets the practical side of social life as he points out that whatever be the work one does, it should be done skilfully. Otherwise, he cannot do his service well. Even if caste be regarded on the basis of occupation, only a clever person can do his work well. And when he does his job well, he will grow in the five forms of noble (*ariya*) growth, viz. faith, morality, learning, renunciation and wisdom. From the Buddhist point of view there is no reason whatsoever for one class of people to be hereditary rulers and masters over another class regarded as slaves and inferiors by birth. In Buddhist India it was that kind of unjust doctrine that the brāhmans were trying to establish and continue. From the point of view of the brāhmans, the śūdras were born to serve the other three castes who were designated as the twice-born (*dvija*). This meant that a large section of the Indian people were condemned to perpetual ignorance and servitude. From the Buddhist point of view the work one does has no genetical significance and everyone has the ability to rise to the highest position in society if he has the will and the ability to do so. It is in accordance with this doctrine that the Buddha threw open the doors of his Order of monks and nuns to everyone alike, irrespective of caste by birth.[8] The truth of his theory was amply proved when even the most base-born were able to become eminent members of his Order. He fearlessly proclaimed that merit acquired by virtue, knowledge and practice, and not by birth, was the sole criterion of worth. Whatever the birth be, a person who lives according to this theory would be the true social worker, useful to himself and to others.

The Buddha's teaching is opposed to the fatalistic view that the situation into which a man is born is unalterable. What the Buddha taught was that one's kamma alone is important, not the circumstances of his birth.

Another important point that deserves clarification is whether a person cannot be born into a conventionally despised caste because of his previous bad kamma. This possibility is clearly admitted in Buddhism, as understood in the doctrine of kamma. Gradations in human society based on caste, race, religion etc. are a universal phenomenon and cannot be eliminated completely. They have to be admitted as a part of social life. The Buddha's advice is to work against that kind of divisive phenomena in society by changing one's kamma for better. If one is base-born due to one's bad kamma, let one change that kamma and be "nobly born" in this life itself. Truly diligent men should be able to achieve this metamorphosis

8 This is why the Buddha says (*Vin.* II, p. 239) that just as the great rivers Gangā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī lose their separate identities once they join the ocean, even so do the four castes lose their former names and origins once they become the members of his Order.

and that is what is expected of those who call themselves Buddhists.

The moral worth of a person should receive social recognition, regardless of the caste to which he belongs and everyone should have the opportunity for moral and spiritual development which the individual concerned could achieve according to the potentiality for such development (*upanissaya*) he has.

The Buddha's service to humanity was to point out this all-important fact both by theory and practice. His task became doubly important because of the fact that during his time caste in Indian society had become a tremendous social problem, mainly because of the snobbish claims put forward by the brāhmans.

A.G.S.K.

CATASSA SUTTA. The Buddha declares that there are four elements—earth, water, heat and air (*S.* II, p. 169). An explanation of these four is found in the commentary (*SA.* II, p. 152). The title of *Catudhātu Sutta* has been given to this sutta in the *Tripiṭaka Sūciya* (Colombo, 1953) by A. P. Buddhadatta.

L.R.G.

CĀTIGATIKAPAṬIMĀGHARA, an image-house built by Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (7–19 A.C.), and attached to the Mahāthūpa (*MhvA.* p. 634).

CATTĀRI SUTTA, the second sutta in the *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Itivuttaka* (*It.* pp. 102–3) and thus named in the *Uddāna* (ibid. p. 124), the versified table of contents at the end of the chapter, occurs also in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* II, pp. 26–7).

Four things are said to be of little value, easily obtainable and not incurring censure for the one who possesses them. They are rag-robes, alms-food, lodging at the foot of a tree and ammonia derived from cow-urine (*pūti-mutta*) as medicine. A monk who is content with such trifles (*appa*) has in him the making of a true recluse (*sāmaññaṅga*).

The final word of the concluding *gāthā* refers to the zealous monk (*appamatta bhikkhu*) in the *Itivuttaka*, but the Sinhalese text and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* mention instead the one who has been diligently trained (*appamatta sikkhata*). The two terms are obviously synonymous.

H.G.A.v.Z.

CATUBHĀṆAVĀRA. Four *Bhāṇavāras*, is a compilation of twenty-nine extracts from the five *Nikāyas*, consisting of several suttas and all the well-known protective chants (*paritta*, q.v.). Its author and the date of compilation are not known. The text is used both as a handbook for novices (*sāmaṇera*) in the Order of monks and as a collection of *mantras* the recitation of which is believed to ward off evil and bring about prosperity. The contents are divided into four parts called *bhāṇavāras*, hence its name *Catubhāṇavāra*.

The first five pieces form a kind of preliminary to the remaining twenty-four pieces, which form the *paritta* proper.

The first five pieces consist of (1) the Buddhist confession of faith (*saraṇāgamana*), (2) the ten precepts (*dasasikkhāpada*), (3) the ten questions and answers called the question of the novice (*sāmaṇerapañha* or *kumārapañha*), (4) a list of the thirty two parts of the body called *dvattiṃsākāra* for purposes of meditation on the loathsomeness and perishableness of the human body and (5) contemplation (*paccavekkhanā*) on the four bare necessities of life prescribed for monks, namely, food (*piṇḍapāta*), clothing (*cīvara*), shelter (*senāsana*) and medicine (*gilānapaccaya-bhesajjaparikkhāra*). All these pieces are taken from the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

All the other pieces, some of which are called 'suttas' and some 'parittas', are also taken from the texts of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. They are (1) the *Dasadhamma Sutta* called *Dhamma Sutta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* V, p. 87); (2) the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (3) the *Ratana Sutta*, and (4) the *Mettā Sutta* all taken from the *Khuddakapāṭha* and the *Suttanipāta*; (5) the *Khandhaparitta* called *Ahinda Sutta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* II, p. 72), found also in the *Vinaya* (*Vin.* II, p. 109) and in the *Khandhavatta Jātaka* (*J.* II, p. 144 ff), (6) *Mettānisaṃsa* called the *Mettā Sutta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* V, 342) (7) *Mittānisaṃsa*(*J.* VI, pp. 1–30), (8) *Moraparitta* taken from the *Mora Jātaka* (*J.* II, 33), (9) *Candaparitta* also called *Candima Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 50),(10) *Suriya paritta* or *Suriya Sutta* according to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* I, p. 51), (11) *Dhajagga-paritta* or *Sutta* (*S.* I, p. 218), (12) the *Mahākassapatthera bojjhaṅga*, (13) the *Mahāmoggallānatthera bojjhaṅga*, (14) the *Mahā Cundatthera bojjhaṅga* taken from the *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*S.* V, pp. 79–81)—these three *suttas* are called there the *Gilāna Suttas*, (15) the *Girimānanda* or *Giri Sutta* (*A.* V, p. 108), (16) *Isigili Sutta* (*M.* III, p. 68 ff.), (17) *Dhammacakka Sutta* (*S.* V, p. 420 ; *Vin.* I, p. 10), (18) the *Mahā Samaya Sutta* (*D.* II, pp. 253–62), (19) the *Ālavaka Sutta* (*S.* I, pp. 212 ; *Sn.* pp. 31–3), (20) the *Kasībhāradvāja*

Sutta (*S.* I, p. 212; *Sn.* pp. 12–16), (21) the *Parābhava Sutta* (*A.* IV, p. 26), (22) the *Vasala Sutta* (*Sn.* p. 21), (23) the *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.* III, pp. 248–52), (24) and finally the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* (*D.* III, pp. 194 ff.).

There is a commentary to this work called the *Sāratthasamuccaya*, written by a pupil of Ānanda Vanaratana in the 13th century. The seven suttas in the third *bhāṇavāra* beginning with the *Dhammacakka Sutta* and ending with the *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta*, are not commented upon in this commentary. Even in the 18th century, when Saraṇaṅkara Saṅgharāja wrote the *Sārārthadīpani—Satarabaṇavara Sanna*, these seven pieces have not been accepted into the *Catubhāṇavāra*. This omission makes one infer that these seven suttas may have found their way into the text very recently.

All the twenty-nine pieces in the text are recited at the Buddhist 'Paritta-ceremony', or *pirit* as the Buddhists of Ceylon call it. *Paritta* means protection and already in the Pali canon it is used in the sense of an exorcism-formula, or benediction. At the present day in Ceylon *paritta* has come to mean the recitation by bhikkhus of these twenty-nine pieces for the purpose of banishing the influence of evil powers. A *paritta* ceremony is performed on various occasions such as the building of a new house, diseases and so on.

U.K.

CATUCAKKA SUTTA of the *Satti Vagga* of the *Devatā Saṃyutta* (*S.* I, p. 16) contains two stanzas where first a deva asks the Buddha how there could be an escape from the body. The Buddha in his reply in the second stanza says that it is obtained by the destruction of craving. The deva here referred to the body as four-wheeled (*catucakka*) after which term the sutta is named. The commentary (*SA.* I, p. 53) explains the term as referring to the four bodily postures.

H.R.P.

CATUDDISA SUTTA, ninth discourse of the *Phāsuvihāra Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (*A.* III, p. 135). It mentions five qualifications of a "four-regioner" (*catuddisa*), i.e., an arahant (*AA.* III, p. 280). He is virtuous, is restrained by the *pātimokkha* (q.v.) and he observes the precepts; he is learned and has a retentive and well-stored mind; he is well-contented with any of the requisites; he obtains the fourfold states of mental absorption at will and he enters and abides in the emancipation of mind and insight.

The sutta is preached to the monks by the Buddha.

H.R.P.

CATUDVĀRA JĀTAKA (*J.* IV, pp. 1 ff.; No. 439), told by the Buddha while staying at Jetavana monastery with reference to an unruly monk, relates the story of past life of that monk during the time of Kassapa Buddha.

At the time he was the son of the rich merchant in Bārāṇasī and was named Mittavindaka. Both mother and father had entered the first Path of holiness, but the son was wicked. When the father died, his mother persuaded him to listen to the Law by promising him a thousand pieces of money. Mittavindaka used this money in business and soon gained two million. Later, Mittavindaka decided to do business in a ship and when his mother opposed him he struck her down and went his way.

The ship remained immovable for seven days and the other sailors, finding that it was due to the Mittavindaka's evil luck, gave him a raft and cast him adrift. Mittavindaka floated to an island where he met four female spirits in a crystal palace in whose company he experienced divine bliss for seven days. In like manner he went to other islands where in palaces of silver, jewels and gold, he dwelt in divine blessedness with female spirits. Finally Mittavindaka came to the Ussada hell, with four gates (*catudvāra*) where a razor-wheel was cast upon his head crushing it.

At that time the bodhisatta, born as the Sakka, arrived at the spot and told him that Mittavindaka was suffering due to his own bad deeds and would suffer until his death.

The Jātaka probably derives its name from the fact that the Ussada hell where Mittavindaka was destined to suffer looked like a city with four gates surrounded by a wall (cp. *DPPN.* p. 841).

The three birth stories entitled, *Mittavindaka Jātaka* (Nos. 82, 104, 369) preached in connection with this unruly monk, refer to the same story of the past. The *Losaka Jātaka* (*J.* I, pp. 234 ff.), too, though with some variations and some additional information, shows a close link with the story of the *Catudvāra Jātaka*. Incidentally, the *Losaka Jātaka* is regarded as showing traces of Greek influence (*JCBRAS.* 1884, p. 114).

H.R.P.

CATUḤPĪṬHĀKHYĀTA-TANTRARĀJA-MANTRĀ-ṀŚA-NĀMA (*Śrī-C°*) 'a tantric text, a Tibetan

translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title, *Dpal gdan-bshi-paḥi bśad-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po sṅags-kyi cha shes-bya-ba.* Gayadhara and Ḥgos-khug-pa lhas-btsas are said to have translated and revised the work (*TT.* Vol. 3, No. 68 ; *TM.* No. 429).

As the title indicates, the text appears to be a section of a larger work, presumably a *Catuḥpīṭha-tantra*, which dealt with four topics (cp. *Catuḥpīṭha-vikhyāta-tantrarāja-nāma*). The section dealt with in the text pertains mainly to information and rites relating to the Germ-syllables (Skt. *bīja*, Tib. *sa-bon*). Several mantras are quoted in the text.

R.H.

CATUḤPĪṬHAMAHĀYOGINĪ-TANTRARĀJA, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a tantric text of which the Tibetan translation is *Rnal-ḥbyor-maḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal-gdan bshi-po.* It is incorporated in the Rgyud-ḥbum (100,000 tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author of this work is not mentioned. But the translations are named under Gayadhara and Ḥgos-Khug-pa lhas-btas (*TT.* Vol. 3, No. 67 ; *TM.* No. 428).

The author's first salutation is addressed to the most compassionate Avalokitabodhisattva (Tib. Spyan-ras-gzigs).

I.K.

CATUḤPĪṬHA-SĀDHANA, the name of a Sādhana text, the Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tengyur under the title *Dpal gdan bshi-paḥi bsgrub-paḥi thabs* (*TT.* Vol. 57, No. 2487 ; *TM.* No. 1616). The authorship of this work is attributed to Bhavabhadra. It has been rendered into Tibetan by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas.

The author's first salutation is addressed to Avalokiteśvara (*Tib.* Spyan-ras gzigs byan-chub sems dpaḥ), the fourth Dhyānibodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

I.K.

CATUḤPĪṬHA-TANTRARĀJA - (NĀMA-)MAṆḌA-LOPĀYIKĀ - VIDHI - SĀRASAMUCCAYA - NĀMA (*Śrī-C°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal gdan bshi-pa shes-bya-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga sñiṅ-po mdor-bsags-pa shes-bya-ba.* Ārya-deva is the author of the text. The tibetan translation is attributed to Gayadhara and Lhas-btsas (*TT.* Vol. 57, No. 2484).

The text describes twenty-eight rites associated with maṇḍalas, which form part of the ritual ceremonies described in the *Catuḥpīṭha-tantra-rāja.*

R.H.

CATUḤPĪṬHATANTRARĀJASMṚTINIBANDHA - NĀMA, the title of a text as given in the sde-dge and in the Peking editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the corresponding Tibetan title being, *Rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal-gdan bshi-paḥi ḥgrel-pa dran-paḥi rgyu-mtshan shes-bya-ba* (*TM.* No. 1607 ; *TT.* Vol. 57, No. 2478). This work is incoporated in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. Its authorship is attributed to Bhavabhadra and the translators are named as Gayadhara and Ḥgos.

The author's first salutation is addressed to Avalokitabodhisattva. It is a commentarial work.

R.H.

CATUḤPĪṬHA-ṬĪKĀ (*Ārya-C°*), a sub-commentary on the tantra text *Catuḥpīṭha.* (See CATUḤ PĪṬHA - VIKHYĀTA - TANTRARĀJA - NĀMA). A Tibetan translation of this commentarial text occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Gdan bshi-paḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa.* The authorship of this commentary is attributed to Dge-baḥi ge-cha (Kalyāṇa-Varman) and Dran-paḥi ye-śes-grags-pa (Smṛtijñānakīrti). Dran-paḥi ye-śes grags-pa himself is said to have translated the commentary into Tibetan (*TT.* Vol. 57, No. 2479 ; *TM.* No. 1608).

R.H.

CATUḤPĪṬHA-VIKHYĀTA-TANTRARĀJA-NĀMA (*Śrī-C°*), the name of a tantra text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud tantra section of the Kangyur, under the title (*Dpal*) *Gdan-bshi-paḥi rnam-par-bśad-paḥi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po shes-bya-ba.* The work is said to have been translated and revised by Smṛtijñānakīrti (*TT.* Vol. 3, No. 69 ; *TM.* No. 430).

The work contains a sermon of the Buddha to a large number of devotees. The introduction to the text proposes a discussion of four main topics (presumably the reason for its being called *Catuḥ-pīṭha*), viz., the nature of capability (*dbaṅ-gi mtshan-ñid*), of the letters (*akṣara* : Tib. *yi-ge*), of the eight seeds (*sa-bon brgyad*) and of real divinity (*rtsa-yi lha-ñid*).

Instructions regarding the manner of making offerings and taking vows, discussions on the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of all things, aphoristic phrases (*sūtra*) and magical formulae (mantra) to be recited

in the course of various ceremonies, descriptions of the characteristics of death (*ḥchi-baḥi mtshan-ma*) and various tantric maṇḍalas are some of the many topics dealt with in the course of expounding the main theme of the text.

R.H.

CATUḤPĪṬHA-YOGA-TANTRA-SĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ (*Śrī-C°*), a text composed by Āryadeva. A Tibetan translation of it attributed to Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra) occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Rnal-ḥbyor-gyi rgyud dpal gdan bshi-paḥi sgrub-thabs* (*TT*. Vol. 57, No. 2481).

After an initial formula of salutation addressed to Vajrasattva, Āryadeva pays homage to the teacher Nāgārjuna and proceeds with his text, which describes the procedure (*vidhi*) of invocation of the deities of the *Catuḥpīṭha-yoga-tantra*. The Dhyāni-buddha Vajrasattva and several other deities are described. Mantras to be chanted in the course of invoking them and making offerings to them are quoted and the mystic pose of hands (mudrā) to be shown in the course of the ceremony explained.

R.H.

CATUḤŚATAKA. To the Mādhaymika (q.v.) system, dialectic may be stated to be the pivot. The Mādhyamika method is to deconceptualise the mind and to disburden it of all notions, empirical as well as *a priori*. The dialectic is not an avenue for the acquisition of information, but a catharsis; it is primarily a path of purification of intellect (T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1960). 'The application of the Dialectic to some of the important categories, Causality, Motion and Rest, Modes and Substance (*ātman*), shows the nature of the Mādhyamika method *in concreto*. All views on any problem can be formulated under four classes, the affirmative (*sat*), the negative (*asat*), conjunctive assertion of both (*ubhaya*) and disjunctive denial (*anubhaya*). Every view is rejected as it reveals, on critical analysis, inherent flaws that cannot be remedied by attention and adjustment. Rejection of one view does not mean the acceptance of the opposite or any other view. The Mādhyamika dialectic uses *reductio ad absurdum* arguments only (*prasaṅgāpādanaṃ*). The dialectic is criticism only, it is not itself a view or a synthesis of view-points. Rejection of all thought-categories and views is the rejection of the competence of reason to apprehend reality. The real is transcendent to thought; it is non-dual (*śūnya*), free from the duality of 'is' and 'not-is'.[1]

In the history of the development of the Mādhyamika system of thought, Āryadeva (q.v.) is the immediate follower of Nāgārjuna in his dialectics and details of discussion. While Nāgārjuna's dialectics is directed mainly against the *Ābhidharmikas*, Āryadeva pays greater attention to the criticism of the *Sāṃkhya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* conceptions, evidently to consolidate the Mādhyamika standpoint against the non-Buddhist systems.

The *Catuḥśataka* (var.—*Catuḥśatikā*) of Āryadeva, his *magnum opus*, records his dialectical achievement. M. Haraprasad Sastri has published fragments of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśatikā* with their commentary by Candrakīrti, from 23 old palm leaves written in the Newari character of the 11th century.[2] The text is distributed over sixteen chapters (*prakaraṇa*) the majority of which contains twenty-five verses each.[3]

The importance of the text may be guessed from the existence of two commentaries on the same, one by Candrakīrti, the famous commentator of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamakaśāstra*, and the other by Dharmapāla. But neither the original nor the commentaries in their complete form are available in Sanskrit. The complete work, the commentary of Candrakīrti, is found in the Tibetan version (Tengyur, Mdo. Tsh. 1 and Y, 2; *Cordier*, II, pp. 296, 304). They were translated jointly by Sūkṣmajñāna of India and Sūryakīrti (Ñi ma grags) of Tibet. The last eight chapters (ix-xvi) under the appellation of *Śataśāstra-vaipulya* (*Chuang-pai-lun-pên: Nanjio*. No. 1189) are extant in Chinese. There is also the commentary by Dharma pāla, extending, like the original, only from chapter ix-xvi (*Nanjio*, No. 1198). It is called *Vaipulya- śataśāstravyākhyā* (*Chuang-pai-lun-shih-lun*).

The last eight chapters of the text with the commentary of Dharmapāla were translated into Chinese by Hiuen-tsang himself (650 A.C.). Candrakīrti in his commentary (on 1.1) speaks of the treatment of the *Catuḥśataka* by Dharmapāla. According to Candrakīrti, Dharmapāla, in accordance with the arrangement of the book, divided it under two

1 T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1960, pp. 207–8.

2 vide *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 449–514.

The observations of Sastri regarding the designation of the text deserve mention: 'A comparison with the Tibetan translation revealed the fact that the original *Catuḥśatikā* contained three hundred and seventy-five verses in the Anuṣṭub metre, which with sixteen long colophons, would count to a copyist, 400 ślokas. Hence the name Catuḥśatikā.

vide Preface of H. P. Sastri's Ed. p. 449.

3 For distribution of verses in the various chapters of the text, vide a table shown in the preface (ibid. pp. 450–51).

parts. One part was intended for teaching Dharma while the other was meant for disputations.[4]

The importance of the commentary on the text by Candrakīrti (for details see the article on Candrakīrti) in unfolding the doctrine enunciated in the *Catuḥśataka* can never be underestimated. He supplies us in his introduction with information regarding the personal history of Āryadeva and he rightly points out that the doctrine discussed in the *Catuḥśatakaśāstra* is not different from that delineated in the *Mādhyamikaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna.[5] Candrakīrti presents brief account of the subjects dealt with in the *Catuḥśataka* and observes that in the first four chapters things occurring in ordinary life (*laukikaṃ vastu*) are explained because in this way the highest truth (*paramārtha*) may be understood gradually.

The style and technique adopted by Candrakīrti in his exposition of the *kārikās* of Āryadeva are different in the first part and the second one. In the first part, there are different examples (*dṛṣṭāntas: dpe rnams*) and they have been presented in elegant and simple language, with pretty stories and anecdotes taken both from life and literature.[6] In his commentary to the *Catuḥśataka* (1.1), Candrakīrti observes that in each of the *kārikās* in the first eight chapters the *dṛṣṭāntas* used by Ācārya Dharmadāsa are read and explained with it (*kārikās*).[7]

Besides, H. P. Sastri, as already pointed out, several distinguished scholars have attempted to reconstruct the text through the aid of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. P. L. Vaidya in his *Études sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka*, published in 1923 the last nine chapters (viii-xvi). Here the *kārikās* in Tibetan version have been presented, adding the Sanskrit original where available. Where it was not available, the *kārikās* have been reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Tibetan version. He has also translated all the *kārikās* into French. In 1925 Guiseppi Tucci in *Rivesta degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. X, pp. 521 ff. published an Italian translation of the last eight chapters of the text from its Chinese translation. Again, he published an Italian translation of the complete text and commentary in *Studi e materiali di storia della religioni*. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya reconstructed the seventh chapter of the *Catuḥśataka* and published it with an English translation and commentary (of Candrakīrti)[8]. Again, in 1931, Bhattacharya edited the last nine chapters (viii-xvi) supplying the Tibetan text, the Sanskrit rendering and critical notes, under the title *The Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva* (pt. II).[9] Feeling that the reconstruction by Vaidya was marred by many inaccuracies, Bhattacharya was prompted to present his second part.[10]

The first chapter (*prakaraṇa*) of the text is designated as *Nityagrāhaprahāṇopāyasandarśana* (*rtag-par-ḥdzin-pa spaṅ-baḥi thabs-bstan-pa*), according to Sastri's reconstruction, *Nityaviparyāsaprahāṇopāyasandarśana*—showing the 'means for abandoning the adherence to the view that things are eternal'. It has been pointed out there that the five *skandhas* originate by depending on causes (*hetupratyaya, rgyu-daṅ-rkyen*) and as such are non-eternal (*anitya, mi-rtag-pa*).

In the second chapter, under the appellation of *Sukhagrāhaprahānopāya* (*Sukhaviparyāsa°*) — i.e., the means for discarding the notion that objects cause happiness, it has been established that objects of the world which by nature are impermanent always generate misery (*duḥkha—sdug-bsṅal*). Āryadeva argues that the body, being by nature full of misery, cannot be the abode of happiness:

Śarīraṁ sucireṇāpi sukhasya svaṁ na jāyate (32, H.P.S.).[11] Candrakīrti in his commentary refers to a text which explains the position in a better way:

Duḥkhātmakaṁ śarīraṁ, sukhasya kiṁ svīkarosi mohāndha.

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4 *Tac catuḥśatakaṁ śāstraṁ vartamānena kavinā bhadantadharmapālena yathāsanniveśaṁ vibhajya dvidhā kṛtaṁ ekaṃ dharmaśāsanaśatakam anyat tu vigrahaśatakam*

vide *The Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva*, ed. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1931, Introduction, p. xxiii.

5 *yasmād ayaṁ ācārya āryadeva ācārya-nāgārjunasya siṣyatvaṃ vikartum akāmayata tasmāt tanmatam asya matān nānyat.*

Sanskrit rendering of the Tibetan by V. Bhattacharya, op, cit. Introduction, p. xix, n. 2.

6 cf. *Tasmād atra na kaś cit svabhāvena sukhī vidyate-adhikṛta-hastyāropitadarśanamanyuparitoṣaṇavat ; rājaduhitṛsvayaṁvaraprārthanāvat.*

vide H. P. Sastri's ed. *Catuḥśatikā*, pp. 456, 458 ff.

7 Ihāṣṭānāṃ prakaraṇānāṃ ekaikāsu kārikāsu ācāryadharmadāsena prayuktā dṛṣṭāntā pathitās tābhiḥ saha vyākhyāyante. vide Bhattacharya, op. cit. Introduction, p. xxiii, n. 2.

8 vide *Proceedings and Transactions of the fourth Oriental Conference*, Allahabad University, II, pp. 831–71.

9 *VBS.* No. 2.

10 In his introduction, Bhattacharya proposed to publish the first seven chapters of the text in the same form, but unfortunately they have not yet seen the light of day.

11 H.P.S. refers to the reconstructed text by Haraprasad Sastri.

People in general are pressed with the two types of misery, physical and mental :

Duḥkhadvayena loko'yam ahany ahani hanyate (33, H.P.S.). The third chapter has the designation of *Śucigrāhaprahānopāya*° (*Asucicintānāma*—H.P.S.), i.e., showing the means doing away with the notion that objects are pure.

Āryadeva here states that people get attached to the body falsely, in the same way in which a noseless person takes pleasure in getting a grafted nose ;

Pratināsikayā tuṣṭiḥ syād dhīnāṅgasya kasyacit
Rāge'śucipratīkāre puṣpādāv iṣyate tathā

(73, H.P.S.).

The Buddhist doctrine that the objects of the world are impermanent, impure, full of misery and without any self (substantiality) has been stated here in brief :

Anityam aśubham duḥkham anātmeti catuṣṭayam
Ekasminn eva sarvāṇi sambhavanti samāsataḥ

(75, H.P.S.).

The name of the fourth chapter is *Ahaṃkāraprahāṇopāya*° (*Ahaṃkāraviparyāsaprahāṇopāya*—H.P.S.), i.e., showing the means of abandoning the idea of ' self ' (self-sense).

Owing to illusion (*phying-ci-log* : *viparyāsa*) these worldly things (*ḥjig-rten-paḥi dṅos-po*) appear otherwise, i.e., eternal (*nitya*), causing happiness (*sukha*), pure (*śuci*) and ' I ' and ' mine ' ' *ātman* ' and ' *ātmīya* '. This wrong view is to be avoided, and it cannot be done without observing the practices (*caryā*), of a bodhisattva, an aspirant to bodhi, ' supreme knowledge '.

The fifth chapter is called *Bodhisattvacaryā* (*byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ spyod-pa bstan-pa*°)—the practices of a bodhisattva, and as the title shows, it is devoted to the study of *Bodhisattvacaryā*.

Kleśas or impurities interrupt *Bodhisattvacaryā*. Therefore they have been dealt with in the sixth chapter entitled, *Kleśaprahāṇopāya*°, i.e., showing the means for abandoning passions or impurities.

The seventh chapter, showing the means for abandoning adherence to the enjoyments desired in the life of a man (*Manuṣasyeṣtasaṁbhogābhiniveśaprahāṇopāya*), begins with the observations that there is no end to the ocean of misery :

' *Asya duḥkhasamudrasya sarvathānto na vidyate* '

(vii—1).

Āryadeva instructs that one should act in a better way for self-development :

' *Atīte tvaṁ yathātrāpi na tatheti tathā kuru* '—

(vii—4).

In the *vṛtti* it is stated : ' *Tasmād evam api yathāsya bhavasyānto bhavet tathodyamaḥ kāryaḥ.*'

People, it is stated, often adopt a wrong view and inevitably fall into a miserable state :

Prāyeṇa yad asatpakṣam parigṛhṇanti mānavāḥ,
Tasmāt pṛthagjanāḥ prāyo dhruvaṁ gacchanti durgatim

(vii. 6).

To the good, the world appears as a slaughter-house :

Bhavo hi bhāsate tena sūnāsthānasamaḥ satām

(vii. 7).

It is through the cessation of movements (acts) that wise men make up their mind to put an end to all actions :

Sarvakarmakṣaye tena karoti matimān matim.

(vii—9).

The chapter that follows deals with the preparations of a disciple (*Śiṣyacaryā*—*slob-ma spyod-pa*, in H.P.S., 480, *Pārikarmikaprakaraṇa*—the chapter dealing with preparation). Here it has been recognised that the teachings of the Buddha in both aspects of attachment (*pravṛtti*) and disaffection (*nivṛtti*) are essential for different grades of persons :

Laukikī deśanā yatra pravṛttis tatra varṇyate,
Paramārthakathā yatra nivṛttis tatra varṇyate

(viii—8).

cp. Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakaśāstra*, xxiv—8.

In the same section, it is stated that evil should be abandoned first, the *ātman* should be viewed as unreal in the middle, and in the end everything phenomenal should be taken to be unreal (viii—15). In a rational way it has been stressed that the teachings should be imparted in the language understandable to the persons for whom they are intended.

In this section Āryadeva declares that the analysis of even one selected mode is to be treated as enough to convince us of the inherent hollowness of the objects. In induction one instance is enough to enable us to arrive at the principle in question.

The *Catuṣkoṭi*, a characteristic formula of Nāgārjuna (M.S., 1-9) has been stated:

Sad asat sad asac ceti nobhayaṁ ceti kathyate.

(viii—20).

This has been repeated in the concluding verse of the text:

Sad asat sad asac ceti yasya pakṣo na vidyate,

Upālambhaś cireṇāpi tasya vaktuṃ na śakyate

(xvi—25).

cp. *Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra* (Ed. R. C. Pandeya, Delhi, 1971), I.3.

The ninth chapter marks the beginning of a new line of discussion. Āryadeva, in the second part of his text beginning with this chapter, attempts to devote his whole energy for refutation of the doctrines of Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools, e.g., Sautrāntika, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika, etc. The name of the chapter is *Nityārthapratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana*—i.e., showing the contemplation of the refutation of objects regarded as eternal. In order to establish the unsubstantiality of constituted objects (*saṃskṛta*), the chapter is introduced by Āryadeva with a verse showing that all objects being originated for a purpose cannot claim permanence:

Sarvaṃ kāryārthaṃ utpannaṃ tena nityaṃ na vidyate.

(ix—1).

This is followed by a statement that there is no entity which by itself is uncaused. Nowhere is there existence of anything that is not dependent. The permanent does not exist anywhere:

Apratītyāstitā nāsti kadācit kasyacit kvacit,

Na kadācit kvacit kaś cit vidyate tena śāsvataḥ

(ix—2).

This is simply an echo of Nāgārjuna's statement:

Apratītyasamutpanno dharmaḥ kaś cin na vidyate'

Yasmāt tasmād aśūnyo hi dharmaḥ kaś cin na vidyate

(xxiv—19).

The idea stressed is that whatever is relative is indeed unreal. The categories are but conceptual devices (*vikalpa*) through which reason attempts to apprehend, the Real that cannot be categorised and made relative. Reason is accordingly condemned. There is no phenomenon, no object of knowledge that can escape this universal relativity.

The doctrine of *ātman*, as defended by the Brahmanical schools, has been criticised by the Mādhyamikas. The immutable in the conception of various philosophical schools falls under four groups: *Ākāśa* or *Dik* (space), *Kāla* (time), *Paramāṇu* (atom) and *Ātman* (soul). 'The first two provide the two ubiquitous recepta in which finite things exist and change; themselves unchanging, they make motion and modification possible. The atom (*paramāṇu*) is the ultimate constituent of matter and the *ātman* is the spirit which is the subject of experience.'

Space provides room for the existence of limited objects that occupy space. That it is eternal and immutable is assumed from its all-pervasive (*vibhu*) nature and its being devoid of parts (*apradeśatva*).[12] Āryadeva points out that space must have parts because when an object exists in space it cannot cover the entire space. There is always room for other objects to remain in space. Space thus has parts and is composite and a composite is characterised by impermanence:

Pradeśini na sarvasmin pradeśo nāma vartate

Tasmāt suvyaktam anyo'pi pradeśo'sti pradeśini

(ix—6).

Candrakīrti explains the position more clearly.

While discussing the position of time, several arguments have been advanced by Āryadeva to prove that it cannot be eternal. In one case it has been argued that time itself being eternal should produce an effect which is also eternal. There should not remain any disparity between cause and effect.[13]

Nāgārjuna takes up the examination of *kāla* in his xix th chapter. In tune with the view propounded by Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra*, (xix—1):

Pratyutpanno'nāgataś ca yady atītam apekṣya hi

Pratyutpanno'nāgataś ca kāle'tīte bhaviṣyataḥ.

Āryadeva argues that the past, present and future are concepts through which time is understood. But they being mutually dependent cannot be treated as permanent (*Catuḥśataka*, xi—1).

12 cp. *Dravyatvanityatve vāyunā vyākhyāte : Vaiśeṣikasūtras*, II, 1,29.

13 *Utpannaḥ śāśvatāt bhāvāt kathaṃ aśāśvato bhavet/*
Vailakṣaṇyaṁ dvayor hetuphalayor jātu nekṣyate// (ix—11)

He takes up the Vaiśeṣika concept of the atom and shows critically that its permanence cannot be accepted. Āryadeva points out that an atom has two aspects—one which is in contact with other atoms and which communicates its nature to the product, and the other, the incommunicable part. Thus, being of dual nature it cannot claim permanence (ix—12).

In ix—13 it is contended that contact of one atom with another is not possible in its entirety (*sarvātmanā*), lest the resultant dual atom should be of the same size as the single atom. In case of partial contact, the atom will be with parts and that with parts is not permanent:

Hetor yat pārimāṇḍalyaṁ phale tan naiva vidyate,
Yogaḥ sarvātmanā tasmād aṇūnāṃ nopapadyate.

(ix—13).

This is the usual argument of the Buddhists and non-Buddhists against atomism (vide, Śaṅkara on the *Vedāntasūtra*, II, 2.12; *Viṁśatikā*[14] of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, Kārikā 12).

In ix—16, it has been shown that movement of the atom is not possible. The argument in ix—18[15] is that if the atom is destroyed when the effect arises, then it is not permanent and if it continues to exist unmodified then there is no origination of a new entity.[16]

The tenth chapter under the title '*Ātmapratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana* is devoted to the criticism of the doctrine of *ātman*.[17]

Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra* examines the Vātsīputriya concept of the *pudgalātman* in his ix th chapter (*Pūrvaparīkṣā*) and the example of fire-fuel in the next (*Agnīndhana-parīkṣā*). Chapter xiii is also devoted to the examination of *ātman* (*Ātmaparīkṣā*). Here his argument proceeds on the line that *ātman* can be neither identical with nor different from the *skandhas* (**xviii—1**).

Āryadeva's argument proceeds on the line that if there is any *ātman* in reality, then there should be agreement between all the *ātmans*. Heat in fire is uniform in all cases of fire. But, in the case of *ātman*, the position is totally different. One's self is different from that of another:

Yas tavātmā mamānātmā tenātmā niyamān na sah
Nanu anityeṣu bhāvesu kalpanā nāma jāyate

(x—3).

On the point of the Vaiśeṣikas that *ātman* should be inferred in the same way in which the movement of a car prompts one to infer the existence of a driver, Āryadeva argues that an immaterial principle cannot actuate a material object like the body or the sense-organs (x—5). *Ātman* is changeless, all-pervasive (*sarvagata*) and inactive (*niṣkriya*). In the absence of action, *ātman* cannot be an agent. He cannot even co-ordinate and synthesise the different states into a unity (x—17).[18]

In the eleventh chapter, Āryadeva may be stated to have examined the concept of *kāla* on the pattern of what has been indicated by Nāgārjuna in his xix th chapter under the title of *Kālaparīkṣā*, containing only six *kārikās*. The chapter here has been named *Kālapratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana*.

The xii th chapter,[19] as the title shows, *Dṛṣṭipratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana*, speaks of adherence to the correct view as propagated by the Buddha. Here we find a direct eulogy of *śūnyatā*:

Dharmaṃ samāsato'hiṃsāṃ varṇayanti tathāgataḥ
Śūnyatām eva nirvāṇaṃ kevalaṃ tad ihobhayaṃ

(xii—23).

The name of the xiii th chapter,[20] is *Indriyārthapratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana* (showing the contem-

14 Ed. M. Tewari (Benares, 1967).

15 *Naṣṭah phalena yad dhetus tena hetur na śāśvataḥ|*
Yasmiṁś ca vidyate hetuḥ phalaṁ tasmiṁ na vidyate||

16 vide also ix—19.

17 'Ātman is the chief category of the permanent. There are two principal views of the self (*ātman*): one is the conception in vogue with the Brahmanical systems, of a permanent and immutable entity identical amidst changing states and therefore different from them; the other is the Buddhistic conception of *ātman* as a conventional name (*prajñapti-sat*) for a series of discrete momentary states (*skandharūpa*), sensation and feeling, intellection and conation. There is nothing unitary or identical amidst the changing states, and nothing hidden beneath them as *ātman*. Like all existence, the mental states too are in a state of continual flux. The Buddhists coined a very unattractive word, *pudgala* for the *ātman*. Besides these two principal views, there is the intermediary standpoint not only of the Jainas, but of the Vātsīputriyas (*Sammitīyas*) within the Buddhist fold itself. They held that the *ātman* or *pudgala* was a sort of quasi-permanent entity either different from nor identical with the states like fire and fuel. The Pudgalātmavāda has been universally condemned as a heresy by the Buddhist schools, including the Mādhyamika.' T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1960, pp, 201-202.

18 It may be of interest to note that Āryadeva in his *Śata-śāstra* in chapter ii (pp. 19 ff.) refers to the theory of *ātman* as enunciated in the *Sāṁkhyasūtras* and refutes them with forceful arguments. Vide, Giuseppe Tucci, *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (G.O.S. No. XLIX, Baroda, 1929). English Translation of the *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva.

19 cp. the xxvii th chapter of the *Madhyamakaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna under the title *Dṛṣṭiparīkṣā*, which of course is more critical and analytic.

20 cp. the iii rd chapter of Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakaśāstra* named *Cakṣurādindriyaparīkṣā*.

plation of refutation of the senses and their objects). It introduces the chapter with the observations that the perception of a jar (*ghaṭa*) is not possible.[21]

Almost in tune with the arguments presented by Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra* (iii—2), Āryadeva here discusses the uselessness of the sense-organs, showing that the eyes which see objects are incompetent to see themselves :

Svabhāvaḥ sarvabhāvānāṃ pūrvam ātmani dṛśyate

Grahaṇaṃ cakṣuṣaḥ kena cakṣuṣaiva na jāyate

(xviii—16).

In the concluding verse, Āryadeva, on the lines of Nāgārjuna (*Madhyamakaśāstra* vii—34), shows that the origination, duration (existence) and cessation of constituted objects are inexplicable in the same sense in which illusion (*māyā*), the dream-object and the fairy castle are :

Alātacakranirmāṇasvapna-māyāmbucandrakaiḥ,

Dhūmikāntaḥpratiśrutkā marīcyabhraiḥ samo bhavaḥ

(xiii—25).

The xiv th chapter is entitled as *Anantagrāhaprati ṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana* (showing the contemplation of the refutation of adherence to extremes). It begins with a discussion that neither identity nor difference between the jar and its form (*rūpa*) is possible to be established.

Rūpam eva ghaṭo naikyaṁ ghaṭo nānyo'sti rūpavān

Na vidyate ghaṭe rūpaṁ na rūpe vidyate ghaṭaḥ

(xiv—2).

Herein the Mādhyamika viewpoint has been stressed by stating that an object which is dependent for its origination to another cannot rightly be treated as cause of another object (xiv—13).

The Mādhyamika formula has been stated here :

Sad asat sad asac ceti sad asan neti ca kramaḥ,

Eṣa prayojyo vidvadbhir ekatvādiṣu nityaśaḥ

(xiv—21).

Candrakīrti in his commentary explains the import of the *kārikā* in the context of the doctrine of *Satkāryavāda* and *Asatkāryavāda*.

In conformity with the doctrine preached by Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva declares that an object that originates out of another object in the real sense of the term cannot be stated to exist (by itself). This is explained by Candrakīrti as *'niḥsvabhāva' 'svabhāvenānutpannaḥ'* :

Pratītya sambhavo yasya sa svatantro na jāyate

Na svatantram idaṃ sarvaṃ svayaṃ tena na vidyate (xiv. 23).

cp. *Madhyamakaśāstra.* xiv—16 ; xviii—10.

Almost exactly on the lines indicated by Nāgārjuna in the seventh chapter of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*, named *Saṃskṛtaparīkṣā*, Āryadeva in the xv th chapter of his text entitled, *Saṃskṛtārthapratiṣedhabhāvanāsandarśana* analyses the claim of the existence of the constituted objects (*saṃskṛta*). It has been argued that origination is not possible in both positions of *satkāryavāda* and the *asatkāryavāda*.

Asad ante jāyate cet tenāsaj jāyate kutaḥ

Sad evānte jāyate cet tena saj jāyate kutaḥ (xv—1).

The existence of *samskṛta* is not possible in any of the three states, namely, origination (*utpāda*), continuation (*sthiti*) and destruction or cessation (*bhaṅga*) (xv—5).

In an interesting way Āryadeva points out, after taking up the illustration of a jar, that origination (*utpāda*) cannot remain before, after or simultaneously with the jar (xv—7) ; xv—11.[22]

Some of the arguments used here (xv—6) in the context of refutation of origination of constituted objects, are almost like those used by Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra* (i—1 ; i—5 ; xxi—13).

The last chapter—*Guruśiṣyaviniścayabhāvanāsandarśana* (showing the contemplation of the discussion between the teacher and the taught) contains an enumeration of many points discussed previously. In the commentary of the concluding verse (xvi-25) Candrakīrti explains the Mādhyamika standpoint clearly.

The *Catuḥśataka* of Āryadeva has often been quoted by Candrakīrti as authority in his *Prasannapadā* commentary on the *Mādhyamikaśāstra*.

H.CT.

CATUḤŚATAKA-ŚĀSTRA-KĀRIKĀ-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text of 400 verses divided into sixteen

21 *Sarva eva ghaṭo'dṛṣṭo rupe dṛṣṭe hi jāyate/*
Brūyāt kas tattvavin nāma ghaṭaḥ pratyakṣa ity api // xiii—1.

22 For an apparent contradiction between the statement of the Lord that the constituted objects have origin, continuation and cessation, and the refutation of the same by Nāgārjuna vide *Madhyamakaśāstra*, vii—34 and the comments on the same by Candrakīrti.

chapters, the authorship of which is credited to Ḥphags-pa-lha (Āryadeva). A Tibetan translation of it attributed to Susmajāna (Sūkṣmajāna) and Ñi-ma grags (Sūryakīrti) occurs in the Dbu-ma (Mādhyamaka) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Bstan-bcos bshi-brgya-pa shes-bya-baḥi tshig-leḥur byas-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 95, No. 5246). The colophon of this translation gives the full title of the work as *Byaṅ-chub sems-dpaḥi rnal-ḥbyor spyod-pa bstan-bcos bshi-brgya-paḥi tshig-leḥur byas-pa shes-bya-ba* which corresponds to Sanskrit *Bodhisattvayogācāra Catuḥśataka-śāstra-kārikā-nāma.*

A reconstructed Sanskrit text of chapters 8–16 (*vv.* 176–400) of the *Bodhisattvayogācāra-catuḥśataka-śāstra-kārikā,* based on the Tibetan versions and Candrakīrti's commentary on the work, has been printed along with the parallel Tibetan text and a translation into French (See *Etudes sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka,* chapters viii–xvi, par. P. L. Vaidya, Paris, 1923, pp. 69–167).

An incomplete manuscript of the commentary on the *Catuḥśataka-śāstra-kārikā,* also known as *Bodhisattvayogācāra-catuḥśataka-ṭīkā* (q.v.) has been printed. (See *Catuḥśatikā* by Āryadeva, ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* III, pp. 449–514, Calcutta, 1914, Reviewed by L. V. P. in *BSOAS.* 1918, p. 129).

R.H.

CATUḤ-ŚATAKA-STOTRA, or the hymn of four hundred verses, is one of the two better known works of Mātṛceṭa, written in praise of the Buddha and composed in the *śloka* metre. Three fragments of this work were recovered from different localities; one by Sir Aurel Stein from the ruins at Khora near Karashahar (Sir Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay,* London, 1912, II, p. 372) and the other two by Hoernle from Jigdalik near Bai (*TurkRem.* I, p. 75 ff.). All three fragments are written in the slanting Gupta script.

Devoid of poetic embellishments, the language is simple and appealing. The whole poem is infused with the pious thoughts of a faithful devotee who held the Buddha and his teaching as supreme in the world. The following is an extract from the fragments restored with the aid of the Tibetan version :

Na te'sti sadṛśaḥ kaścidd adhika-sya kath-āsta kā
alpa
Mātrena hīnopi naiva kaścana vidyate
Sa ken-ópanayāmitvānupameyo'sti nāyaka
Hṛt-ópam-āva kāśāya nirupamāya te namaḥ

(Since none is equal to thee, of a superior what need to speak ? Even inferiority by a slight difference from thee there is none. So then, with whom can I compare thee ? Incomparable art thou, O guide. Thou, who has left behind the possibility of comparison, to thee, the Incomparable, hail!).

Regarding the Buddha's teaching it says,

Etena doṣalipto'sti viśuddhiṃ tena gacchati
Etad evāntaraṃ nātha tvadvāda paravādayoḥ

(By this, one is smeared with defilements ; by that, one attains purity ; that, O Lord, indeed, is the difference between thy teaching and the teaching of others : op. cit. pp. 78, 81).

There is no Chinese version of this text. The Tibetan version incorporated in the stotra section of the Tengyur is given the name *Saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan ḥdas-la bstod-pa bsṅags-par ḥos-pa bsṅags-pa-las bstod-par mi-nus-par bstod-pa shes-bya-ba* (*Varṇānha-varṇe Bhagavato Buddhasya stotre'śakyastava-nāma* ; *TM.* No. 1138). The title *Varṇārhavarṇa* occurs in the original text itself (Hoernle, op. cit. pp. 81,83). The Tibetan version has been of great importance for the restoration of certain portions of the fragments. It shows that the original work consisted of twelve chapters, a fact that is corroborated by a line occurring in the fragments, which when restored reads, *Varṇārha-varṇe buddha-stotre......* *nāma dvādaśama adhyāyaḥ samāptaśca Catuḥśatakam kṛtir ācārya bhadanta Mātṛcetasya* (In the hymn to the Buddha (called) the Praise of the Praiseworthy, this is the twelfth chapter named........ Here also ends the *Catuḥśataka* the composition of the ācārya, the revered Mātṛceta).

F. W. Thomas reads (*IA.* XXXII, p. 346) the Tibetan name as *Varṇārkavarṇana : bhagavato buddhasya stotra traya.* Following this, Hoernle suggests that *Varṇārha-varṇana* was the name given to a collection of three separate hymns, a suggestion which is made all the more plausible by the fact that the Tibetan text *Varṇārha-varṇana* is described as the *bhagavato buddhasya stotratraya* (the three hymns of the Lord Buddha). Further, he suggests that the three works could have been the *Catuḥ-śataka stotra,* the *Śatapañcāśatikastotra* and the *Prasādaprati-bhodbhava.* The last mentioned work is referred to in a line of a verse found in the fragments, which appears to be the conclusion and the colophon of a work which preceded the *Catuḥ-śataka stotra* (Hoernle, op. cit. pp. 77–79 ; see also *IA.* XXXII, pp. 345 ff. ; XXXIV, pp. 145 ff.).

In the seventh century, when I-tsing was travelling in India, the *Catuḥ-śataka stotra* and also

the *Śatapañcāśatikastotra* seem to have been highly regarded there. Of these I-tsing says, "These charming compositions are equal in beauty to heavenly flowers and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity with the lofty peaks of a mountain" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 271).

S.K.N.

CATUḤ-SATYA-SŪTRA, the name of a Sanskrit work, the Tibetan version of which is incorporated in the *Mdo-sde* (miscellaneous sūtra) section of the Kangyur (*TM*. No. 316 ; *TT*. No. 39, No. 982). The Tibetan title is given as (*Ḥphags-pa*) *Bden-pa bshiḥi-mdo*). This sūtra is also mentioned in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and the *Ekottarāgama* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (*Taishō*, Nos. 99, 125 ; *Nanjio*, Nos. 543, 544). This sūtra is similar to the first sūtra of the *Koṭigāmavagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (Vol. V, p. 431). The Mongolian edition of this text is mentioned in the "*Catalogue du Tanjur Mongal Imprime*" (Louis Ligeti, New Delhi, 1964, No. 1076). This is a short text with twelve lines, which the author begins with a salutation addressed to the Buddha and to all the bodhisattvas.

The Buddha is said to have addressed this sūtra to the bhikkhus while residing among the Vajjians at Koṭigāma, and declared to them that he and they had to wander through the long way of Saṃsāra (the cycle of births and deaths), because they did not understand the Four Noble Truths. Buddha says further that there would be no becoming for them (the bhikkhus) and the Buddha himself in future, because they have now understood these Truths. At the end of the discourse, the Buddha again emphasises the fact that those who do not understand the Four Noble Truths would wander through the cycle of births and deaths and that they would be able to put an end to becoming only after the realisation of these Truths.

I.K.

CATUḤ-STAVA, a work consisting of four of the many *stavas* (hymns of praise) attributed to Nāgārjuna. The opinion of scholars differs with regard to the particular *stavas* that form the *Catuḥ-stava*. L. de la Vallée Poussin (*Le Muséon*, 1913, pp. 1-18) considers the *Nirupama-stava*, the *Lokātīta-s°*, the *Cittavajra-s°* and the *Paramārtha-s°* as being incorporated in this. G. Tucci also endorses this view (*JRAS*. 1932, p. 309 ff.). Prabhubhai Patel (*IHQ*. VIII, 1932, p. 689 ff. ; X, pp. 82 ff.) accepts the first two *stavas*, but suggests the *Acintya-s°* and the *Stutyatita-s°* in place of the other two mentioned by Poussin. However, with the discovery of the *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* (q.v.) of Amṛtākara these views had to be modified. It shows that the *Catuḥstava* consisted of the *Lokātīta-s°*, the *Nirupamya-s°*, the *Acintya-s°* and the *Paramārtha-s°*.

The first occurrence of the title *Catuḥstava* is in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā* of Prajñākaramati. It is quite possible that in the beginning these four *stavas* were treated as independent compositions and that later, probably by a scribe, these four particular *stavas* were put together and given the title *Catuḥ-stava*. This position is also proved by the Tibetan Tengyur in which these hymns are translated separately, each under its own title. A manuscript of the *Niraupamya-stava* in Nāgari script found in Nepal, too, established this fact.

The title of each hymn is due to the particular epithet of the Buddha, such as *acintya* (inconceivable), mentioned in the initial stanza, and as such, it has no special significance with regard to the contents of each hymn. Nāgārjuna, in praising the Buddha, selects those special characteristics which are more in harmony with the *sarvaśūnyatā* concept, thus creating an opportunity to bring out the essence of *Mādhyamika* teachings in a simple form. Subtle doctrinal matters, such as the identification of *śūnyatā* (voidance) and *pratītya-samutpāda* (dependent origination), are mentioned in brief. It is the *Dharma-kāya* (lit. Body of Law) that forms the object of praise in the *Catuḥ-stava*.

S.K.N.

CATUḤSTAVA–SAMĀSĀRTHA of Amṛtākara, a commentary on the *Catuḥ-stava* (q.v.) of Nāgārjuna. The manuscript, found by G. Tucci in the Nor monastery and edited by him, was published in the *Minor Buddhist Texts*, pt. i, p. 235 ff. (*SOR*. IX, 1956).

Only three of the four chapters of the text are preserved in full. This commentary, written in hybrid Sanskrit, attempts to explain the teachings of the *Catuḥstava* in accordance with the doctrine of the stages (*bhūmi*) of the bodhisattva. Yet, the first seven stages are not taken into consideration by the commentator. It is explained that though a bodhisattva in the seventh stage know the supernatural manifestation of the Buddha-body (*buddhakāyavyūhaṃ*), he is unable to create one. However, through the knowledge of the supernatural manifestation of the Buddha-body (*buddhakāyavyūhajñāt*), in this stage itself he gets the desire to create this form. When a bodhisattva reaches the eighth stage, he comes very close to Buddhahood. It is however, in the ninth stage that he becomes fully ripened to become a *Sambuddha*.

To add weight to his explanations, the commentator quotes from texts like the *Daśabhūmika*, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, etc.

S.K.N.

CATUKKA NIPĀTA, 'the Book of Fours' of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II, pp. 1–257). It contains 27 chapters (*vagga*). The first twenty chapters are collected in four groups of five chapters each, each chapter containing ten suttas. The remaining seven chapters, containing 71 suttas, from the fifth and last group of 'fifty' (*paññāsakaṃ pañcamaṃ*) bringing the total of suttas in this *nipāta* to 271.

Conspicuous by its absence in this 'Book of Fours' is any reference to the Four Noble Truths. The four 'brāhman truths' (*cattāri brāhmaṇasaccāni*), put forward by the Buddha, are harmlessness towards all living beings, the recognition of the impermanence of all sense-delights, in fact of all becoming, and perfect detachment (*A.* II, pp. 176–7). The only other reference to *sacca* is found in the description of a true monk who has put away sectarian opinions (*panuṇṇa-pacceka-sacca* : ibid. p. 41). Neither reference is to the Four Noble Truths. Mrs. Rhys Davids who always had a keen eye for 'editorial handling' and 'creeping in' of 'glosses,' has no suggestion to explain the creeping out of this fundamental doctrine.

The four 'divine' virtues (*brahma-vihāra*) of loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity are fully dealt with (pp. 128–30).

But one unexpectedly meets in this book (ibid. p. 141) the set of four controlling powers (*indriyāni*) which are usually enumerated as five. They finding a place here by the omission of insight (*paññā*). This applies also to the usual set of five sources of strength (*balāni*), mentioned in the very next sutta, also omitting insight (*paññā*). Yet, the strength of insight (*paññābala*) occurs as the first in a new set of four, together with energy (*viriya*), innocence (*anavajja*) and collectedness (*saṅgāha*) in the succeeding sutta (ibid. p. 142) to be further supplemented by computation (*paṭi-saṅkhāna*) and mind-culture (*bhāvanā*) immediately thereafter, which leaves us with a total of nine sources of strength spread out over four suttas.[1] This is a typical instance of the casual complication of several instances, in which a well-known series is either truncated or expanded to make it fit into a particular *nipāta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, where each book deals with subjects numerically increasing from one to eleven.

Editorial handling is also evident, not only by the Pali compilers, however, but also by the English translators and commentators. Thus, sutta 87 (ibid. pp. 86 ff.) in the *Macala Vagga* (which should read *Acala Vagga*, as derived from *samaṇa-m-acala*: the unshaken recluse, ibid. pp. 86,88, 89, 90) deals with four kinds of recluses. In a long footnote the translator (F. L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, *PTS*. London, 1962, II, p. 96) forces a comparison of these four kinds with the four stages of sainthood —stream-enterer (*sotāpanna*), once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*), non-returner (*anāgāmi*),—and the perfect saint (*arahant*), whereas the unshaken recluse (*samaṇa-m-acala*), although referred to as a learner on the path (*sekho paṭipado*), need not exclusively refer to a stream-enterer (*sotāpanna*). The term *sekha* includes both the path (*magga*) and the fruition (*phala*) of the stream-enterer (*sotāpanna*), the once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*), and the non-returner (*anāgāmi*), as well as the path of arahantship (*arahatta-magga*). The term *paṭipadā*, in its most pregnant meaning, refers to the Noble Path of sainthood. And until fruition thereon is attained, one remains a learner. The remaining three types of recluses, viz., the blue-lotus one (*samaṇa-puṇḍarīka*) the white-lotus one (*samaṇa-paduma*) and the exquisite one (*samaṇa-sukhumāla*), are all referred in the identical description of the arahant : having destroyed the mental intoxicants (*āsavānaṃ khayā*), with emancipated heart (*ceto-vimuttiṃ*), released through insight (*paññā-vimuttiṃ*), and abiding in such realisation (*abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati*). They are distinguished, not in a degree of sanctity on the Path, but in the method of their achievements. The blue-lotus recluse does not experience the eight deliverances (*no ca kho aṭṭha vimokhe kāyena phassitvā viharati*) which include the four states of immaterial mental absorption (*arūpa-jhāna*) and the state of cessation of both perception and sensation (*saññā-vedayita-nirodha: A.* IV, p. 306) ; whereas the white-lotus one experiences these eight deliverances in himself (*aṭṭha ca vimokhe kāyena phassitvā viharati*). In other words, the blue-lotus recluse is a 'dry-visioned' arahant, who is supported by mere insight (*sukkha-vipassaka*), and the white-lotus recluse has the attainment of mental absorption as the means of his deliverance.

The exquisite one among recluses (*samaṇa-sukhumāla*) is likewise free from the mental intoxicants, emancipated at heart, released through insight ; he has, moreover, every blessing in this life, is free

1 Woodward's translation (*Gradual Sayings*, *PTS*. London, 1962, II, p. 145) gives by oversight 'the power of faith', instead of insight (*paññābala*).

from illness and enjoys a plentiful supply of requisites. None of them is referred to as a learner. (*sekha*), for they are accomplished and perfect.

Of greater interest is the so-called internal evidence of antiquity. Thus, a quotation of verse 1048 from the *Pārāyaṇa Vagga* of the *Suttanipāta* in this *Catukka Nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (II, pp. 45–6) proves the greater originality of the earlier work. On the other hand, *A.* II, p. 18 is quoted at *Nett.* pp. 129, 162., *A.* II, pp. 47–8 at *Kvu.* p. 344. Many are the parallel passages among which the *Itivuttaka* appears the most frequent.

H.G.A.v.Z.

CATUMĀSIKA BRAHMADATTA, two kings by that name, both of Bārāṇasī.

One of them once went to the park in the first month of summer and found a *kovilāra* tree, fresh with green leaves. Again, when he went there in midsummer the tree was in full bloom. When he went on the third occasion, towards the end of summer, all the flowers and leaves had withered away. Perceiving that decay and death are the common lot of all and, reflecting on that, the king became a paccekabuddha. His ministers, unaware of the king's attainment, requested him to return to the palace. Thereupon he told the ministers that he was no more a king (*SnA.* I, p. 90 f.; *ApA.* pp. 170 f.) and uttered his *udāna* which is found in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* (*Sn. v.* 44 ; *Ap.* I, p. 9. *v.* 18).

The other king by that name used to go to his park once every four months for pleasure. One day he went to the park in midsummer and saw a tree in full bloom at the entrance to the park. He plucked a flower from it and entered the park. His retinue, too, plucked flowers in like manner and ultimately the tree was quite bare. In the evening when the king was returning from the park he observed what had happened and reflected that the tree suffered despoliation, because it was full of flowers. Consequently, he realised how possessions lead to trouble and, renouncing the kingdom, donned robes of a monk, later becoming a pacceka-buddha (*SnA.* I, pp. 116 f. ; *ApA.* pp. 191 f.). His *udāna* is found in the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* (*Sn. v.* 64).

H.R.P.

CĀTUMA SUTTA, the sixty-seventh sutta of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, pp. 456–62). It derives its title from the place where it was preached, namely, the Āmalakī forest in Cātuma. About five hundred monks, headed by Sāriputta and Moggallāna, came to where the Buddha was living and created a great uproar while exchanging greetings with the resident monks and making arrangements for their seats, etc. The Buddha having summoned Ānanda learnt the reason for the uproar sent and for the monks found fault with them for their loose conduct and turned them away without even exchanging greetings. Later, on the intervention of the Sākyas of Cātuma and of Mahā-Brahmā, the Buddha pardoned them.

The Buddha asked Sāriputta and Moggallāna whether they pondered why the Buddha had first turned away the monks. Sāriputta said that he thought of relaxing himself since he thought the Buddha, too, was bent upon enjoying the happiness of the worldly life. Moggallāna said that he thought of leading and guiding the monks with the assistance of Sāriputta if the Buddha was not ready to do that. The Buddha praised Moggallāna and said: "If I do not lead and guide the monks Sāriputta and Moggallāna should do so." Later, he addressed the monks, who had assembled at Cātuma about four dangers that tempt a man who had entered the Order through faith to leave the Order and return to lay life, namely, anger (*kodha upāyāsa*), gluttony (*odārikatta*), the pleasures of the senses and women. These four the Buddha equates with the four dangers that waits a man who enters the water—namely, waves, crocodiles, whirlpools and sharks.

W.G.W.

CATUMAṬṬA JĀTAKA (var. *Catumatta-J°*). Once the bodhisatta was born as a tree-sprite in a forest. Two young geese were in the habit of coming from Cittakūṭapabbata to that tree and from there going in search of food. In course of time they became friends of the bodhisatta and used to talk together about religion. Once, when they were thus engaged in a discussion a jackal stood under the tree and interrupted them. The geese were disgusted with him and flew for Cittakūṭa.

This jātaka was related in connection with an old bhikkhu who interrupted Sāriputta and Moggallāna engaged in conversation. The two chief disciples had walked away in disgust. Sāriputta and Moggallāna had been the two young geese in the jātaka and the old bhikkhu had been the jackal (*J.* II, pp. 106–8).

The name, *Catumaṭṭa Jātaka,* is apparently derived from the last line of the concluding stanza "*kiṃ tattha catumaṭṭassa, bilaṃ pavisa jambukā'tis,*" spoken by the bodhisatta for the jackal's benefit: "When fairy birds sing to fairy birds, and devas converse with devas, you, jackal, with your four

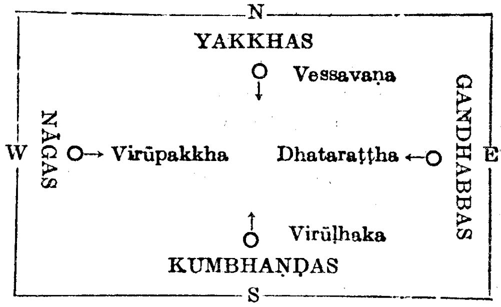
wonderful qualities (of bodily shape, noble birth, melodious voice and lofty virtue) go back into your hole."

L.R.G.

CĀTUMMAHĀRĀJIKA, the heavenly realm of the Four Great Kings (*cattāro mahārājano*), Dhataraṭṭha, Virūḷha, Virūpakkha and Vessavaṇa (sometimes designated Kubera) who are depicted as ruling deities, respectively, of the eastern southern, western and northern quarters. Consequently, the hosts of these Great Kings who also dwell in this realm are called *cātummahārājikā devā* or devas of the *Cātummahārājika*.

The four kings feature frequently in the early texts, particularly in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, but seem to recede into the distance in the later canonical literature. They are individually, and anthropomorphically, described with some frequency in several suttantas of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. The *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*D.* III, pp. 203 f.) and the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*D.* II, pp. 257 f.), for instance, give vivid accounts of each of them, the former giving a commentary on the four, one by one, as they arrive with their hosts at Kapilavatthu to hear the Buddha preach the Dhamma, and the latter describing them, their retinue, their sons and, in the case of Vessavaṇa, his city and his kingdom (see further VESSAVAṆA). Both these suttantas depict them as non-human beings (*amanussa*), paying homage to the Buddha Gotama. They give the classes of non-human beings over whom the four hold sway; Dhataraṭṭha, ruler of the east, is lord (*adhipati*) of the *gandhabbas*; Virūḷha, ruler of the south, where they whom men call peta-folk reside, is lord of *kumbhaṇḍas*; Virūpakkha, ruler of the west, is lord of *nāgas* and Kuvera, whose identity with Vessavaṇa is established in the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta* (*D.* III, p. 201), is ruler of the north and lord of yakkhas.

Two other suttantas of the *Dīgha-nikāya* refer to two important meetings of the hosts of the thirty-three gods (*Tāvatiṃsā devā*) at which the four Great Kings were present. In the *Jana-vasabha Suttanta* (*D.* II, pp. 207 f.), Jana-Vasabha, (i.e., King Bimbisāra reborn as a yakkha in the company of Vessavaṇa) reports of the meeting of the thirty-three held "in days long gone by, on the night of the feast of the fifteenth day at the full moon in the month for entering upon retreat (*vassūpanāyika*), the month of Āsaḷhī" (trsl. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1966, II, p. 241), and in the *Mahā-Govinda Suttanta* (*D.* II, pp. 220 f.), Pañcasikha, the *gandhabba*, reports of a similar meeting held on the fifteenth day at the full moon on the night of the feast of Invitations (*pavāraṇa*). Both these meetings are reported to have been held at the Sudhamma Hall, and in both *suttantas* the seating arrangements of the four kings are given in the identical words, thus; ". . . . At the four quarters of the firmament sat the four Great Kings. There was Dhataraṭṭha, king of the east facing the west; Virūḷhaka, king of the south facing the north; Virūpakkha, king of the west, facing the east and Vessavaṇa, king of the north, facing the south." Each of them is seated presiding over their respective hosts, the seats of their followers being behind them. Thus their seating arrangements could be illustrated as follows:



That the *Cātummahārājikā* were held to be distinct from and not to be confused with the 33 Gods (*Tāvatiṃsā*) is evident by their separate mention in the following passage found in both *suttantas*. "The Gods of the Thirty three sat down in their own places, while the four Great Kings also did the same." It is also found in both these suttantas that the four kings "accepted the uttered word" (*te vuttavākyā rājāno paṭigayhānusāsaniṃ*), from which T. W. Rhys Davids (ibid. p. 263 n. 1) infers that the four Great Kings might have been looked upon as Recorders in their memory of what had been said. Sakka, who is depicted as their sovereign, is present at their meetings and announces the arrival of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra who addresses those gods on the virtues of the Buddha.

In the *Janavasabha Suttanta*, Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra declares that those who take refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha are reborn, some in the company of the Paranimmita-vasavatti devas, some in Tusita, some in the company of the Yāmadevā, some in the company of the gods of Tāvatiṃsa and some in the company of the four Great Kings. Kevaḍḍha (q. v.) in his ascent to heaven (*D.* I, p. 215 f.) arrives first into the company of the retinue of the four Great Kings and is directed to the four Great Kings themselves. The order of the heavens is the same in the *Kevaḍḍha Suttanta* (*D.* I, p. 216 ff.) as in the *Janavasabha Suttanta*, and here, too, they seem to acknowledge the sovereignty

of Sakka. It may be noted in passing that the list of gods in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* (*M.* I, p. 2. f.) conspicuously omits the four Great Kings. This latter list, which is repeated frequently in the Nikāyas, seems to be quite independent of the other list (i.e., of the *Kevaḍḍha Suttanta*) etc., which is also repeated and in which the four Great Kings are mentioned.

The *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta*, which along with the other *suttantas* mentioned, states that the four Great Kings were devotees of Gotama and of the seven Buddhas, has also a very curious and interesting passage, in which the four Great Kings are described as great yakkhas who are protectors of the followers of the Buddha from fear of yakkhas. Fear is caused to human beings by yakkhas who are rebels against the four Great Kings, their officers and their men, and a spell is suggested whereby they may be controlled.

This function of the four Great Kings is quite altered in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (I, pp. 142 f.), where they take the position of guardians and reporters of the morality of men. According to this reference, on the 8th day of the lunar half-month their ministers, on the 14th day their sons and on the 15th day, i.e., the *uposatha*, the four Kings themselves go round the world "to see whether many folk among men pay reverence to mother and father, to recluses and brāhmans and show deference to elders of the clan, observe the full-moon day, keep the vigil and do good works" (trsl. F. L. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, I, London, 1951, p. 126). They report their findings to the Tāvatiṃsa gods at their assemblies who exult if men are good, because their own hosts, the devas, would then increase, and are sad if men are bad, for then the hosts of their enemies, the asuras, would increase. The four Great Kings have thus become guardians and informers for the Tāvatiṃsa gods, watching over the morality of human beings.

This passage also sheds some light, if it does not actually alter, the purposes for which the meetings of the Tāvatiṃsa gods and the four Great Kings were held in the *Dīgha-nikāya Suttantas*. Another passage of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, p. 60) also adds that the givers of gifts are born in the company of the four Great Kings but yet another (*A.* IV, pp. 239 f.) qualifies that no high spiritual motives need accompany the act of giving, to be reborn among them.

Their function as guardians is elaborated further in the commentary to the Dhammapada (*DhpA.* III, pp. 96 f.) where they stand guard over a meditating monk. Their position in fact is demeaned here with the intention of establishing the superior moral grandeur of the seven year old novice Sukhakumāra. Sakka orders the four Great Kings to drive away the noisy birds from the monastery-park so that the young novice could meditate peacefully. They stand guard over the four quarters until he finishes his task, Sakka himself standing on the door of the novice's hut. They behave similarly in the case of the meditating Paṇḍita (*DhpA.* II, p. 143 f.).

In the *Sirikālakaṇṇi Jātaka* (*J.* III. p. 257 f.) it is implied that the four Kings had a special reservation in the Anotatta lake, for bathing. They are, according to the *Kathāvatthu* (p. 207) gods of the Kāmaloka. They seem to stand one step higher than the gandhabbas in the hierarchy of celestial beings, and their realm, which comes to be mentioned for the first time in the *Kevaḍḍha suttanta*, was considered to have been the lowest of the heavens.

The *Kathāvatthu* (loc. cit.) also states that their life-span was five hundred years.

The *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (p. 519) mentions other dwellers in the heaven of the four Great Kings, namely, the Khiḍḍāpadosikā, the Manopadosikā, the Sītavalāhakā, the Uṇhavalāhakā, Candima and Suriya.

It is clear that the concept of the four Great Kings was pre-Buddhistic (see Moulton, *Zoroastrianism*, Williams and Norgate, 1913.) and that the Buddhist writers utilised it ably to convey certain essential tenets of Buddhism. One of the finest example of their masterly manipulation of prevailing concepts to serve their purpose is that of the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta*, where the Cātummahārājikā are assembled together with many another Vedic and non-Vedic god, also probably receiving the unqualified faith and unreserved homage of the populace, and then shown up to be all subject to death like any other mortal. This spirit prevails throughout the suttas where the Cātummahārājikā come to be mentioned. See also LOKAPĀLĀ.

B.J.

CATUNIKĀYIKĀ (var. *catunekāyikā*), Buddhist disciples or bhikkhus who were versed in the four Nikāyas or collections of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The earliest occurrence of the term is in the *Milinda-pañha* (p. 22) where it is used side by side with *tepiṭakā* (those versed in the three Piṭakas) and *pañcanekāyikā* (those versed in the five Nikāyas) with reference to the erudite monks who were associated with the Venerable Nāgasena of *Milinda-pañha* fame. The fact that references to *pañca-*

nikāya (*Eten'eva upāyena pañca nikāye pucchi. Vin.* II, p. 287) and *pañcanekāyika* (on a Rail Inscription at Barhut stūpa, circa second century B.C. See Cunningham A., *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 142, and Barua and Simha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 28–30) occur at a much earlier date than the refernce to the *catunekāyikā* precludes us from assuming that the fourfold division of the *Sutta Piṭaka* is older than its division into the five Nikāyas. The collection or *Nikāya* of doubtful authenticity and reputation is *Khuddaka*[1] which as its very name suggests must have originally been a meagre collection of minor pieces. A closer and careful analysis reveals that the heterogeneity of its contents, in including works of unorthodox character and works of apparently later origin, must have led to the stigmatisation of this disproportionately large collection of 15 works (according to Ceylonese Theravāda tradition ; *DA.* I p. 17) which has expanded beyond the limits of the original connotation of its title of *Minor Collection*. Like the *Atharvan* in the Vedic tradition, the *Khuddakanikāya*, too, might have been thus rejected by certain schools of Buddhist disciples while accepting the custody of Buddhist learning. Ceylonese tradition also speaks of *Catunikāyikā* (*AA.* II, p. 173 ; *VinA.* III, p. 695). Negatively speaking, the Ceylonese Commentaries do not appear to make any mention of the reciters (*bhāṇakas*) of the *Khuddakanikāya*. But they know of *Jātaka-bhāṇakas*, reciters of the Jātaka which is a very popular work of the *Khuddakanikāya*. However, the *Milindapañha* which is much older than the commentarial tradition of Ceylon, knows of both the *Khuddaka-bhāṇakas* and the *Jātaka-bhāṇakas*. Thus, the emergence of the concept of *Catunikāya* or *Catunikāyikā* seems to be born of a conscious rejection of the *Khuddakanikāya* from the five *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.

J.D.

CATUNIKĀYIKA-BHAṆḌIKA, an elder well-versed in the doctrine. He is quoted as an authority in the *Saṃyutta* commentary (*SA.* I, p. 21).

CATUNIKĀYIKA-TISSA, an elder from Ceylon. He was a resident of the Kolita-vihāra. His elder-brother was Dattābhaya who lived in the Potaliya vihāra. Once when Dattābhaya fell ill, he summoned Tissa and asked him for a topic of meditation. Tissa recommended meditation on the *kabaliṅkārāhāra* (material food). Dattābhaya meditated accordingly and attained arahantship (*AA.* II, p. 173). Catunikāyika-Tissa's teacher was Mahātipiṭaka thera (*VinA.* III, p. 695).

L.R.G.

CATU-PĀRISUDDHISĪLA, The fourfold classification of *sīla* (q.v.) which leads to the purification and perfection of the life of the Buddhist disciple. The term is not found in canonical Pali literature in its discussions on *sīla*. However, the term *pārisuddhisīla* is used in the very general sense of a 'code of good living leading to purity' in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (I, p. 42). It is Buddhaghosa who introduces us to this subject of *catupārisuddhi-sīla*, more or less, at the commencement of his *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* I, pp. 15–46). Accepting this fourfold classification as a part of contemporaneous Buddhist monastic tradition he makes a detailed analysis of it and helps to establish its claim to be the most comprehensive code of monastic discipline. The four items of *Catupārisuddhisīla* are :—

1. *Pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla* : *sīla* which brings about restraint in relation to the codified law of the *Pātimokkha*.
2. *Indriyasaṃvarasīla* : *sīla* which brings about restraint of the sense faculties.
3. *Ājīvapārisuddhisīla* : *sīla* which brings about purity or blamelessness of livelihood.
4. *Paccayasannissitasīla* : *sīla* relating to (the use of) fourfold requisites or *catupaccaya*.

The canonical Pali texts deal with the development of the religious life of the Buddhist disciple in relation to the threefold culture or *tisso sikkhā*, viz. *sīla* or morality, *samādhi* (q. v.) or mind development and *paññā* (q.v.) or wisdom (*M.* I, pp. 71, 442 ; *A.* I, pp. 229, 230, 235). Of these three, *sīla* which is regarded as the basis of all higher culture, is dealt with at great length (*D.* I, p. 63 ; *M.* I, p. 33 ; *S.* I, pp. 13, 165 ; V. p. 187). This prestige which *sīla* enjoys in early Buddhism as the basic training in religious life has never been challenged in the centuries that followed in the history of Pali Buddhism. Both Nāgasena in the *Milindapañha* (*Miln.* p. 34) and Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* I, p. 1) quote canonical texts (*S.* I, pp. 13, 165) regarding this basic value of *sīla*.

It is pertinent here to get an overall view of the basic concept of *sīla* before proceeding to examine its divisions and classifications. *Sīla* in

1. In the historical introduction to his Commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*, Buddhaghosa adds that Dīgha-bhāṇakas reckoned with a Khuddaka collection minus the *Cariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* and further that they accomodated it in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and not in the *Sutta Piṭaka* (*DA.* I, p. 15).

Buddhism is to be looked upon as a twofold correction of the individual. While recognising the fact of personal identity and individual responsibility, the Buddhist concept of *sīla* also highlights the individual's social commitment in relation to his attainment of salvation. Adjustment of oneself into harmonious relationships with one's society and environment is a *sine qua non* of Buddhist religious culture and character development. In this process, the development of the mind is considered to be of primary importance. For, a mind freed of 'hindrances' lends itself to be used for higher religious exercises leading to the perfection of wisdom which is necessary for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*.

Greed, hatred and delusion (*lobha*, *dosa* and *moha*), according to Buddhism, warp the mind of the unguarded individual to such an extent that it not only retards the healthy growth of the individual and denies him a reasonable share of happiness but also propels him to patterns of anti-social behaviour which deprive the others of their share. Viewing such patterns of behaviour as they express themselves in word and deed from the motivational angle, Buddhist texts speak of three sources from which such action springs. They are *kāma-vitakka*, wish to gratify sense desires; *vyāpāda-vitakka*, feeling of dislike, resistance and opposition and *vihiṃsā-vitakka*, thoughts of injury and destruction.

As these wishes, feelings and thoughts are given fulfilment one finds their manifestation in word and deed. Buddhism accepts the position that with an exaggerated sense of 'I' and mine' or over-individuation (referred to in Buddhist texts as *ahaṃkāra* and *mamiṃkāra* and is regarded as a basic weakness or defect of the human mind), human action can both be aggressive and oppressing, in which process one denies the other his rights. Hence Buddhist *sīla*, in its basic assumptions, proceeds to correct these excesses in behaviour. Taking the consideration about killing, injury and destruction of life, a concept with which the entire discipline of *sīla* is initiated, it is argued that all those who love themselves (in Buddhism, it being generally assumed that nobody loves another more than onself: *Ud.* p. 47) should respect the right of others to safeguard their person (*Tasmā na hiṃse paraṃ attakāmo*). Thus arguing, one abstains from killing and hurting others.

It would be equally true to say that abstaining from killing, injury and destruction of life also derives it inspiration from the generally accepted position that all beings dislike suffering or *dukkha* and wish for happiness and comfort or *sukha* (*M.* I, p. 341). That being so, one should compare others with oneself and not hurt or cause harm to others (*attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye : Dhp.* ch. x, *v.* 1). This, one does, reducing the individuation consciousness or the notions of 'I' and 'mine'. Making oneself the basis of affection for others, however, should not be mistaken for an assertion of the ego or *attavāda*, as much as the desire to totally eradicate the above mentioned notions of *ahaṃkāra* and *mamiṃkāra* in the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* is not to be mistaken as fostering the growth of *taṇhā*, or putting it differently, the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* through the elimination of notions of 'I' and 'mine' does not reflect the presence of *taṇhā*. For, such a notion of self (*atta :* self, as distinct from soul) or body (*kāya :* the synthesis of the aggregates of which a being is constituted being conceded) is used only as a convenient, conventional starting point from which one could initiate a process of religious culture.[1] But one is constantly reminded at the same time of the need to apply the method of analysis to arrive at the true nature of all phenomena, and thereby prevent the possibility of false speculation and construction. Conventional use of terms is allowed, but always with the warning that one can get totally inundated with or be carried away by it. With reference to the body which is analysable in numerous ways (and the term 'body' having only a relative reality), the use of the concept 'there is the body : *atthi kayo ti*' is allowed for the sake of building up knowledge and avoiding confusion in the communication of ideas. This is clearly brought out in *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta : Atthi kāyo ti vā panassa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvadeva ñāṇamattāya patissatimattāya* (*D.* II, p. 292). These arguments about the use of words like *atta* etc., seem to be finally clinched by the Buddha in his remarks to Citta at the end of the *Poṭṭhapāda Suttanta* : 'For these, Citta, are merely names, expressions, terms of speech, designations in common use in the world. And of these a Tathāgata makes use indeed, but is not led astray by them' (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 263 : *Iti'mā kho citta lokasamaññā lokaniruttiyo lokavohārā lokapaññattiyo yāhi tathāgato voharati aparāmasan ti : D.* I, p. 202).

This self-awareness, or correct assessment of the significance of one's identity also paves the way to extend thoughts of love towards others while

1. Compare such uses of the terms as: 'Let one first establish *oneself* in what is proper, and then instruct others' (*Dph.* xii. *v.* 2) 'Oneself, indeed, is one's saviour, for what other saviour would there be ?' (Ibid. *v.* 4).

reducing the possibilities of hatred and resentment (*dosa* or *vyāpāda* and *vihiṃsā vitakka*).

In relation to the gratification of sense desires (expressed through *kāma vitakka*), *sīla* seems to adopt a gradual method of restriction and reduction. Limits are set at different points on the path of religious culture. One shall not, through selfish motives, dispossess another of what rightly belongs to him. Nor shall he appropriate them through force or deceit. Items of Buddhist *sīla* relating to stealing (*adinnādāna*) and adultery and sexual misconduct (*kāmesu micchācāra*) clearly indicate this. Thus *sīla*, with these provisions, would safeguard the harmony and well-being of society. A greater reduction of the desire to gratify sense desires comes with cultivation of thoughts of renunciation or *nekkhamma-vitakka* which is the opposite of *kāma-vitakka*. Not only does one not deprive others of their happiness in order to enhance one's own through theft and plunder, but willingly shares one's possessions with others or makes gifts to them (*dānasaṃvibhāgarata*) in order to contribute to the happiness of others or to alleviate their suffering. Pursuing this path further and realising gradually the truth of the doctrine of impermanence (*anicca*) and unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) one might completely renounce the pleasures of the household and turning over to be abstemious in habit live a life of celibacy (q.v.) even while remaining in the household (*M.* I. p. 492).

Such is the role of *sīla* in Buddhism. On a closer examination of their outer structure, items of *sīla* would appear to relate only to external aspects of human behaviour, namely, word and deed. But it should be clear from the above analysis that in restricting and forbidding obnoxious forms of behaviour like stealing, lying, slander and adultery, *sīla* is not playing a merely negative role. In fostering the development of positive healthy traits of character like love, charity, honesty and integrity, *sīla* shows its concern with the motivational aspect of behaviour too.

Thus, *sīla* turns out to be the most extensive field of personal development where the impelling force being moral and ethical considerations, it turns out to be the major area in religion with the greatest social impact.

Moving further from this basis position of *sīla* in monastic culture, not only does one witness an increase in the number of items of moral development a disciple is called upon to undertake but also the addition of further aids to accomplish the satisfactory completion of the process. *Indriya-saṃvara* or restraint of sense-faculties, *satisampajañña* or mental alertness and awareness and *santuṭṭhi* or a serene sense of contentment feature regularly under this category (*D.* I pp. 63). Besides these, and running almost parallel to them are another set of virtues listed in the canonical texts (*M.* III, pp. 2, 134). Both these lists, having *sīla* and *indriyasaṃvara* as their core, seem to be similar in their scope. Two new items of the latter list, viz. *bhojane mattaññutā* : moderation in eating and *jāgariyānuyoga* : physical wakefulness and mental alertness through control of sleep, are particularly interesting. The concept of 'moderation in eating' seems to replace the general virtue of contentment of the former list. Another interesting item of the former list which comes, more or less, as a characteristic of *sīla* itself is blamelessness of livelihood (*parisuddhājīva*) which is further described as being efficient in speech and action (*kāyakammavacīkammena samannāgato kusalena*).

Thus, it would be clear from the above analysis of the contents of the cononical texts relating to *sīla* that while *sīla* stood in a class by itself as the first stage of religious culture, viz. perfection of moral character (*sīla-sikkhā*), these other items were added to it, as it were, to enhance a disciple's achievements through *sīla*.

However, as the life of the Buddhist disciple became more and more institutionalised with the development of the concept of *saṅgha* (q.v.), *sīla* as the basis of monastic culture began to acquire a more and more legal character. The moral precepts assumed the form of injunctions with penalties and punishments for their breach. This marks the so-called 'laying down of *sikkhāpada*' (*sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpeyya*, *Vin.* III, p. 9) and 'formulation of the *Pātimokkha*' (*pātimokkham uddiseyya*, loc. cit.) in the history of Buddhist monasticism. (See PĀTIMOKKHA, SIKKHĀPADA and SĪLA). Hence there emerges a code of monastic law under the name of *Pātimokkha*, whose number of rules in the Theravāda tradition is 220, while other schools have numbers slightly more or less. This soon displaced the earlier concept of *sīla* and the canonical texts themselves refer to the law-abiding monk as being under the restraint of *Pātimokkha* (*pātimokkha saṃvarasaṃvuto viharati*, *D.* I, p. 63). The emergence of this *Pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla* and the awareness of the reduction of its scope in contrast to that of the earlier concept of *sīla* led to the evolution of a few more strands of *sīla* in course of time to reinforce the *Pātimokkhasaṃvara sīla*.

Perhaps after the narrowing of the scope of th earlier concept of *sīla*, *indriyasaṃvara* comes to b

looked upon as the inevitable basis of the newly formed *Pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla.* Buddhaghosa states very specifically that no perfection in *sīla* could be achieved without stability in *indriyasaṃvara* (*Evaṃ asaṃpādite hi etasmiṃ pātimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ pi anaddhaniyaṃ hoti aciraṭṭhitikaṃ* . . . . *Vism.* I, p. 37). Thus, in the evolution of extra categories of *sīla, indriyasaṃvara* very legitimately stands as the second in the fourfold classification of *Catupārisuddhisīla,* as the closest aide of *Pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla.*

The third in the list is the *Ājīvapārisuddhisīla* or *sīla* which brings about purity or blamelessness of livelihood. It claims to safeguard the way in which a disciple 'earns his living' without fraud and deceit, and greed for gain. But the cultivation of this monastic virtue seems to be already provided for in the last item of *Majjhimasīla* given in the *Brahmajāla* and *Sāmaññaphala Suttas* (*D.* I, p. 8, Sec. 20 ; p. 67. Sec. 55). Buddhaghosa apparently identifying this early item of *sīla* as the core of the new *Ājīvapārisuddhisīla* has it reinforced with six *sikkhāpadas* or regulations drawn from the codified law which he claims are 'laid down for the guidance of the livelihood of the monk' (. . . . . *ājīvahetu paññattānaṃ channaṃ sikkhāpadānanti* . . . . *Vism.* I, p. 22). Of these six *sikkhāpadas,* five are directly traceable to the *Pātimokkha,* and the other is a *Thullaccaya* offence derived from the fourth *Pārājika.* In their gravity, these *sikkhāpadas* range from a *Pārājika* to a *Dukkaṭa* offence. Thus, *ājīvapārisuddhi* or purity of livelihood of the monk is judged in terms of both *sīla* and the codified rules of the *Vinaya.* On the other hand, we notice that with earlier texts the concept of *ājīvapārisuddhi* was brought within the scope of *sīla* itself (*Ājīva-pārisuddhiṃ pi kho ahaṃ thapati sīlasmiṃ vadāmi, M.* II, p. 27). In essence, the *Ājīvapārisuddhisīla* is concerned with the correction of the method whereby the monk obtains his requisites.

The last of the *Catupārisuddhisīla* is the *Paccayasannissitasīla* which determines the correct attitude of mind of the monk in the use of his *catupaccaya* or fourfold requisites. Suttas eloquently discuss this theme and Buddhaghosa quotes freely from them in his descriptions of the *Paccayasannissitasīla* (See *Vism.* I, p. 16 and *M.* I, p. 10). At the same time, *bhojane mattaññutā* or moderation in eating is found listed under monastic virtues supplementary to *sīla.* While the virtue of *santuṭṭhi* or contenment is used in relation to the wider field of requirements of a Buddhist disciple, viz. the fourfold requisites, *bhojane mattaññutā* singles out food and lays special emphasis on moderation in eating. *Paccayasannissitasīla* seems to reintroduce, as it were, to monastic life the considerations of the suttas with regard to the use of the four *paccayas* in their widest application (*Vism.* I, p. 30 f.).

Although the term *Catupārisuddhisīla* is not known to the canonical texts it would be clear from the above analysis that the aspects of monastic discipline contained under the *Catupārisuddhisīla* are of canonical origin. Like *sīla,* they were considered among the necessary accomplishments of monastic life, and as such some of them stood beside *sīla* under their own name. Thus, they were never reckoned as divisions of *sīla.* Nevertheless, with the lapse of time, one witnesses the expansion of the scope and function of *sīla* as it brings within its fold the entire range of monastic development which culminated in the attainment of Arahantship (*Arahattamaggena sabbakilesānaṃ pahānaṃ sīlaṃ: Vism.* I, p. 47). The first clear indication of an adequate elaboration of *sīla* capable of accomodating the new elements is seen in the *Milindapañha* where the venerable Nāgasena tells King Milinda that the *sīlaratana* of the Buddha consists of *Pātimokkhasaṃvara, Indriyasaṃvara, Ājīvapārisuddhi* and *Paccayasannissita sīlas* as well as of the *Cūla, Majjhima, Mahā* and *Magga* and *Phala sīlas* (*Miln.* p. 336). Although the term *Catupārisuddhisīla* is not used here, there is no doubt that the fourfold classification had already gained considerable recognition, for the threefold division of *Cūla, Majjhima* and *Mahā sīlas* which is the canonical classification is accorded here the second place after the enumeration of the four items of *sīla* which constitute the *Catupārisuddhisīla.*

However, in later monastic history, it seems to have been a subject of great controversy, and Buddhaghosa records for us statements of certain learned theras of Sri Lanka who challenged the validity of *Catupārisuddhisīla.* According to him, a learned Buddhist monk of Sri Lanka by the name of Cūlābhaya thera who was a Master of the *Tripiṭaka,* refused to accept, in the absence of canonical authority, the importance attached to *Indriyasaṃvara, Ājīvapārisuddhi* and *Paccayasannissita* as separate items of *sīla* (*MA.* I, p. 155). To him *sīla* meant the discipline of the *Pātimokkhasaṃvara* : *Pātimokkhasaṃvaro yeva hi sīlaṃ* (loc. cit). He challenged the view of his teacher, Sumana thera of Dīpavihāra who held that the term *sīla* was used in the canonical texts to mean implicitly the wider concept covered under the fourfold classification.

Buddhaghosa himself does not appear to be unwilling to accept the entire set of *Catupārisuddhisīla*. Commenting on a passage in the *Samyuttanikāya* (*S.* V. p. 188) which speaks of the cultivation of purity of deed, word and thought based on *sīla*, he suggests that purity of deed and word are achieved through the *Pātimokkhasaṃvarasīla* while purity of thought is acquired through the other three items of *Catupārisuddhisīla* (*Sattame kāyasucaritavacīsucaritāni pātimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ. Manosucaritaṃ itarāni tīni sīlānīti catupārisuddhisīlaṃ kathitaṃ hoti. SA.* III, p. 230).

J.D.

CATU-PARIVAṬṬA SUTTA, 'the fourfold circle', a title suggested by the Buddha to Ānanda to remember the *Bahudhātuka Sutta* (*M.* II, pp. 61–7) on the manifold elements, the sense-spheres, the dependent origination and the possible and impossible (*MA.* IV, p. 126).

CĀTURAKṢA, a monk mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* in connection with the conversion by the Buddha of the queen Kusumā. Senart's edition reads the name as Cāturanta (*Mhvu.* I, p. 160).

CATURAṄGABALA(1), a very popular king who is said to have lived during the time of the Buddha Lalitavickrama, when man's life-span was eighty-four thousand years. He built forty *koṭis* of palaces, of many precious stones, and one palace of pre-eminent beauty. He also had a number of couches and seats made, and prepared the requisites of food and medicines befitting seers. He, then, offered them to the Buddha and his disciples, and made a vow that he should become supreme among devas and men (*Mhvu.* I, p. 117).

I.K.

CATURAṄGABALA(2), name of a teacher occurring in a list of Indian teachers (*Ācariyā-jambudīpikā*) in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (*JPTS.* 1886, p. 67). He is referred to as a minister of the court of Kyawswa-nge (1351–59 A.C.), under whom the monastic scholorship flourished. This officer, doubtless feeling the impluse, himself compiled three commentaries: on Moggallāna's *Abhidānappadīpikā*, on the *Koladdhaja* and on the *Daṇḍippakaraṇa*. It was he who was sent by his ruler to test Nāgita, a monk renowed for learning and piety (*Sāsv.* p. 88 ; Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma,* Calcutta, 1946, p. 173).

D.T.D.

CATURAṄGADHARMACARYĀ, the Sanskrit title of a work as quoted in its Tibetan translation, the *Chos-spyod yan-lag bshi-pa,* occurring in the Dbu-ma (Mādhyamika) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authorship of the work is attributed to Jagatamitrānanda (var. Śrījagata°) and the translation to Jagatamitrānanda and Byams-paḥi-dpal (Maitrīśrī— *TT.* Vol. 103, No. 5370 ; *TM.* No. 3979).

The author begins the work with a salutation addressed to Lokeśvara (Tib. Ḥjig-rten dbaṅ-phyug).

The work describes the fourfold methods of righteous living.

I.K.

CATURAṄGĀRTHALOKA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text written by Ḥruṁ-mdsad grags-pa (Hūṅkārakīrti), the Tibetan translation of which is preserved under the title, *Yan-lag bshiḥi don snaṅ-bar-byed-pa shes-bya-ba* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. Rdo-rje bshad-pa (Śrī Vajrahasa) and Rma Rin-chen mchog (Ratnottara) translated the work into Tibetan (*TM.* No. 1676 ; *TT.* Vol. 59, No. 2548). A number of rites are described in the text. Mantras to be chanted in the course of their performance are quoted.

L.R.G.

CATURAṄGA - SĀDHANA - SAMANTABHADRĪ - NĀMA-ṬĪKĀ, the name of a commentary. See CATURAṄGA SĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ SAMANTABHADRĀ-NĀMA-ṬĪKĀ.

CATURAṄGASĀDHANAṬĪKĀSĀRAMAÑJARĪ - NĀMA, a Sanskrit commentarial text extant in its Tibetan translation, the *Yan-lag bshi-paḥi sgrub-thabs-kyi rgya-cher-bśad-pa sñiṅ-po sñe-ma shes-bya-ba,* in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author of this work was Kun-tu bzaṅ-po (Samantabhadra). Blo-Idan Śes-rab (Dhīmatprajñā) and Nyayanaśrī (Nayanaśrī) translated it into Tibetan (*TM.* No. 1869 ; *TT.* Vol. 65, No. 2732).

I.K.

CATURAṄGA - SĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ - SAMANTABHADRĀ-NĀMA, the name of a sādhana text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Yan-lag bshi-paḥi sgrub-thabs kun-tu bzaṅ-mo shes-bya-ba.* The author of the text is Saṅs-rgyas dpal ye-śes shabs (Buddhaśrījñānapāda). The translation is attributed to Smṛtijñānakīrti (*TT.* Vol. 65, No. 2719).

The text describes the manner of propitiating some deities whose forms are described. The first of the deities so described has two faces, a black face on the right and a red one on the left. With one pair of hands he embraces Prajñā. He carries a

vajra a knife, a jewel and a lotus with his other four hands. Four forms of this central deity are said to appear in the course of the rite.

The Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka includes this work under the title, *Caturaṅga-sādhana- samantabhadrī-nāma* (*TM.* No. 1856).

R.H.

CATURAṄGASĀDHANOPĀYIKĀ - SAMANTA-BHADRĀ-NĀMA-ṬĪKĀ, a commentary written by Vītapāda on the *Caturaṅga-sādhanopāyikā-samanta-bhadrā-nāma.* A translation of the commentary attributed to Kamalaguhya and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Yon-lag bshi-pahi sgrub-thabs kun-tu-bzaṅ-mo shes-bya-baḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 65, No. 2734). The title of the commentary as given in the *Sde-dge* edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka is *Caturaṅga-sādhana-samantabhadrī-nāma-ṭīkā* (*TM.* No. 1872).

R.H.

CATURAṄGASENĀ, the fourfold army, the traditional name used in India for the complete army especially of a World-ruler (cakravartin : *Lal.* pp. 72, 96) which consisted of elephants, horses, chariots and foot soldiers (*J.* II, p. 102 ; VI, p. 275 ; *D.* II, p. 190 ; *Vism.* p. 146 ; *SnA.* p. 225, 353 ; *DhA.* IV, p. 144 ; *Mhv.* xviii, *v.* 29 ; *Mhv.* lxx, *v.* 217).

The fourfold army is not only a fighting force. Among the other functions of this army, *Darīmukha Jātaka* mentions that it accompanied the festal chariot for seven days when it was sent out by the family-priest to select the heir to the throne, at the death of the king of Bārāṇasī (*J.* VI, p. 238). Again, as mentioned elsewhere, when the celestial wheel (*cakka-ratana*) was invited by the king to roll on conquering land, it rolled on towards the east, and it was followed, first by the king and then by the fourfold army. It is said that, wherever the wheel stopped the king took up his abode there, along with the fourfold army (*D.* III, p. 62 ; *GM.* III, p. 32).

The term *caturaṅga-senā* has been attributed to later kings in an honorific sense (*Mhv.* lxxxviii, *v.* 34). This suggests that at this stage, perhaps, by *caturaṅga-senā* is meant an army of soldiers consisting of men skilled in the arts of fighting on horses, of fighting on elephants, of fighting in chariots, and of fighting on foot.

I.K.

CATUR - APRAMĀṆA - ṬĪKĀ, the reconstructed Sanskrit title of a text, a Tibetan version of which occurs in the Dbu-ma (Mādhyamika) section of the Tibetan Tengyur under the title, *Tshad-med bshiḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa.* The author of the text is Buddhagupta. (*TT.* Vol. 102, No. 5309 ; *TM.* No. 3914 ; *Cordier,* III, p. 317).

An explanation of the four immeasurables, *karuṇā, maitrī, muditā,* and *upekṣā* forms the theme of the work.

R.H.

CATURĀRTHASADBHAVOPADEŚA-NĀMA, a Buddhist Sanskrit work available in its Tibetan translation, entitled, *Bshi-paḥi don-rnam-par ṅes-paḥi man-ṅag ces-bya-ba,* included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Tengyur. The author of this work was Rin-chen rdo-rje and the translation is named under Tshul-khrims bkra-śes and Vīryabhadra (*TM.* No. 2475). This text has not been included in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

I.K.

CATURĀŚĪTISIDDHĀBHISAMAYA, a Buddhist Sanskrit work extant in its Tibetan translation under the title, *Grub-thob brgyad-cuḥi mṅon-par rtogs-pa,* included in the Bzo-rig-pa (Śilpavidyā) section of the Tibetan Tengyur. The authorship of this work is ascribed to Dpal-gyi sde (*TM.* No. 4317). The text does not occur in the Peking edition.

CATURĀŚĪTI - SIDDHA - SAMBODHIHṚDAYA - NĀMA, the name of a Sanskrit text compiled by Dpah-bo ḥod-gsal (Vīraprabhāśvara). A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshiḥi rtogs-paḥi sñiṅ-po shes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3140 ; *TM.* No. 2292 ; *Cordier,* III, p. 225, No. 34).

The text contains a collection of the thoughts and reflections of eighty-four wise men, quoted under their names.

R.H.

CATURĀŚRAVADĀNA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni acquired merit, while in the eighth bhūmi (*Mhvu.* I, 138 ; var. Caturāsravadara).

CATURBHĀTA - BHAVĀBHIVĀSANA - KRAMA - NĀMA, the name of a short Sanskrit text by Carapatri (Carpatin). A Tibetan translation of it occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Ḥbyuṅ-ba bshi-ḥi srid-paḥi cha-lugs-(kyi rim-pa) shes-bya-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 69, No. 3253).

The impermanence of all things, even of Mt. Meru, the seven lakes, Brahma, Indra, the Sun and the moon is discussed in the text. The author, who says that the world is a mere dreams, exhorts people to lead a mendicant's life, living on alms and to gain wisdom and mastery over all the worlds.

R.H.

CATURDĀRAKA - SAMĀDHI - NĀMA - MAHĀ - YĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya C°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kanjur under the title, *Ḥphags-pa Khye-ḥu bshi-ḥi tiṅ-ṅe ḥdzin shes-bya-ba*. The translation is attributed to Jinamitra, Prajñāvarma and Ye-śes-sde (*TT*. Vol. 32, No. 804).

The text, which is in prose with verses interspersed, extols the bodhisattva-yāna, and deals with an event purported to have taken place just before the passing away of Śākyamuni Buddha.

The first chapter relates how a large gathering happened to assemble at the venue of the Buddha's passing away. Prominent among those who assembled were four youths (*caturdārakā*). The Buddha, was resting between two Sāla trees in the Twin Śāla grove (*Yamaka Śālavana*) of Upavartana in Kuśinārā, when Ānanda came, worshipped him and sat reflecting, without even winking his eyes. The Buddha asked Ānanda the reason for his behaviour. Ānanda explained that he had seen in a dream fearful omens indicative of the passing away of the Buddha and was extremely distressed on that account. He hoped that the Buddha would not pass away soon. The Buddha having inquired what the dream and the omens were, and Ānanda described them at length.

A large crowd of gods and other beings assembled there on seeing omens signifying the passing away of the Buddha. They paid reverence to the Buddha and sat on a side. The Buddha, addressing that assembly, declared that he would pass away. He spoke to them on the impermanence of all phenomena and asked them not to grieve over his death. Then he asked Ānanda to assemble the monks there so that none would grieve at not having been able to see him before he passed away.

At this time Aniruddha was on the summit of mount Meru preaching the doctrine to the gods. He observed through his divine eye that the passing away of the Buddha was imminent. He announced this event by reciting some stanzas aloud. On hearing his words all the monks and nuns in Jambudvīpa arrived at the Śāla grove. In the midst of their lamentations, described in detail in the text, Ānanda requested the Buddha to live for another kalpa. The Buddha spoke at length, reiterating his teachings about the inevitability of separation from loved ones, and the impermanence of all things.

The Buddha asked Ānanda to prepare a bed for him, which he did but in a very sorrowful mood. Aniruddha consoled him and admonished him. The Buddha lay down on the bed and the gods and other beings assembled there made offerings to him.

At this time a bodhisattva in a buddha-field in the East died and was born at the city of Rājagṛha, in the place of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha. Soon after birth he uttered stanzas in praise of the Buddha and admonished his father. Being informed by a god that the Buddha was about to pass away, he hurried to the Śāla grove, followed by a large crowd.

A bodhisattva in a buddha-field in the south also died at this time and was born in Śrāvasti, in the household of a distinguished person there. Speaking as soon as he was born, he introduced himself and explained the benefits of making up one's mind to attain supreme Enlightenment. On listening to him, his father and many others resolved to become Buddhas. The boy set out for the Śāla grove thereafter, accompanied by a large crowd.

Similarly a bodhisattva in a buddha-field in the west died and was born in one of the prominent households in Bārāṇasī. The inhabitants of that city benefited immensely by the sermon he preached at birth. Deciding to strive to attain Buddhahood themselves, they accompanied the boy to see the Buddha in the Śāla grove.

A bodhisattva in a buddha-field in the north, too, died at that time and was born at Vaiśālī, where he uttered some admonitory stanzas soon after birth. He, too, went to the Buddha together with a large crowd.

Chapter two of the text states that on arrival at the Śāla grove, the four boys worshipped the Buddha and stood in the four quarters. Four beds are said to have appeared in the four quarters at that instant, seeing which Ānanda asked the Buddha the reason for their appearance. In reply, the Buddha asked Ānanda whether he had not seen the four boys who came from the four directions. He then proceeded to praise in eloquent terms the boys, who were bodhisattvas, their buddha-fields, and the path followed by the bodhisattvas. He spoke of the excellence of the bodhisattva vow and predicted that, within a speci

fied number of aeons, four voices, proclaiming the doctrine, would resound forth from the pores of the hair of the four bodhisattas who were there. The Buddha then asked Ānanda to worship the bodhisattvas and emphasised the importance of repeatedly worshipping the bodhisattvas who proclaimed the doctrine in the miraculous manner referred to earlier. The Buddha asked Anuruddha, too, to worship the bodhisattvas. A large number of people who were there, worshipped the Buddha and expressed their desire to become aspirants to Buddhahood.

The Buddha smiled on this occasion, radiating a lustre which illumined a large number of world systems. Ānanda saw the lustrous ray return, circumambulate the Buddha three times and sink with the crown of his head. Ānanda asked the Buddha for an explanation of this phenomenon. The Buddha then asked Ānanda whether he had seen the Mallas express their desire for gaining Enlightenment and predicted the fulfilment of their aspirations after a very lengthy period of time. He then asked Ānanda whether he saw a beam of light in the north, which brought into vision a boy seated crosslegged in a magnificient mansion, enveloped in a majestic radiance. The Buddha predicted that the boy will become a Buddha millions of years afterwards, at a *buddhakṣetra* which he described at length.

The third and last chapter of the text describes a still distressed Ānanda requesting the Buddha to live a kalpa or more for the welfare of all beings. Ānanda is advised and consoled once again, this time by a number of bodhisattvas, whose views Ānanda finally accepts.

The Buddha then called the disciples, Aniruddha, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Subhūti, Amogharāja, Kumāra Kāśyapa and Mahākauṣṭhila and took their right hands in his left hand. He then held the hands of Ānanda and Rāhula with his right hand and handed them over to the care of those elders. Seeing this, many of those assembled there lamented, unable to bear the sorrow of the Buddha's passing away. The Buddha recited many admonitory stanzas on this occasion and so did five hundred buddhas of other buddha-fields. The Buddha then entered into a state of intense concentration (*samādhi*). Many miraculous events are said to have occurred, among them the emanation of a lustre which illumined manifold world-systems. The Buddha explained that there were a large number of Buddhas in these world-systems he enumerated some of their names. After a further discourse in which the whole assembly rejoiced, the Buddha passed away. A text called *Caturdārakasamādhi*, known in Chinese as (*Fu-shuo*) *-fang-têng-po-ni-yüan-ching*, occurs in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This sūtra, consisting of two fascicles divided into nine chapters, was translated by Chu-fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) of the western Tsin dynasty, 265–316 A.C. (*Nanjio*, No. 116 and *Taishō*, No. 378).

There is a later, but incomplete translation of this, under the title *Ssu-t'ung-tzŭ-sa-mei-ching*, by Jñānagupta of the Sui dynasty, 589–618 A.C. This version consists of three fascicles divided into six chapters (*Nanjiō*, No. 121 and *Taisho*, No. 379).

R.H.

CĀTURDEVA, a former Buddha mentioned in a list of former Buddhas under whom Śākyamuni while in the ninth bhūmi acquired merit (*Mhvu.* I, 140 ; var. Cāturdeva).

CATURDEVATĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-ṬĪKĀ, a commentary on the text *Caturdevī-paripṛcchā* (q.v.). A Tibetan translation of the commentary occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title, *Lha-mo bshis yoṅs-su-shus-paḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa.* The name of the commentator is Ye-śes-sñiṅ-po (Jñānagarbha). Dran-pa ye-śes grags-pa (Smṛtijñānakīrti) is credited with the Tibetan translation (*TT.* Vol. 56, No. 2779).

R.H.

CATURDEVATĀ-PARIPṚCCHĀ-VYĀKHYĀNA-UPADEŚA-PAUṢṬIKA-NĀMA, a commentary on the text *Caturdevī-paripṛcchā* (q.v.). A Tibetan translation of it entitled, *Lha-mo bshis yoṅs-su-shus paḥi rnam-par-bśad-pa man-ṅag rgyas-pa* occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The author of the commentary is Smṛtijñānakīrti. The translation is also attributed to him (*TT.* Vol. 66, No. 2778).

R.H.

CATURDEVĪ-PARIPṚCCHĀ, a Sanskrit text, Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Lha-mo bshis yoṅs-su shus-pa.* This translation is attributed to Smṛtijñānakīrti (*TT.* Vol. 3, No. 85).

The text, which is in four chapters, contains the esoteric doctrines preached by the Dhyāni-buddha Vajrasattva in response to questions posed by the four goddesses, Locanā, the spiritual consort (Buddhaśakti) of the Dhyāni-buddha Vairocana, Māmakī, the consort of Akśobhya, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, the consort of Amitābha and Tārā, the consort of Amoghasiddhi.

Chapter one of the text begins with a description of Vajrasattva seated in the company of these goddesses, emanating a radiant lustre. Observing that it was a suitable occasion for raising questions to dispel doubts, Locanā requested Vajrasattva to explain the source and origin of that lustre and to discourse on various themes such as the nature of organs of sense, the nature of ignorance, propensities (*vāsanā*), desires, passions, fetters, defilements, and the substancelessness of all component things. Vajrasattva responded immediately and declared that he would reveal a most profound doctrine, unknowable, and free from (sophistical) ratiocination. This doctrine, he said, was the mystic doctrine of all Buddhas, which the *śrāvakas* did not know, enveloped as they are in the darkness of ignorance. The main theme of the discourse that followed this eulogistic preamble was the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*).

More secret doctrines related to *bodhicitta* are expounded in the second chapter at the request of Māmakī. Pāṇḍaravāsinī wished to know the essence of *dharmadhātu* (Tib. *chos-kyi dbyins-kyi bsdu-ba*) and the true nature of deeds, words and thoughts. Vajrasattva's explanations of these themes form the third chapter of the text. Tārā's request was for instructions on the procedure of worship of *Dharmadhātu*. In response to her request, Vajrasattva described the procedure of drawing maṇḍalas and making offerings, which description forms the theme of the fourth chapter. Vajrasattva also declared that he himself should be worshipped as he is the repository of all Buddhas.

R.H.

CATURDHARMAKA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-C°*), a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which is found in the Mdo (Sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title, *Ḥphags-pa chos bshi-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TT*. Vol. 36, No. 917).

The text contains a sermon preached by the Buddha at an assembly of monks and bodhisattvas in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta Grove at Śrāvasti.

Addressing the monks, the Buddha said that there are four dharmas that a bodhisattva ought not to abandon, even for the sake of his life. They are: the mental attitude which aspires to Buddhahood (*bodhicitta*); a good friend; intellectual receptivity (*kṣānti*) and skill (Tib. *des-pa*); and living in solitude.

A quotation from this text, mentioning the second of the dharmas listed above, occurs in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, viz., *Atha evaṃ caturdharmakasūtre apy uktaṃ kalyāṇamitraṃ bhikṣavo bodhisattvena mahāsattvena yāvajjīvaṃ na parityaktavyam api jīvitahetor iti.*

Manuscripts of the Tibetan translation of this text found at Tun-huang are available in the India Office Library (See sections 68–70 and 74 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, L. de la Vallée Poussin, Oxford University Press, 1962).

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (ed. C. Bendall, 160.4) refers to a second *Caturdharmaka-sūtra* which, however, is different from the text under consideration here, but is identical with the *Caturdharma-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (q.v.).

R.H.

CATURDHARMAKA-SŪTRA, a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which is included in the Mdo (Sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Chos bshi-paḥi mdo* (*TT*. Vol. 36, No. 916).

The text reports a sermon preached by the Buddha to a large assembly of monks at the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta Gorve at Śrāvasti. He addressed the monks and said that they should not indulge in four things, even in their minds: viz., taking delight in women; taking delight in retinues or palaces (Tib. *pho-braṅ khor*); thinking that one's body is fair, handsome, beautiful and free of disease; and thinking that one is rich, wealthy and has excellent possessions.

He summed up the discourse by reciting two stanzas which state: 'Of what use are women or retinues or palaces? What substance is there in a bubble? Where is the permanence of wealth? The nature of wealth is like that of flowing water; the nature of the human body is like that of a flower; the nature of life is like that of bubbles.'

R.H.

CATURDHARMAKA - VYĀKHYĀNA (*Ārya-C°*), the name of a commentary on the *Caturdharmaka-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (*Ārya-C°*), a Tibetan translation of which called *Ḥphags-pa chos-bshi-paḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*, is included in the Mod-tshogs-ḥgrel-pa (sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 104, No. 5490). The name of the commentator is given as Dbyig-gñen (Vasubandhu).

Tibetan manuscripts of this *vyākhyāna* have been found among manuscripts which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to Central Asia in 1906–8 (See. Nos. 71, 72 and 74, 2 in the

Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library, L. de la Vallee-Poussin, Oxford University Press, 1962).

R.H.

CATURDHARMAKA - VYĀKHYĀNA - ṬĪKĀ (*Ārya-C°*), the name of a sub-commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the *Caturdharmaka-vyākhyāna* (*Ārya-C°*) a Tibetan translation of which *ṭikā* called *Ḥphags-pa chos-bshi-paḥi rgya-cher bśad-paḥi rgya-cher ḥgrel-pa,* occurs in the Mdo-tshogs ḥgrel pa (Sūtra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT.* Vol. 104, No. 5491). The colophon of this translation attributes the authorship of the *ṭīkā* to Ye-śes-byin (Jñānadatta). The names Dānaśīla, Prajñāvarman and Ye-śes-sde are cited as those of the translators.

Tibetan manuscripts of this *ṭīkā* have been found among manuscripts which Sir Aurel Stein brought back from his second expedition to Central Asia in 1906–8 (See *Nos.* 73 and 73, 3 in the *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library,* L. de la Vallée Poussin, Oxford University Press, 1961).

R.H.

CATURDHARMA-NIRDEŚA-NĀMA-MAHĀYĀNA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-C°*), a Sanskrit text, as given in the colophon of its Tibetan version, attributed to Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde, included in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title, *Ḥphags-pa chos-bshi bstan-pa shes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo* (*TT.* Vol. 36, No. 915).

It is referred to as the *Caturdharmaka Sūtra* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* which quotes from it.

The Buddha addresses the bodhisattva Maitreya and teaches four practices which the bodhisattva must follow to overcome the accumulation of sin, viz. the practice of self-reproach or self-denunciation of one's own past sins (*vidūṣaṇā-samudācāra*); the practice of the opposite (*pratipakṣa-sumudācāra*); the power of amendment (*pratyāpatti-bala*) and the power of a refuge (*āśraya-bala*).

The text continues to elucidate each of the four practices. "Here, he who practices self-reproach does an evil deed and at once is full of penitence. He who practises the opposite, even after doing an evil deed, is exceedingly persevering in good. The power of amendment: by a resolve to abstain he succeeds in abstaining. The power of a refuge: the taking refuge with the Buddha, the Law and the Order, not neglecting the thought of Enlightenment; through this very strong support he cannot be overcome by sin" (*Śikṣāsamuccaya,* translated by C. Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, London, 1922, p. 159).

R.H.

CATURGĀTHĀ, a short Sanskrit text containing four stanzas in praise of the Buddha. A Tibetan translation of the text occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur, under the title *Tshigs-su-bcad-pa bshi-pa* (*TT.* Vol. 39, No. 990). The fifth and final stanza in the text states that he who praises the Buddha by reciting the four stanzas given in the text, will not be born in evil circumstances for a thousand births.

R.H.

CATURITTHI VIMĀNA. Once when Moggallāna was making a tour in the Tāvatiṃsa deva-world, he saw four daughters of heaven in four mansions surrounded by a thousand divine maidens and enjoying celestial pleasures. When he questioned them how they were able to acquire all those divine comforts, they described to him the good deeds that each had done in the past. During the time of Kassapa Buddha, they were born in a good family, in a town named Paṇṇakata, in a kingdom by the name of Esikā. Having come of age, they were married and lived in harmony in that same city. One of them once saw a bhikkhu going for alms and, with a devout heart, offered him a bunch of blue water-lilies; one gave a handful of blue lotuses to another bhikkhu, another gave a handful of white lotuses and the fourth gave jasmine buds. After death, they were reborn in Tāvatiṃsa and had a retinue of thousand divine maidens each. Having spent an aeon there they passed away and, with what remained of the reward for their good deed, they were born again in Tāvatiṃsa, during the time of Kassapa Buddha (*Vvu.* pp. 42–3; *VvuA.* pp. 195–7).

I.K.

CATURLĀBHA-SŪTRA, a Sanskrit sūtra extant in its Chinese translation in the *Sūtra-Piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, under the title (*Fo-shuo-*) *Ssu-pu-k'o-tê-ching* (*Buddhabhāṣita-caturdurlābha-sūtra*). It deals with the four unattainables, namely, perpetual youth, relief from sickness, perennial life and freedom from death. The Chinese translator was Chu-fa-hu of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265–317 A.C. (*Nanjio,* No. 392; *Taishō,* No. 770; cp. *DCBT.* p. 169).

S. K. N.

CATURMAHĀRĀJA-BALI-NĀMA, a text describing the procedure of making offerings to the four

Great Kings, the four guardians of the cardinal directions. A Tibetan translation of the text done by Dge-bśes-ston-pa and Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur (*TT*. Vol. 81, No. 4590).

The four guardians are described as one-faced and two-armed. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the guardian of the East, is said to be white in colour; Virūḍhaka, who guards the south, is blue; Virūpākṣa, who guards the west, is red and Vaiśravaṇa, who guards the north, is yellow.

R. H.

CĀTURMAHĀRĀJIKA, a class of gods. See CĀTUMMAHĀRĀJIKA.

CATURMUDRĀ-NIŚCAYA, the name of a Sanskrit text, describing four manual gestures (mudrā) to be adopted when performing certain mystic ceremonies. A Tibetan translation of the text entitled *Phyag-rgya-bshi gtan-la-dbab-pa* is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur. The colophon of this translation gives the name Klu-sgrub sñiṅ-po (Nāgārjunagarbha) as that of the author, and the names Dhari Śrījñāna-ḥi Shabs and Rma-ban Chos-ḥbar as those of the translators (*TT*. Vol. 68, No. 3069).

The four mudrās defined in the text are: *las-kyi phyag-rgya* (*karma*-mudrā), *chos-kyi phyag-rgya* (*dharma*-mudrā), *phyag-rgya chen-po* (*mahā*-mudrā) and *dam-tshig-gi phyag-rgya* (? *praṇidhāna*-mudrā).

R. H.

CATURMUDROPADEŚA-NĀMA, a Sanskrit text, a Tibetan translation of which is included in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur, under the title *Phyag-rgya-bshi-ḥi-man-ṅag ces-bya-ba*. Gñis-med rdo-rje (Advayavajra) is the author of the work. The translation is attributed to Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (Jayaśīla) and Vajrapāṇi (*TT*. Vol. 69, No. 3143).

The text gives instructions on the procedure of forming the four manual gestures, viz., *karma*-mudrā (*las-kyi phyag-rgya*), *dharma*-mudrā (*chos-kyi phyag-rgya*), *mahā*-mudrā (*phyag-rgya chen-po*) and *praṇidhāna*-mudrā (*dam-tshig-gi phyag-rgya*).

R. H.

CATURVARṆYA, lit. 'four colours' is a technical term historically attested, to denote the four major social classes in ancient India, namely, the Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. These four classes constituted the historical basis on which the later complicated system of Indian castes was built up and elaborated. The use of the word *varṇa* (colour) to denote a social division, implies that at some stage the original division had a true ethnic basis, pigmentation of skin apparently been taken as a valid basis of discrimination.

The *Puruṣa Sūkta* (*Ṛgveda*, x, *v*. 90) contains the first reference to the division of (Hindu) society of the Vedic Aryans into the four classes.

The original Aryans all belonged to one class, every one being priest and soldier, trader and tiller of the soil.

At the beginning there was no privileged order of priests. It is the increasing complexity of life that led to a division of social classes. Caste is in its origin, the expression of a social, rather than of a religious tendency. Two principles have operated in the evolution and growth of the caste system in India. The first is the racial distinction and the three upper castes historically and ethnically represent the invading Aryans. The second principle is that the dividing line is essentially one of occupation. Thirdly, the dominant preiestly class or the Brāhmans seem to have given this pratical social division a vertical scale of values, placing the Brahman uppermost and assigning to the Śūdra the lowest position of the menial.

When Aryans came to India as invaders and conquerors they were not divided into rigid classes. They settled down in India in the vicinity of rivers. Those among them who took to trade and agriculture came to be known as the Vaiśyas. Those who took to the arts of warfare and government came to be known as Kṣatriyas. It was also necessary that there should be a class of people to perform personal domestic service. They came to be known as Śūdras and were placed on the lowest of the social ladder. This class was formed by the conquered aborigines who were looked down upon by the other three classes, owing to the colour of their skin and ugly physical features.

The Brāhmans were made to constitute the central body on which the other three classes depended upon. According to *Manusmṛti* a Brāhman was born a Brāhman and did not become one and he inherited superiority as his birth-right. The supremacy of the Brāhmans as nothing short of divine is indicated by the following passage: 'Even when Brāhmans employ themselves in all sorts of inferior occupations (*an-iśteshu*), they must under all circumstances be honoured for they are to be regarded as supreme divinities' (*Manusmṛti*, ix, *v*. 319).

At the time of the Buddha, the cast system existed in a rather rudimentary form devoid of rigidity, but the Brāhmans had already secured hegemony

over the other castes. The Buddha's objections were as much against this Brāhmin hegemony as against the principle of determining human worth in terms of birth and breeding. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* IV, p. 202) Buddha says : Just as the great rivers, the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū and the Mahī entering the mighty ocean, lose their former names and are named simply ocean, even so these four castes Kṣatriyas, Brāhmins, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, going forth from the world into homeless life, into the discipline of Dhamma proclaimed by the Buddha, lose their former names and lineages and are reckoned simply as recluses. In the words of the Buddha in respect of caste, we listen to the voice of an essentially modern mind when he declares that both good and bad qualities, praised and blamed respectively by the wise, are distributed among each of the four classes and whoever among these four classes becomes a bhikkhu, an arahant, has destroyed the fetter of rebirth, and has become free because he has realised wisdom (*D.* III, pp. 83–84 ; for further details s.v. CASTE).

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For details of the expeditions and discoveries see Turfan. *Burial Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* by Albert von le Cog (Allen and Unwin, London, 1928), and the various works on the explorations in Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein.

H.G.A. v. Z.

CATUṢPĪṬHA-ṬĪKĀ (*Ārya-C°*). See CATUḤPĪṬHAṬĪKĀ.

CATUṢPĪṬHA-VIKHYĀTA-TANTRARĀJA-NĀMA (*Śri-C°*). See CATUḤPĪTHA - VIKHYĀTA - TANTRA-RĀJA-NĀMA.

CATUSSĀLĀ, a quadrangular hall which served as the refectory for the monks of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, Ceylon (W. Geiger, *Mhv.* trsl, p. 100, n. 2). It was probably constructed by king Devānampiya Tissa, cir. 250 B.C. (*Mhv.* ch. xv. *v.* 206) at a place consecrated by the thera Mahinda within the boundary of the Mahāvihāra, at the time Buddhism was being established in the country (*Mhv.* ch. xv. *vv.* 47, 50). When the thera Mahinda visited this spot and consecrated it by scattering some flowers, the earth trembled. This miracle was due to the fact, as the thera explained, that in the three preceding aeons it was a place where were collected the gifts to the three Buddhas, successively of each aeon, for them and their Saṅgha ; and the offerings so brought from all parts of the land were formally accepted here. Mahinda explained to the king that in this place would once again be the refectory of the(Mahāvihāra) Saṅgha. This Catussālā needed restoration in the time of king Vasabha, about five centuries later (ibid. ch. xxxv., *v.* 88). It may have been the 'Catu-sālā' (same ch., *v.* 15), translated as 'four-sided hall' (by W. Geiger).

Catussālā was specifically named as one of the places from which clay should be taken for the earthenware vessels used to keep the utensils for the royal *abhiṣeka* ; this clay had to be taken from under its northern door (*MhvA.* p. 307). The topography of Anurādhapura (as revealed in *Mhv.* xv) suggests that the Catussāla lay between the Lohapāsāda and the Mahā Thūpa, somewhat closer to the latter. An ancient refectory, as identifiable from a rice-boat (*bhattanāvā*), exists here in ruin. It was partly excavated by the local archaeologist, H.C.P. Bell (*ASCAR.* 1902, pp. 1-3), and may well be the site of the ancient buildings as seen after several restorations in the course of centuries (See also W. Geiger's posthumous *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 55).

A 'chatusālā' is known from a Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscription in south India (J. Ph. Vogel, *EI.* XX, pp. 21, 28), in an apsidal temple (*caityaghara*) in the monastery of the Sinhalese monks (from Ceylon), and the donative record suggests it to have been the place where gifts to the Saṅgha were stored in the 3rd cent. A.C. A similar hall, described as a four-sided rest-house, is known from Nāsik (Cave No. 10 inscription: E. Hultzsch, *EI.* Vol. VIII, p. 78).

D.T.D.

CATUSSATYA-ŚĀSTRA, known in Chinese as *Szŭ-ti-lun*, composed by Vasuvarman and translated somewhere between 557-69 A.C. by Pa amārtha of the Ch'ên dynasty. This work, which consists of four fascicles, divided into six chapters, is incorporated in the *Abhidharma-piṭaka* of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (See *Nanjio*, No. 1261, *Taishō*, No. 1647 and S. Beal, *The Buddhis Tripiṭaka*, printed for the India Office, 1876, p. 79).

S.K.N.

CATUSSATYA-SŪTRA (*Ārya-C°*), the name of a Sanskrit text ,a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Mdo (sūtra) section of the Kangyur under the title *Ḥphags-pa bden-pa bshi-hi mdo* (*TT.* Vol. 39, No. 982).

The Buddha addressed the monks on one occasion and pointed out that they and he had wandered over, along a very long road in Saṃsāra through ignorance and non-understanding of the Four Noble Truths. The Buddha spoke further and declared that he had realised and understood the Four Truths, destroyed all craving for existence and exhausted the process of being involved in the cycle of existence. He concluded the sermon by reciting a verse containing the above teaching in succinct form.

For a corresponding sutta in the Pali tradition see the *Vijjā sutta* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (V, p. 431).

A *Catussatya-sūtra,* known in Chinese as (*Fu-shuo*) *Szŭ-ti-ching* occurs in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* of the Chinese canon. This was translated by An-shi-kao of the eastern Han dynasty 25-221 A.C.

R.H.

CAURABANDHA, the name of texts describing remedial rites against thieves. See CORABANDHA.

CAURA-BANDHANA, a text, a Tibetan translation of which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (tantra commentary) section of the Tengyur under the title *Chom-rkuṅ bciṅ-ba* (*TT.* Vol. 79, No. 3650).

The text contains instructions on the method of performing a rite to ensure protection against

thieves. Among those to be invoked is a deity whose form is described. She wears an ox-skin and has eight feet and eight arms. She carries a *vajra*, sword, a wheel, bow, bell, a *khaṭvāṅga* bow and shows a pointing figure (*tarjanī* mudrā) with her hands.

The person who performs the rite, should, after preliminary meditations, recite the formula : *Oṃ ā hrīḥ mahākāruṇika caṇḍamahāroṣaṇi bhayaharaṇe rakṣāvaraṇaṃ guptiṃ........svāhā,* soliciting protection. He should then take the tooth or the tip of the claw of a fierce animal, daub it with the blood of a robber and a king, and wear it on his shouldes. See also CORABANDHA.

R.H.

CAURA - VIDHVAṂSANA - NĀMA - DHĀRAṆĪ (*Ārya-C°*), a text containing a magic formula (dhāraṇī) for destroying thieves. A Tibetan translation of it called *Ḥphags-pa mi-rgod rnam-par ḥjoms-pa shes-bya-baḥi gzuṅs* is included in the Rgyud (tantra) section of the Kangyur (*TT*. Vol. 7, No. 214).

The Buddha, it is said, was residing on a mountain with Ānanda, when Ānanda became frightened one day on seeing a host of robbers. The Buddha asked him not to be frightened and taught him a dhāraṇī which he said was effective against various dangers. The *dhāraṇī* is as follows : ***anulome pratilome ataṃke prataṃke vaṃke ativaṃke gauri...... caura prahantu........muñca svāhā.***

R.H.

END OF VOLUME THREE

This fascicle, almost in its entirety, had been edited by the late Dr. G. P. Malalasekera. Only a few minor alterations have been effected and a limited number of new articles added in the process of seeing it through the press.—E-in-C.

BHATTANĀVĀ



← Fig. A.— A stone trough for gifts of rice at the Mahapāli of the citadel of Anuradhapura.

Photo by D. T. Devendra.

BHIKKHĀ PARAMPARA JĀTAKA

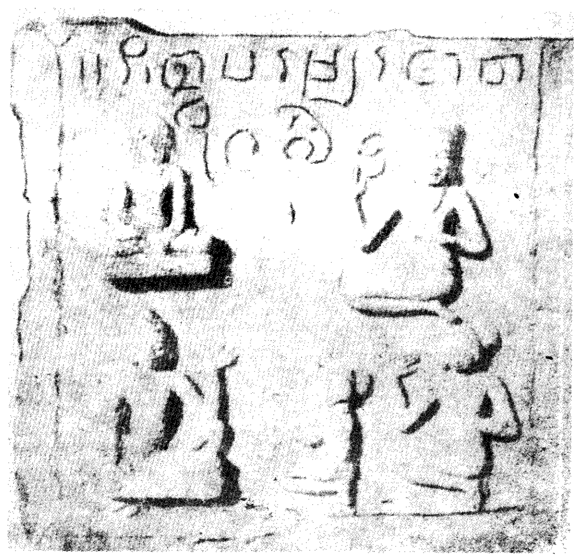
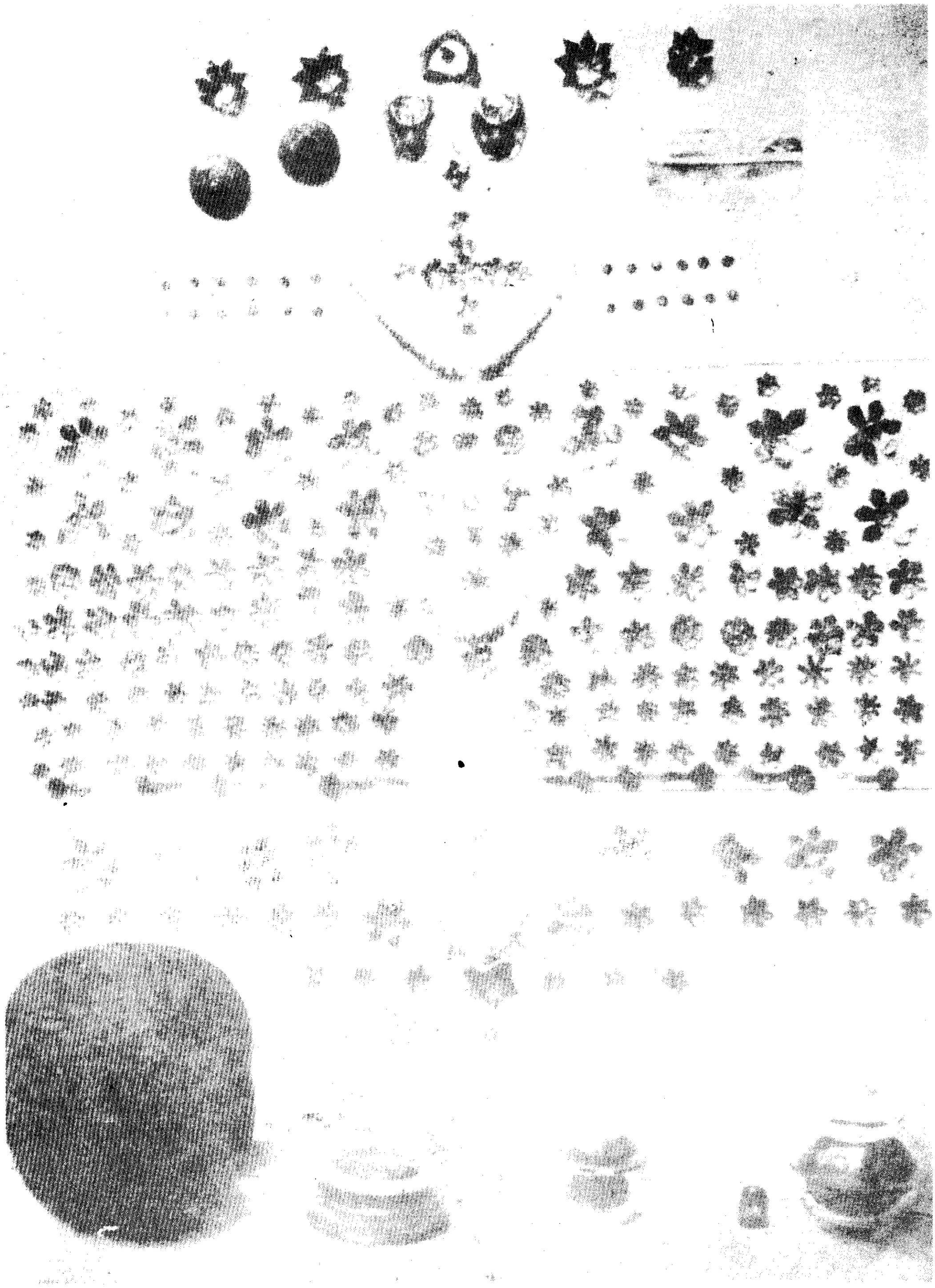


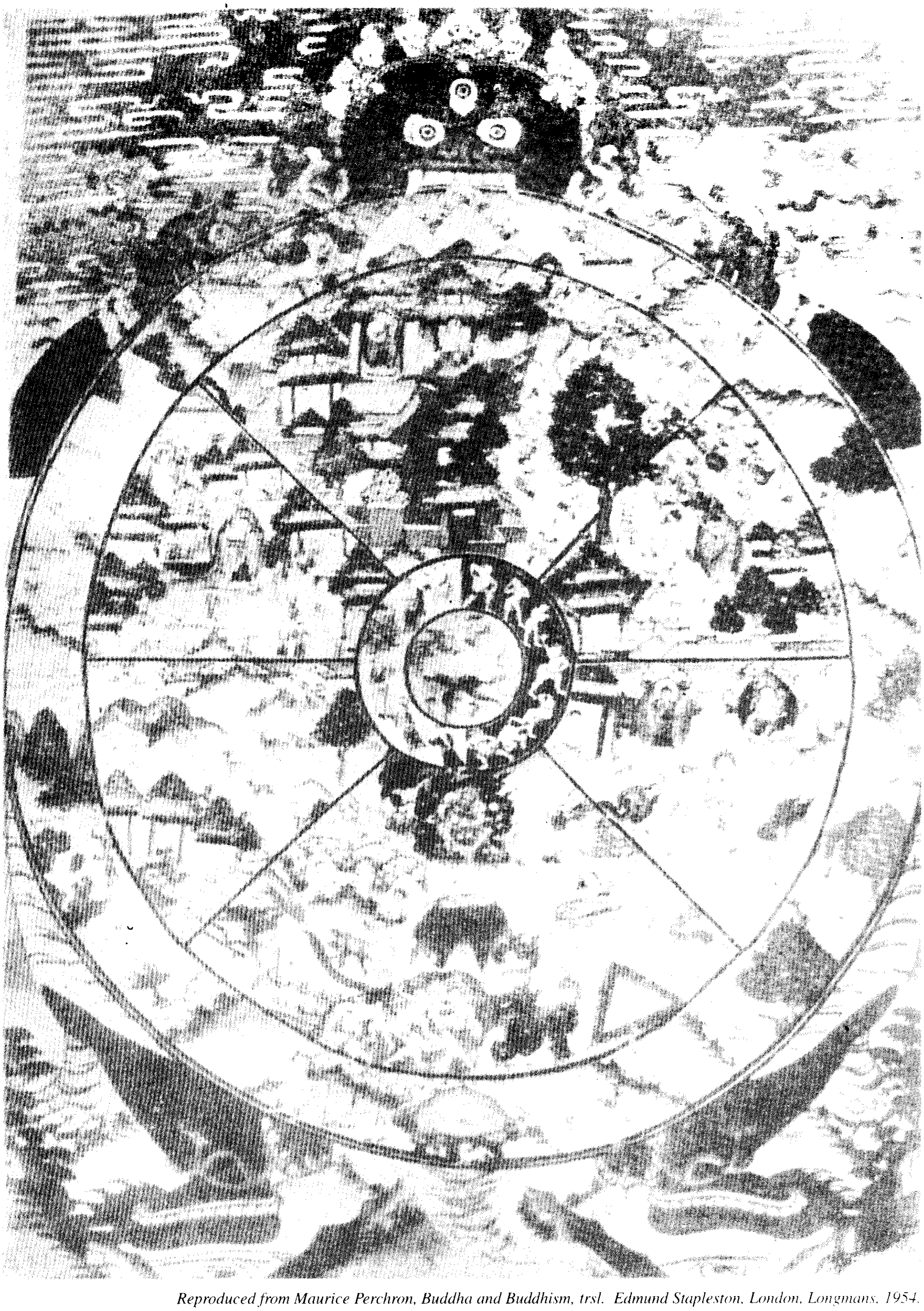
Fig. B.— Terra-cotta plaque from Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, circa 11th century, showing a rich landlord offering food to the king and his food being passed on to three others in turn.

Reproduced from ASIAR, 1906—7.



Reproduced from Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities.

Stone and crystal relic caskets and their contents discovered from the Stupa.



Reproduced from Maurice Perchron, Buddha and Buddhism, trsl. Edmund Stapleston, London, Longmans, 1954.

The wheel of Becoming : Centre, the three causes of pain; intermediate, the six possible states of rebirth with Avalokitensvara in the centre; outer ring, the twelve stages of human existence; encircling the wheel, impermanence. (a Sino-Tibetan painting).



A Royal Bhikkhu, king Phumibol Aduldej of Thailand after the traditional ordination.



Reproduced from Ludwig Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Vol. 1, Paris, 1929.

The bodhisatta with his brothers and sisters questioning them about his part of the meal. An ape and an elephant are also shown.

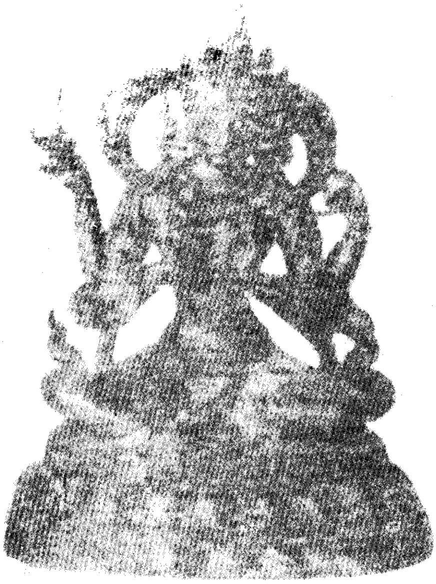


Fig. A.— Image of Bhṛkuṭi from Peiping.
Reproduced from B. Bhattacharya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Calcutta, 1958.

BHŪTAḌĀMARA



Fig. B.— The Mudrā of Bhutaḍamara as depicted in an image of Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāni.
Reproduced from A. K. Gordon, Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, Tokyo, [illegible]



Reproduced from The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956

Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Bengal.



Fig. 1.— INDIA—Bhodhisattva in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Nalatigiri, Orissa. *From* East and West, *Year VII, No. 4.*



Fig. 2.— THAILAND—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, a Siamese image (before Sinhalese influence). *From* Marg, *Sept. 1956.*



Fig. 3.— TIBET—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Tibet. *From* Oriental Art, *New Series, Vol. III, No. 3.*



Fig. 4.— NEPAL—Aksobhya Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Nepal. *From* Oriental Art, *New Series, Vol. III, No. 3.*



Fig. 5.— KOREA—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Silla, Korea. *From* Oriental Art, *1961, Vol. VII, No. 1.*



Fig. 6.— LAOS—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an image from Laos. *From M. Percheron,* Buddha and Buddhism, *London, 1957.*



Fig. 7.— THAILAND—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā, a Siamese image. *From* Marg., *Sept. 1956.*



Fig. 8.— CEYLON—Buddha in Bhūmisparśa mudrā. *From* Memoirs of the Colombo Museum *Series A. No. 1.*



←Fig. A.— Female figure sculptured on one of the pillers at Bhūtēsar

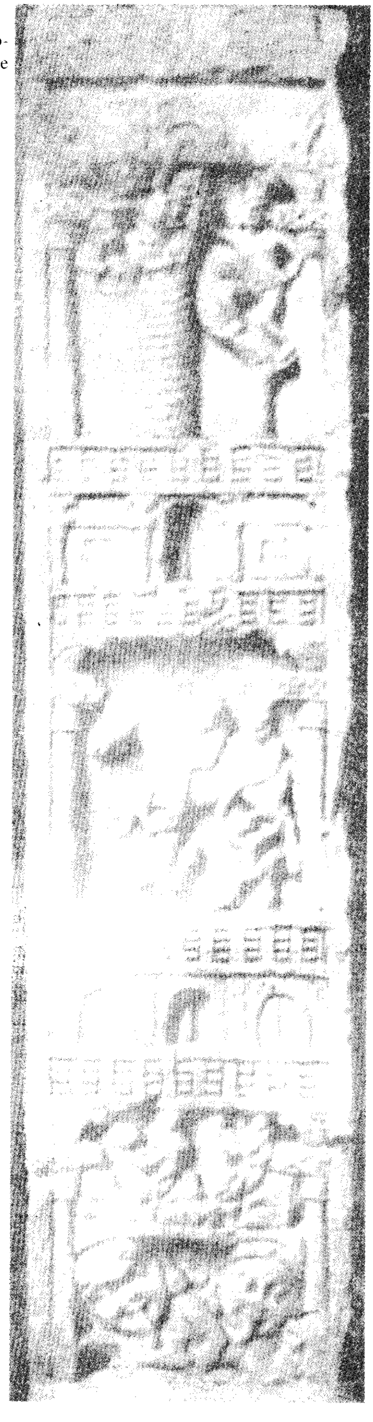
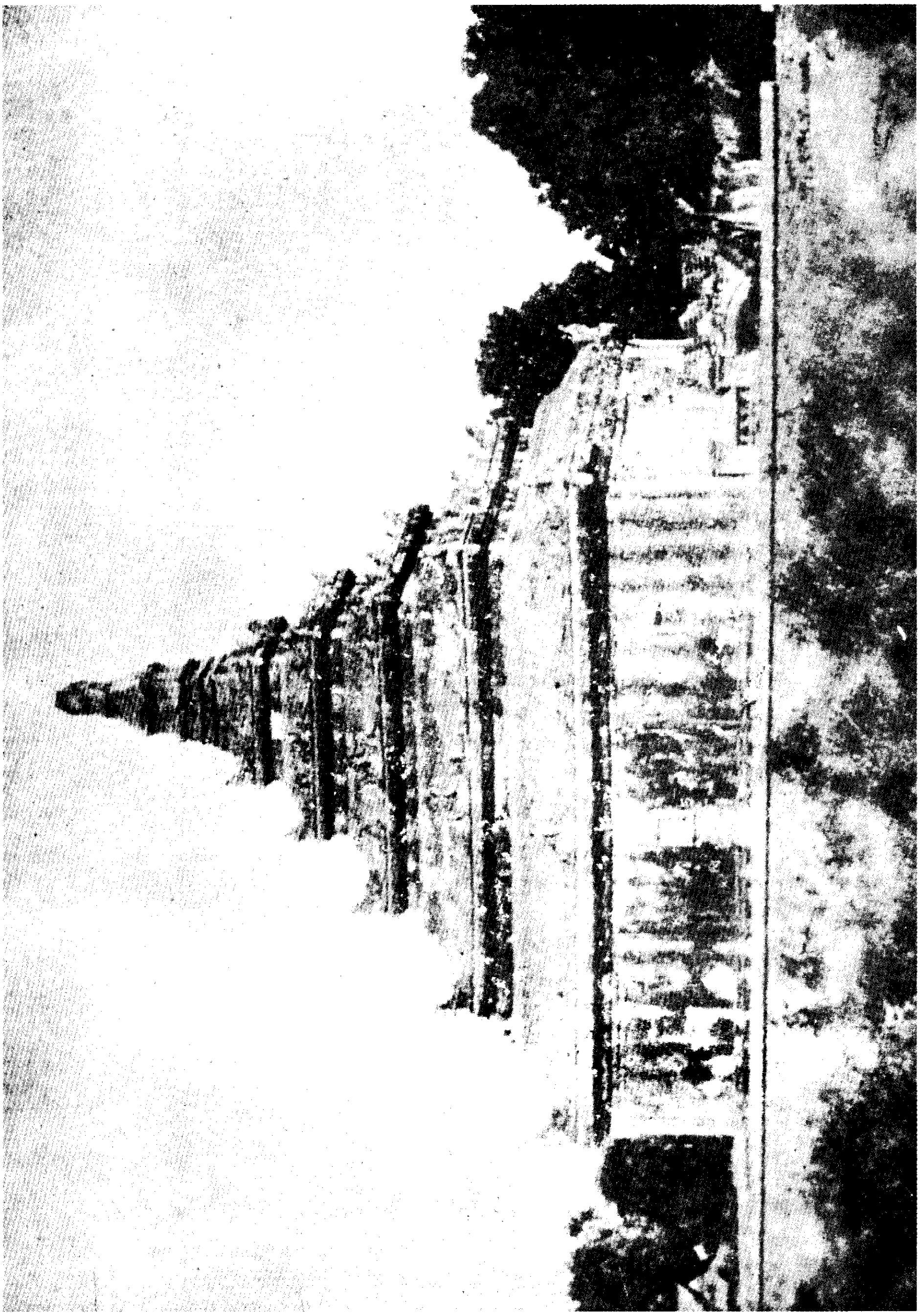


Fig. B.— Illustration of a Jātaka on the reverse of the pillar.

Reproduced from J. ph. Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathura (Ars Asiatica, Vol. XV), Paris & Bruxelles, 1930.



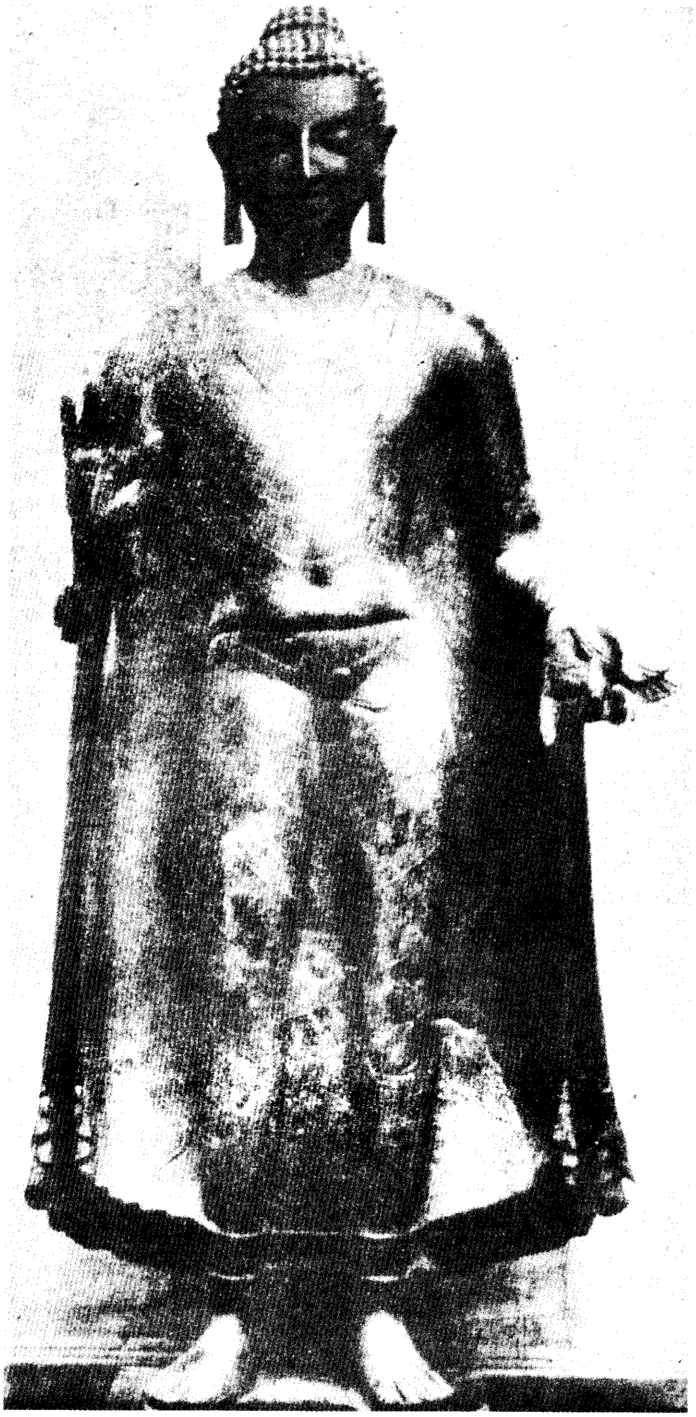
Reproduced from Louis Frederic, The Temples and Sculptures of South-East Asia, London. 1965.

The Library of Bidgat Taik.



Reproduced from Art A.

Bronze image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara from Bidhor.



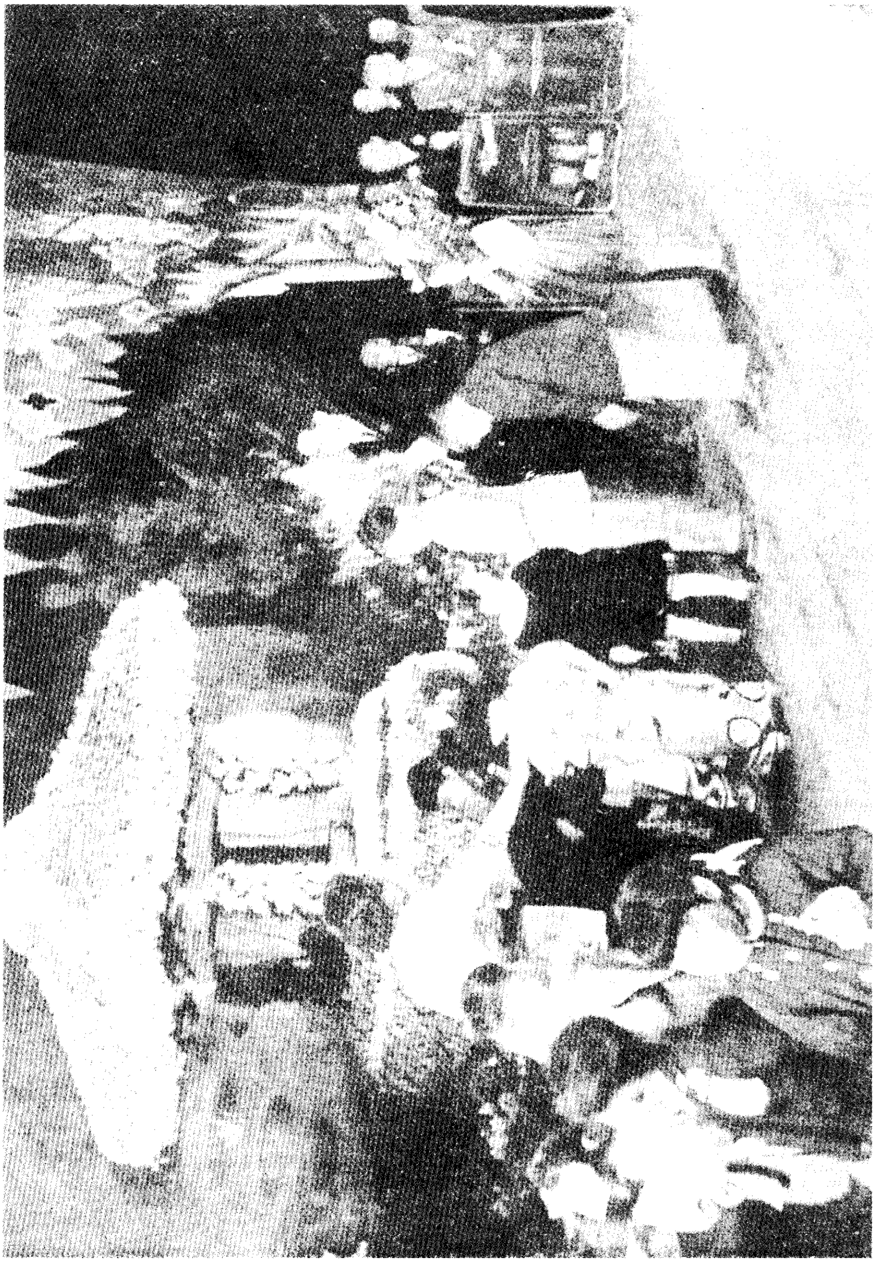
Reproduced from Anil de Silva-Vigier, The Life of the Buddha, London, 1955.

Bronze image of Buddha from Sultanganj, India (5th cent.), an example of Gupta art. Art Gallery, Birmingham.

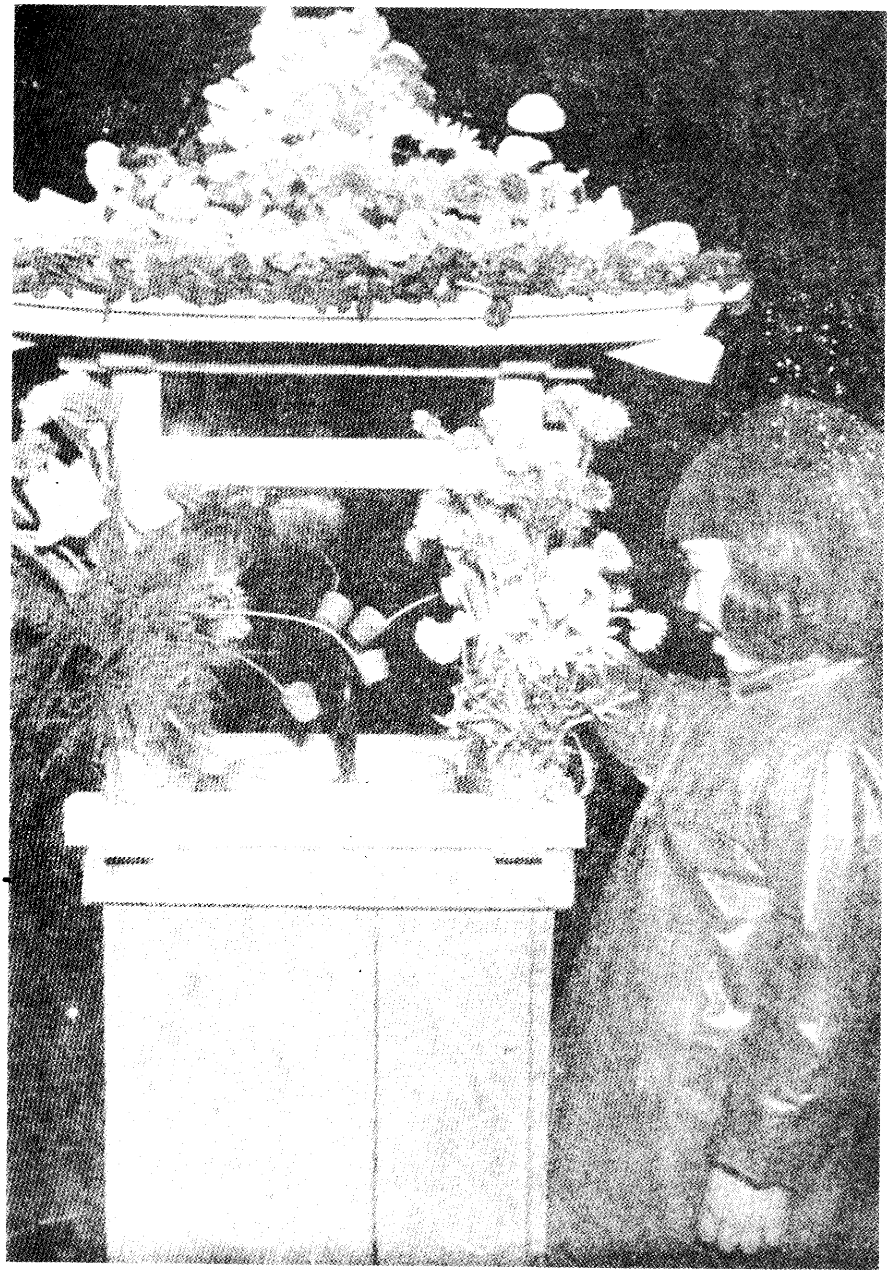


Reproduced from Ingholt, Gandhāran Art in Pakistan, New York, 1957.

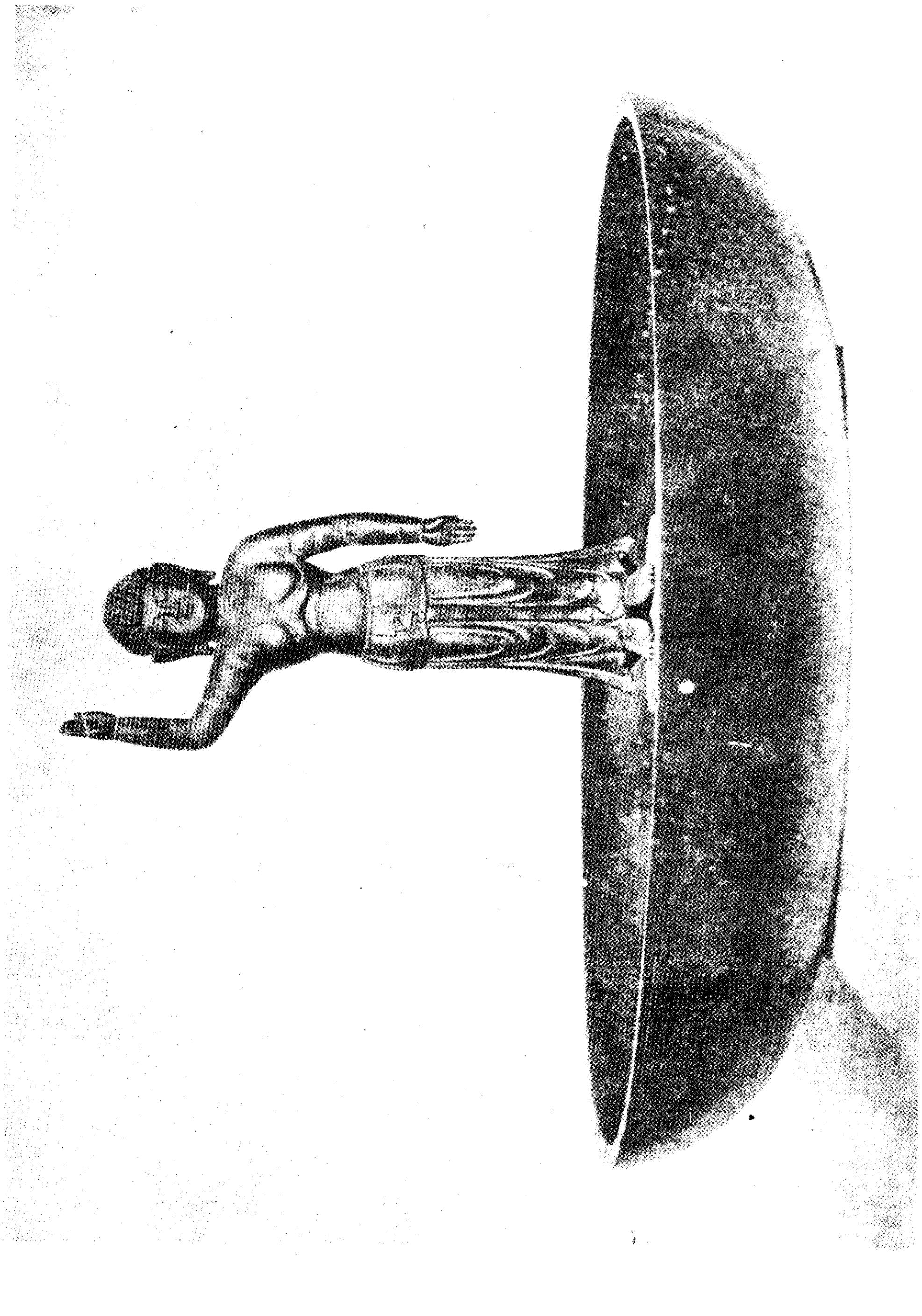
Visit of Bimbisāra to Gotama before his Enlightenment



Buddhists of contemporary Japan celebrating the Birthday Ceremony of the Buddha



A girl participating in celerbations connected with the Birthday Ceremony of the Buddha in Japan.



A statue of the Buddha in a bowl, usually used in the celebrations of the Birthday of the Buddha in Japan.

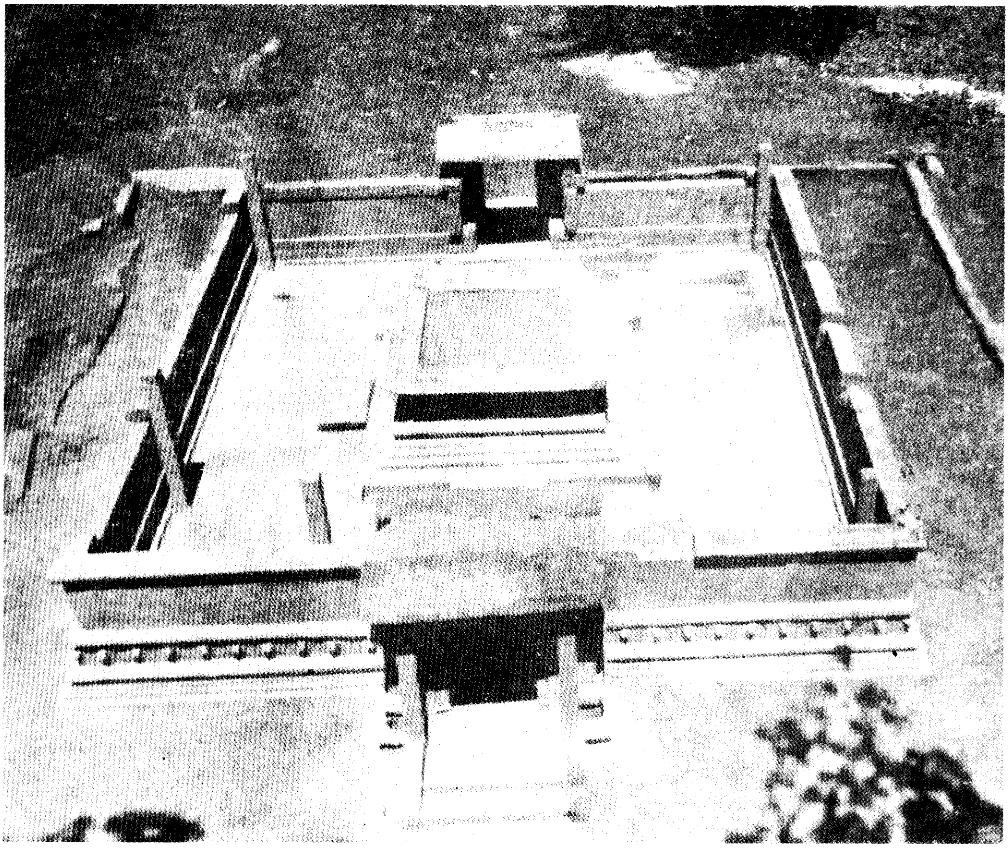


Fig. 1 - Bodhidharma by the Zen master Hakuin (1685-1768 A. C.). From, Sohaku Ogata, *Zen for the West,* 1959, Rider & Co. London.



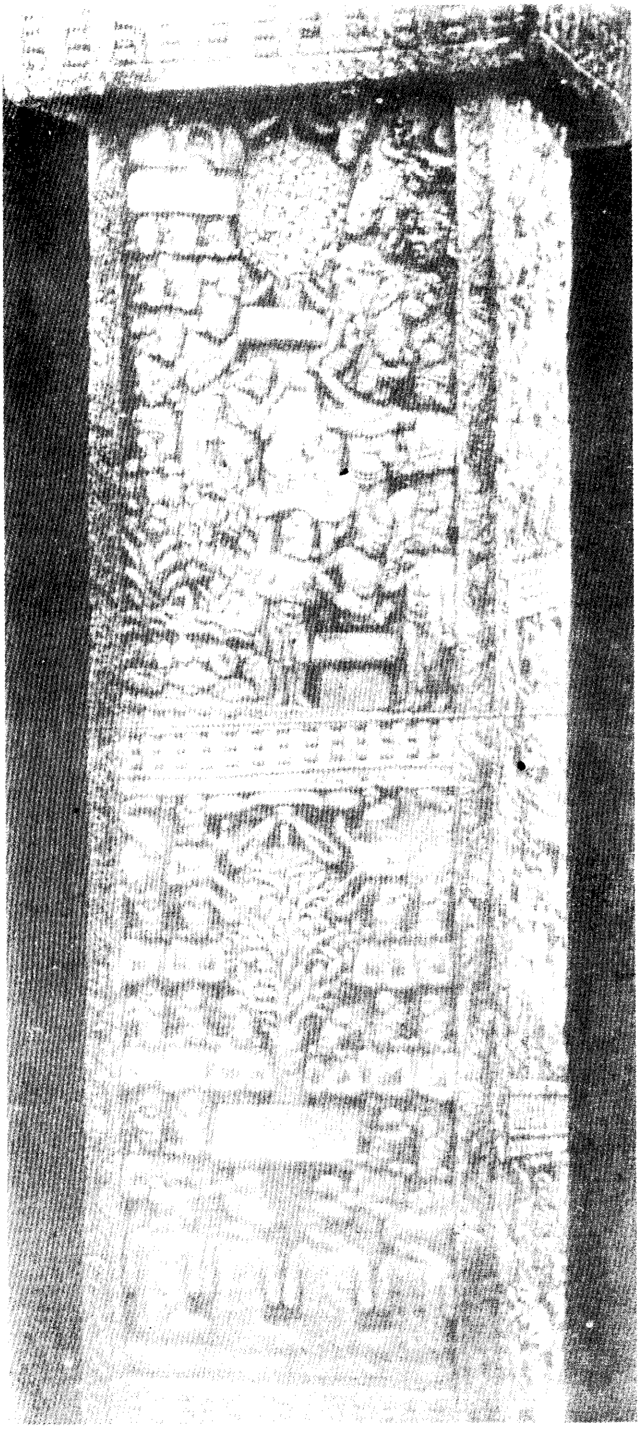
Fig. 2-A portrait of Bodhidharma, hanging scroll, Dept. of Eastern Art, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. There is a legend which says that once when Bodhidharma was in a deep trance his eyes closed in sleep; thereupon he angrily cut off his eyelids and threw them to the ground and from there sproute tea shrubs. Perhaps the penetrating expression captured in this portra it has some connection to this legend.

From, D. Seckel, *Art of Buddhism,* Art of the World series.



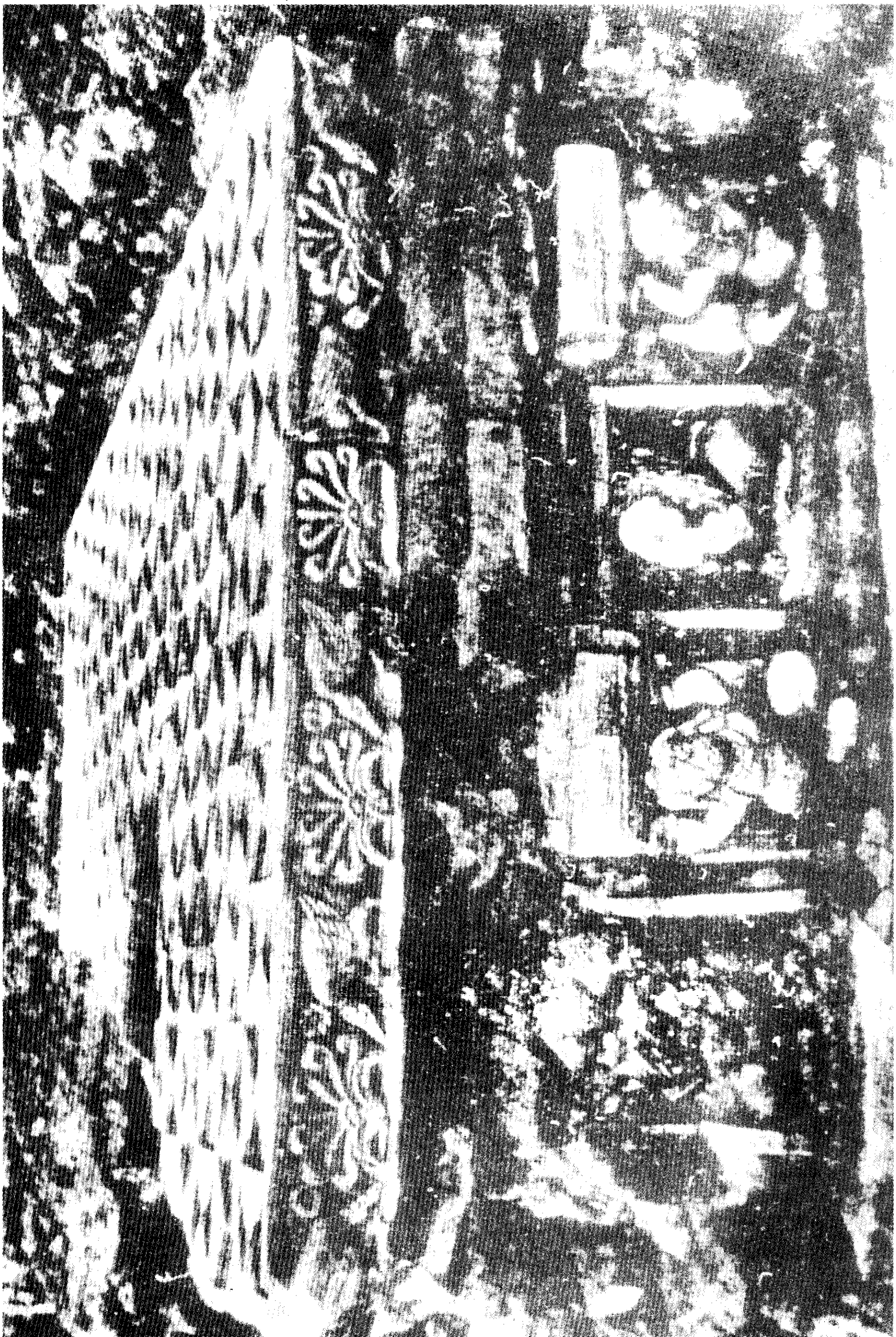
The house of the bodhi-tree (bodhighara), discovered at Nillakgama, Ceylon. This illustration shows also the innerupper platform or terrace on which the bodhi-tree appears to have stood. The lower terrace is enclosed by a parapet wall. The stone pillars near the parapet wall appear to have supported a wooden roof.

By courtesy of the Archaeological Dept. of Ceylon



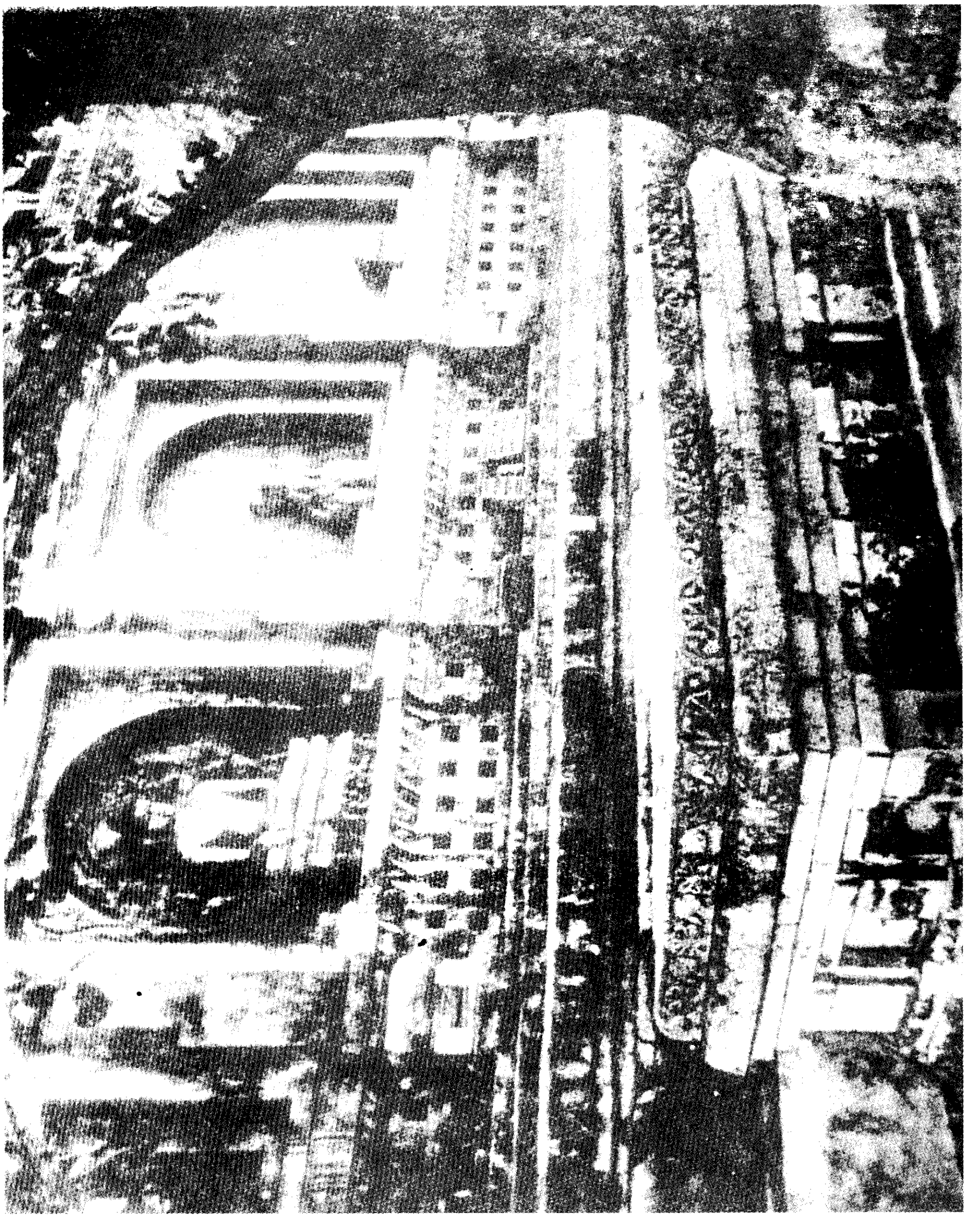
An early sculptural representation of the *Bodhimaṇḍa* from a pillar in the western gateway of Sāñcī. Showing the ground around the bodhi-tree (*bodhimaṇḍa*) as well as the adamantine seat (vajrāsana), seated on which the bodhisatta attained Enlightenment. The spot is being worshipped by devotees both divine and human.

From, J. Marshall and A. Foucher *Monuments* of *Sāñcī*, II, pl. 65 f.



A later representation of the *Vajrāsana* in the *bodhimaṇḍa* (in later tradition the term *Vajrāsana* was used to denote *bodhimaṇḍa*) discovered from Buddhagayā.

From. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Le Sculpture De Bodhgaya*, Paris, 1935.



The ground around the bodhi-tree (*bodhimaṇḍa*) and the adamantine seat (*vajrāsana*) as seen at Buddhagayā.
From, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Le Sculpture De Bodhgaya*, Paris, 1935.



A statue from Polonnaruwa, Ceylon, depicting the bodhisattva in princely attire, showing the grace and charm of his personality and also the elegance and suppleness of his body.

By courtesy of the Archaeological Dept. of Ceylon



Fig. 1- A bodhisattva figure overlaid with trappings medals, buckle, pendants, scarves and drapery. Limestone, height 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (Havencyer bequest).
From, *East and West*, Ns. Vol. 17, Nos. 1-2, March-June, 1967



Fig. 2- A stone torso of a bodhisattva, grasping a water bottle and showing intricately designed jewelry and sharply pleated shoulder scarves. From Wan-fo-ssu, Ch'eng-tu Szechwan.
From, *East and West* Ns. Vol. 17; Nos. 1-2 March-June 1967.



The bodhisattva in pensive mood. Stone, 5th 6th Century A. C. from China. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
From Anil De Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha,* Phaidon Press, London, 1955.



A 7th century fresco from Bagh, India showing the benignity and gracefulness of the bodhisattva.
From, Anil De Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha*, Phaidon Press, London 1955.



A bust of a bodhisattva from Horyu-ji, Nara, Japan, Wood, lacquered and gilt, 7th-8th century A. C.
From, Anil De Silva—Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha,* Phaidon Press, London, 1955.



A bodhisattva decked in royal attire and seated on a throne, from Ri-bo-kang monastery, Lhasa, Tibet. Bronze, gilt, about 8 metres in height. From L. Jisl, V. Śis, J. Vaniš, *Tibetische Kunst*, Artia, Prag, 1958.

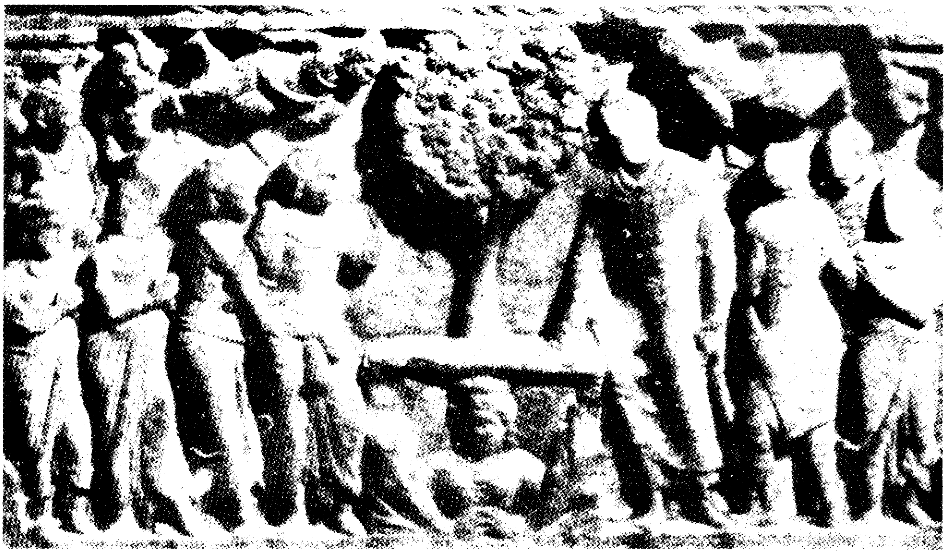


Fig. 1—The bodhisattva approaching the bodhi-tree seated under which he attained Enlightenment.
From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.

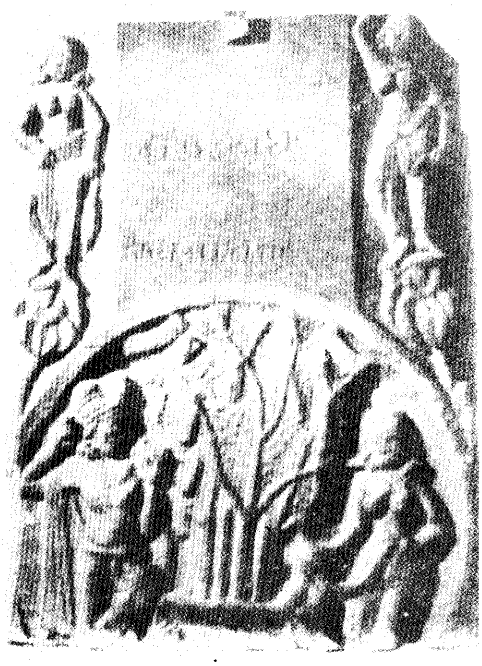


Fig. 2—The bodhi-tree of Krakucchanda (Pali Kakusañdha) Buddha, the first of the five Buddhas of the present aeon, Bhārhut, 150, B. C-100 B. C.

From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.



Fig. 1— Worshippers paying homage to the bodhi-tree of Viśvabhū (Pali Vessabhū) Buddha, the twenty-first of the twenty-four Buddhas, Bhārhut, 150 B. C—100 B. C.

From, *The Way of the Buddha* Govt. of India. 1956.



Fig. 2 — The bodhi-tree of Kanakamuni (Pali Koṇāgamana) Buddha the second of the five Buddhas of the present aeon, being worshipped and offered with garlands, Bhārhut, 150 B. C—100 B. C.

From *The Way of the Buddha,* Govt. of India 1956.



The bodhi-tree of Kāśyapa (Pali Kassapa) Buddha, the third of the five Buddhas of the present aeon, being worshipped and offered with garlands by devotees, Bhārhut, 150 B. C. —100 B. C.

From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.



Devotees paying homage to the bodhi-tree of Vipaśyin (Pali Vipassī) Buddha, the nineteenth of the twenty-four Buddhas, Bhārhut, 150 B. C—100 B. C.

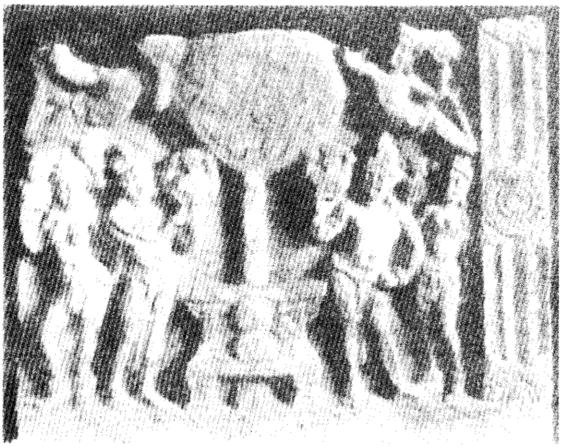
From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.



The bodhi-tree of śākyamuni Buddha being worshipped and honoured by celestial beings, Bhārhut, 150, B. C—100 B. C

From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.

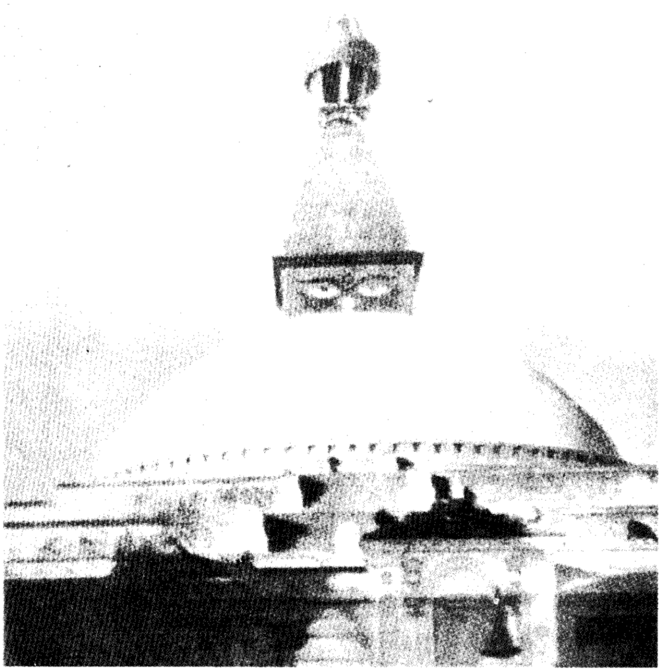
BODHI-TREE



The bodhi-tree rising over a throne and devotees worshipping it.

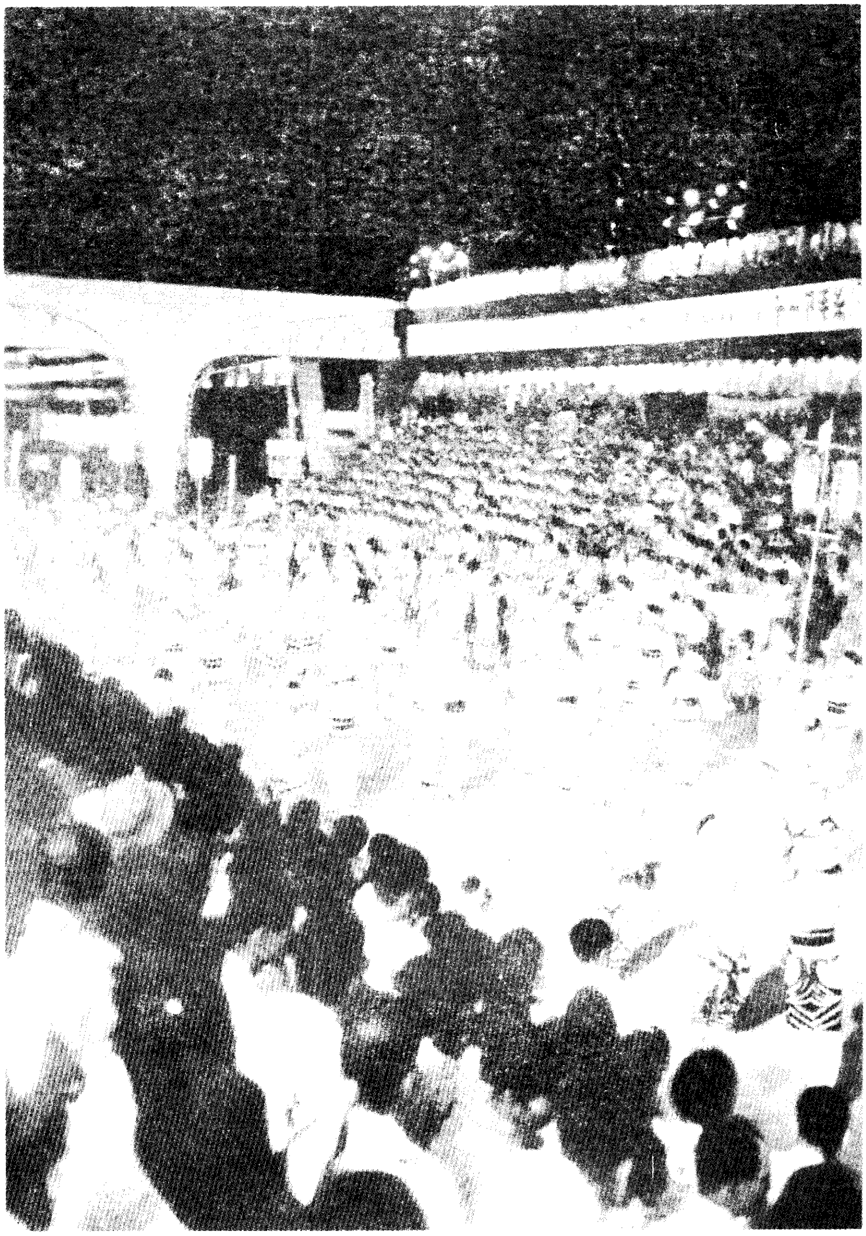
From, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the India Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1923.

BODHNĀTH

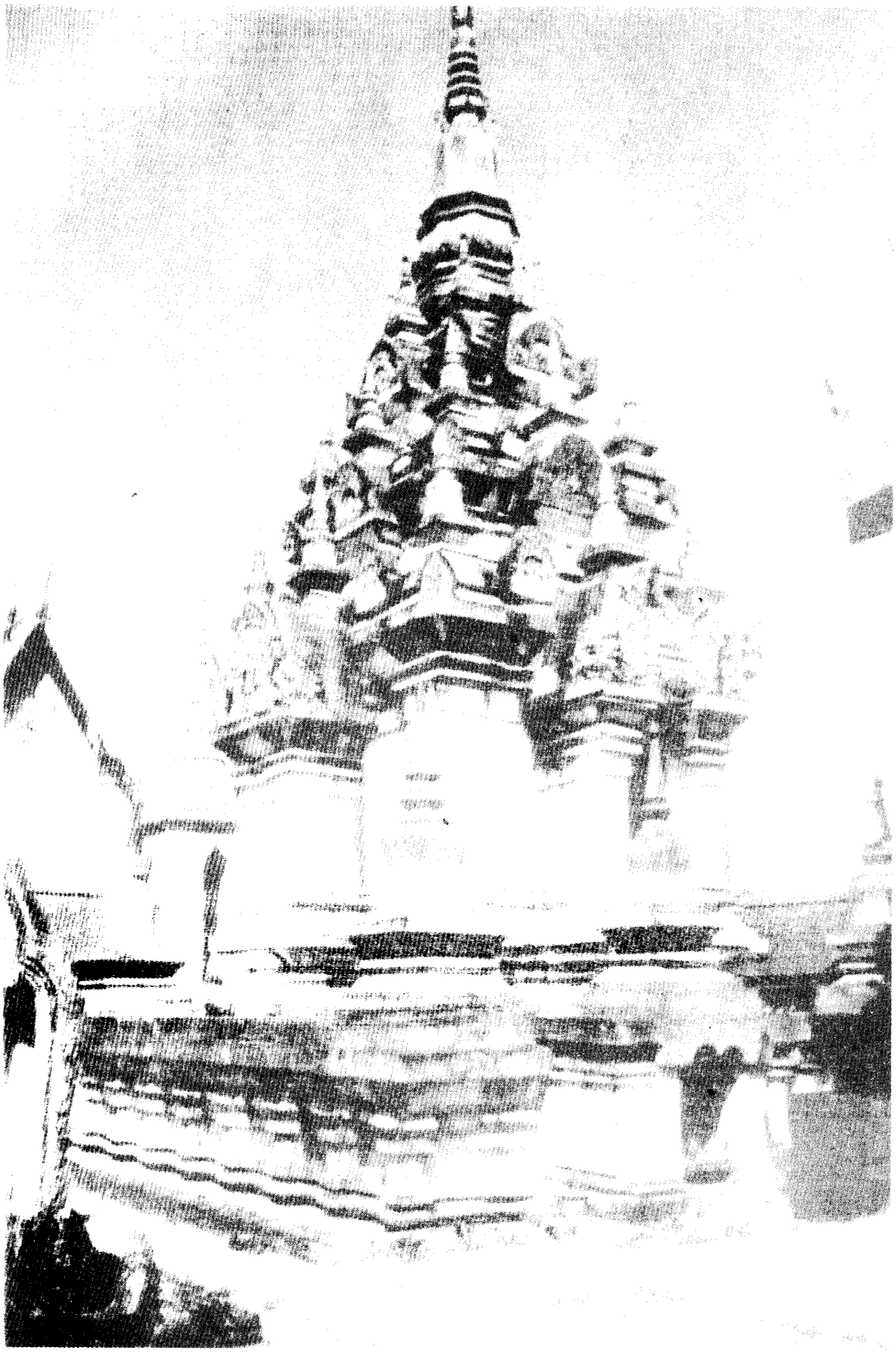


The Bodhnāth-stūpa. On each side of the square platform *(harmikā)* is embossed a face with a pair of large eyes, perhaps depicting the "all seeing" *(samantacakkhu)* aspect of the Buddha. These eyes follow the devotees as they circumambulate the stūpa and produce a mesmeric effect on them.

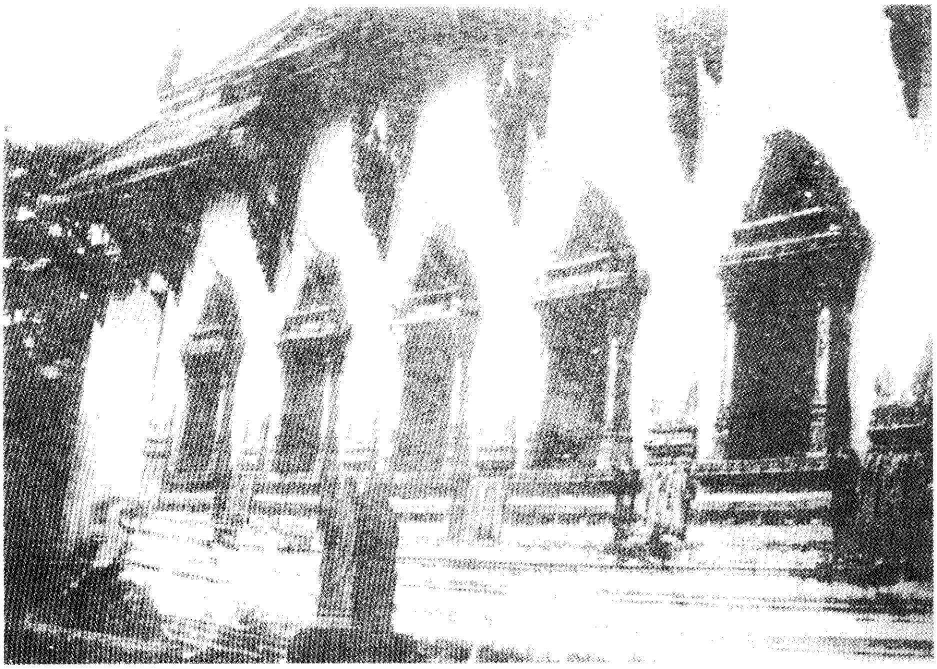
From, *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India, 1956.



Hundreds of dancers participating in the Bon festival dance of Tokushima city in Shikoko, Japan.
By Courtesy of the Embassy of Japan in Ceylon.



The Caitya in the Boromadhātu monastery, the only one in Srī-Vijaya style known to have survived.
From. Louis Frederic, *The Temples and Sculptures of South-East Asia* London 1965.



A typical 18th century construction. This is different from the earlier ones because of its windows and elaborate ornaments. From, Louis Frederic, *The Temples and Sculptures of South-East Asia*, London, 1965.

BRAHMĀ



Brahmā, perhaps Sahampati, worshipping the Buddha; a line drawing from Barabuḍur.

From, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa*, publ. by Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1928.



An unique statue of Brahmā from Avukana, Ceylon. This representation has four faces and four hands. Of the pair of right hands one holds a rosary and the other a staff (daṇḍa). Of the pair of left hands one carries an object which may be identified as a sacrificial ladle (sruva) and the other a quoit which is not found in other images of Brahmā. Brahmā is standing on a tortoise.

By courtesy of the Archaeological Dept. of Ceylon.



A fresco from Galvihāra, Polonnaruwa, Ceylon, depicting Brahmā as a bearded, old sage.
by courtesy of the Archaeological Dept. of Ceylon.



Brahmā, known as Bonten in Japan, occupies only a minor place in the Japanese Buddhist pantheon. Herein he is represented as having four faces and four hands and seated on lotus seat placed on the back of geese.

From William Watson, *Sculpture of Japan, from the fifth to the fifteenth century*, 1959, London.

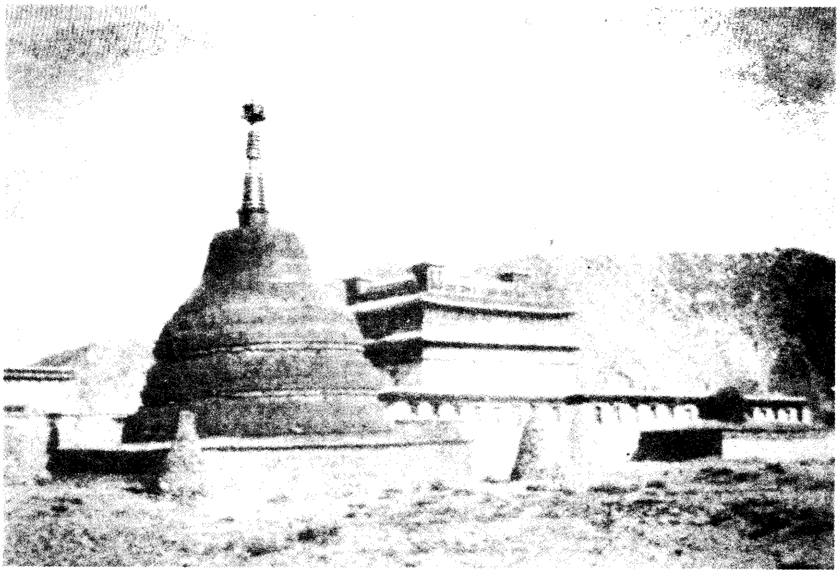
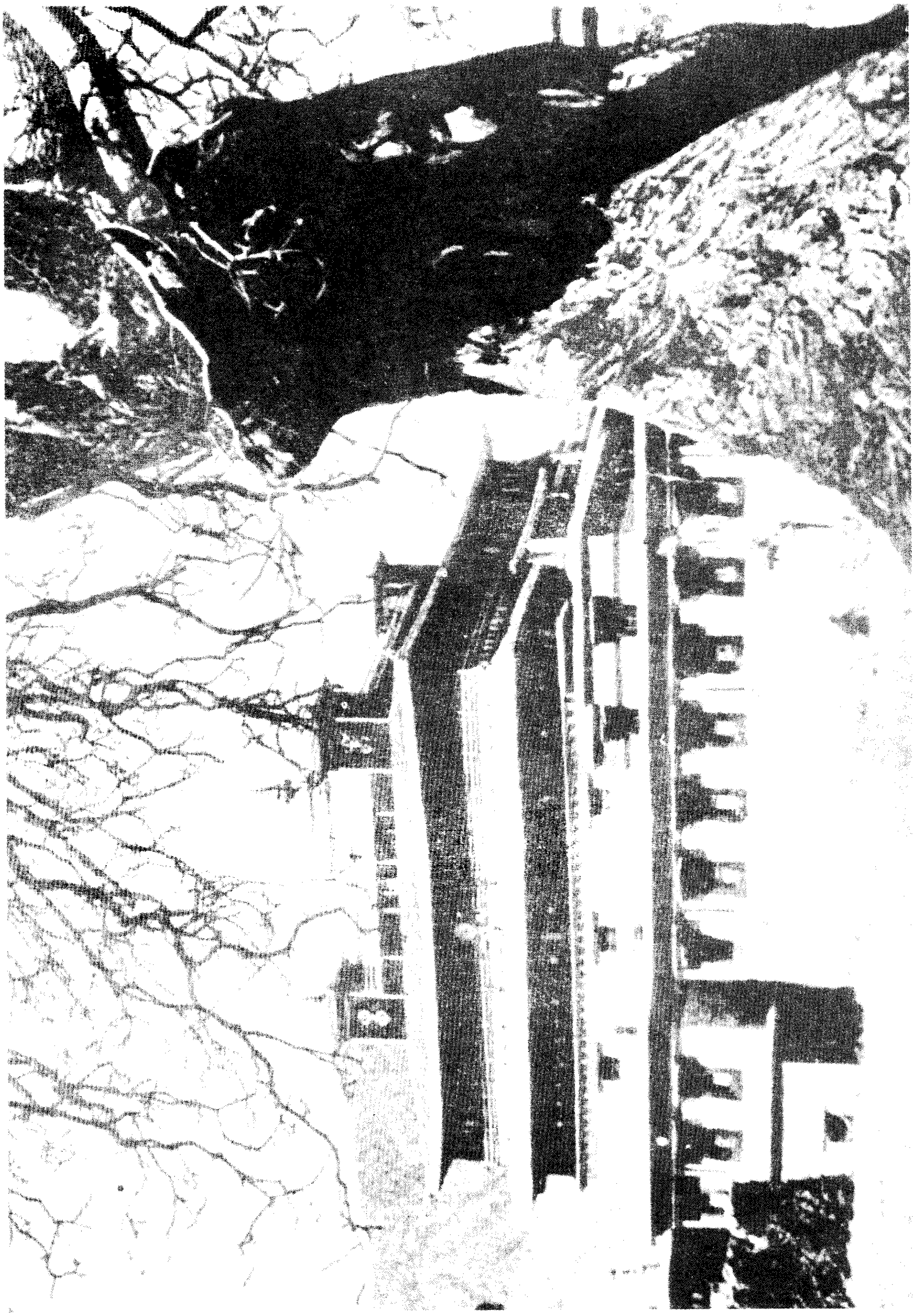


Fig. 1— The black chörten (*caitya*) of the Bsam-Yas monastery.
From, D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957.



A view of the Bsam-yas monastery.
From, D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957.



The main temple of the Bsam-Yas monastery. From. Helmut Hoffmann. *The Religions of Tibet*, London. 1961.



Fig. 1— **India**

Courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.



Fig. 2— **Nepal**

B. Rowland Jr., *The Evolution of the Buddha Image,* New York, 1963.



Fig. 3— **Tibet**

W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons,* Harvard University Press, 1937.



Fig. 4— **Java**

B. Rowland Jr., *The Evolution of the Buddha Image,* New York, 1963.

Buddha Image in Different Countries



Fig. 1— **Ceylon**

Courtesy of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon.



Fig. 2— **Burma**

ASIAR. 1930-4



Fig. 3— **Thailand**



Fig. 4— **Cambodia**

Madeleine Giteau, *Khmer Sculpture*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1965.

Buddha Image in Different Countries



Fig. 1— **Indonesia**

Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam, 1959.



Fig. 2— **China**

Buddhists in New China, Peking 1956.



Fig. 3— **Japan**

Anil de Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha*, Phaidon Press, London, 1955.



Fig. 4— **Korea**

D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.

Buddha Image in Different Countries

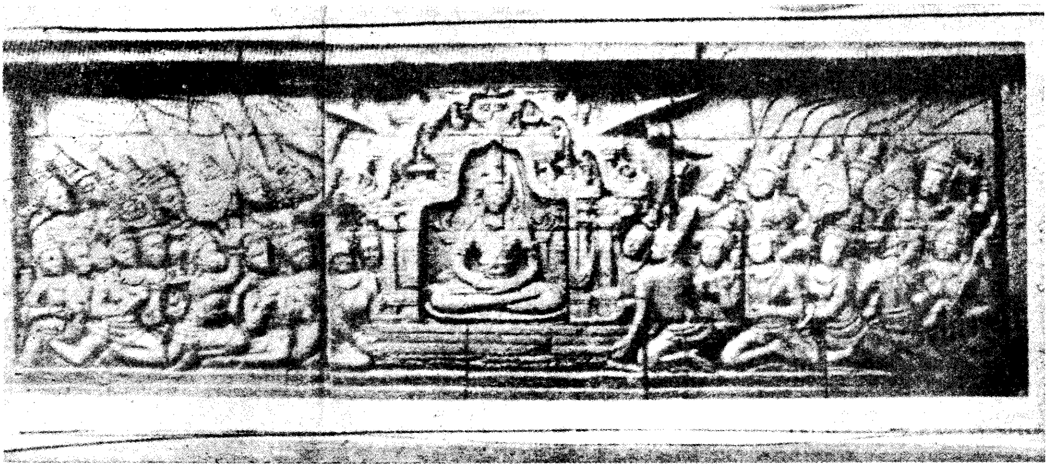


Fig. 1— **Prior to the descent from the Tuṣita heaven at the invitation of the gods:** a bas-relief from Barabudur, Java.
The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, *1956.*



Fig. 2— **Entry into the mother's womb,** a bas-relief from Bārhut, India.
The way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

Eight Important Incidents in the Life of the Buddha.



Fig. 1— **Birth of the Buddha,** a bas-relief from Gandhāra, Pakistan.
Hallade. *The Gandharan Style*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1968.

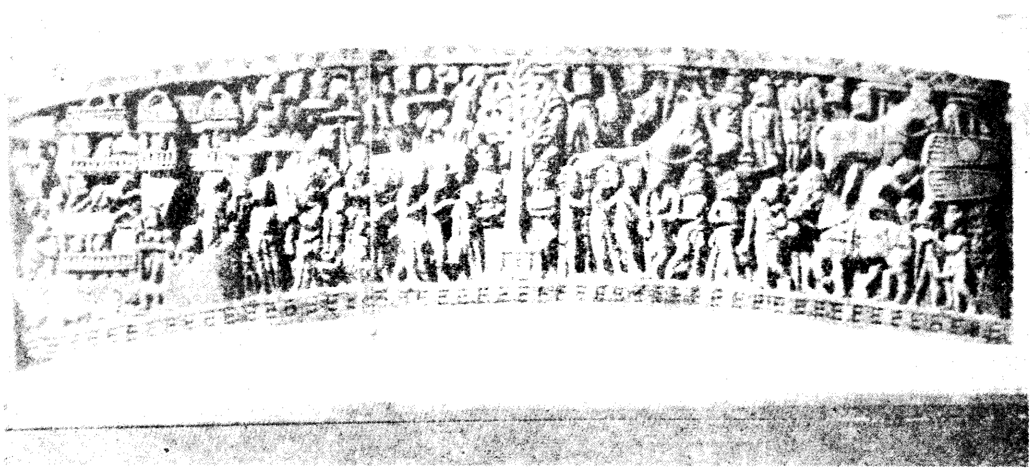


Fig. 2— **Renunciation,** a bas-relief from Sāñcī, India.
The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

Eight Important Incidents in the Life of the Buddha.



Fig. 1— **The Conquest of Māra,** a painting from Ajaṇṭā, India.
Anil de Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha,* Phaidon Press, London, 1955.]

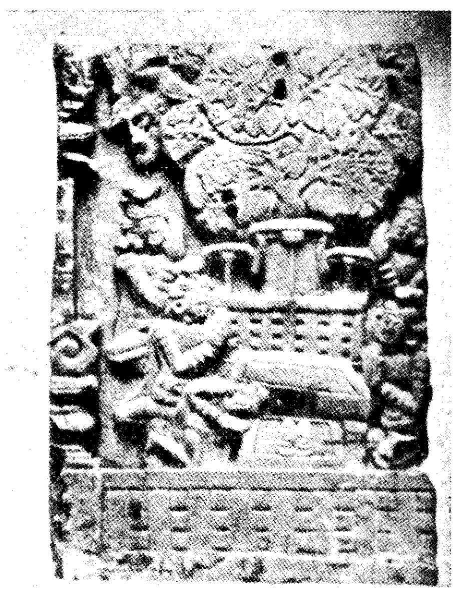


Fig. 2— **The Enlightenment,**
a bas-relief from Amarāvatī, India.

Buddhist Sculptures and Monuments,
Government of India, 1956.

Eight Important Incidents in the Life of the Buddha.



Fig. 1— **The First Sermon,** a bas-relief from Gandhāra, Pakistan.
J. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1960.

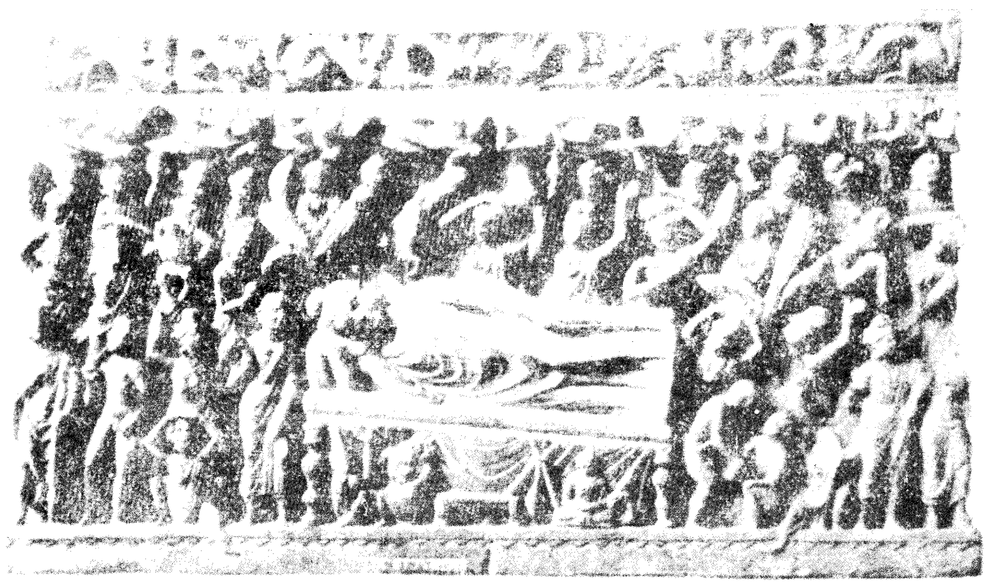


Fig. 2— **The Parinibbāna,** a bas-relief from Gandhāra, Pakistan.
J. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1960.

Eight Important Incidents in the Life of the Buddha.



Fig. 1— **Vajradhara,** the Ādi Buddha.



Fig. 2— **Amitābha,** the Buddha of Infinite Light.
A. K. Gordon. *Tibetan Religious Art*, New York, 1963.



Fig. 3— **Amitāyus,** the Buddha of Infinite Life.

Types of Buddhas



Fig. 1— **Dīpankara,** Past Buddha.



Fig. 2— **Śākyamuni,** the Historic Buddha.



Fig. 3— **Maitreya,** the Future Buddha.
A. K. Gordon. *Tibetan Religious Art*. New York. 1963.



Fig. 4— **Bhaiṣajyaguru,** the Medicine Buddha.

Types of Buddhas

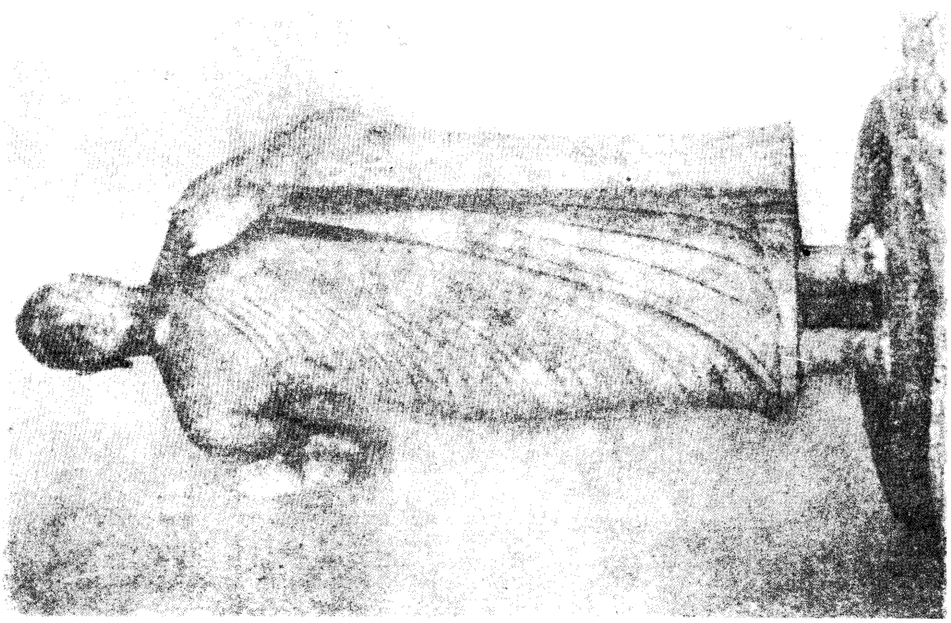


Fig. 1— **Standing Buddha**
Courtesy of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon.

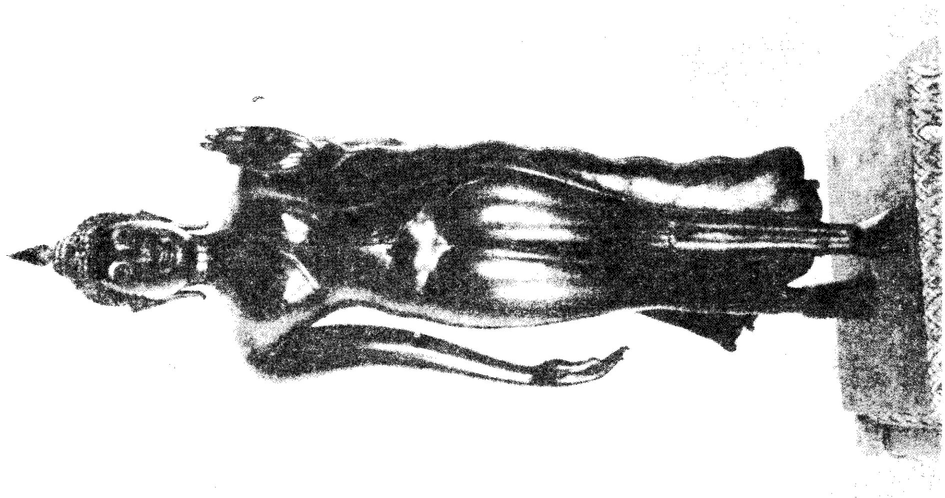


Fig. 2— **Walking Buddha**

Postures of the Buddha



Fig. 1— **Seated Buddha**
Courtesy of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon.

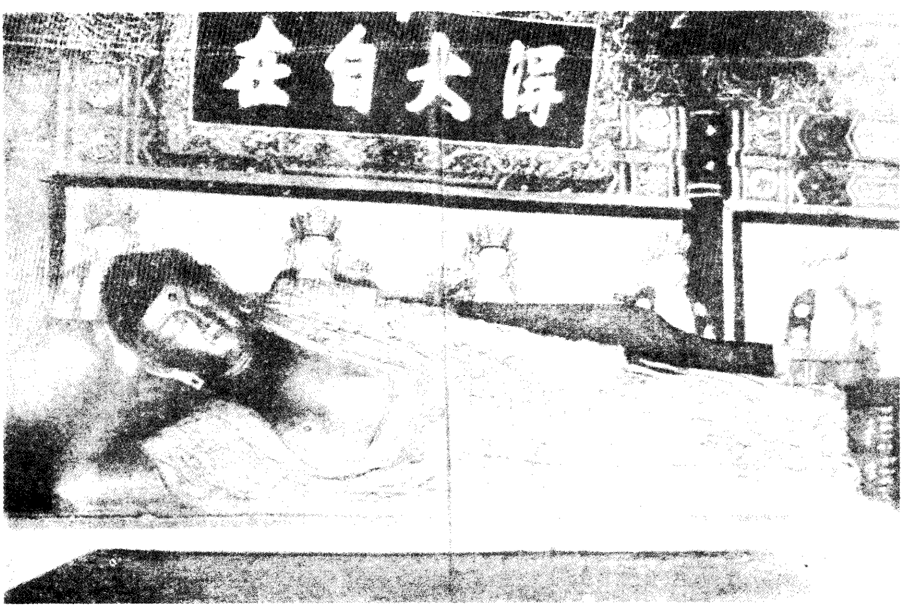
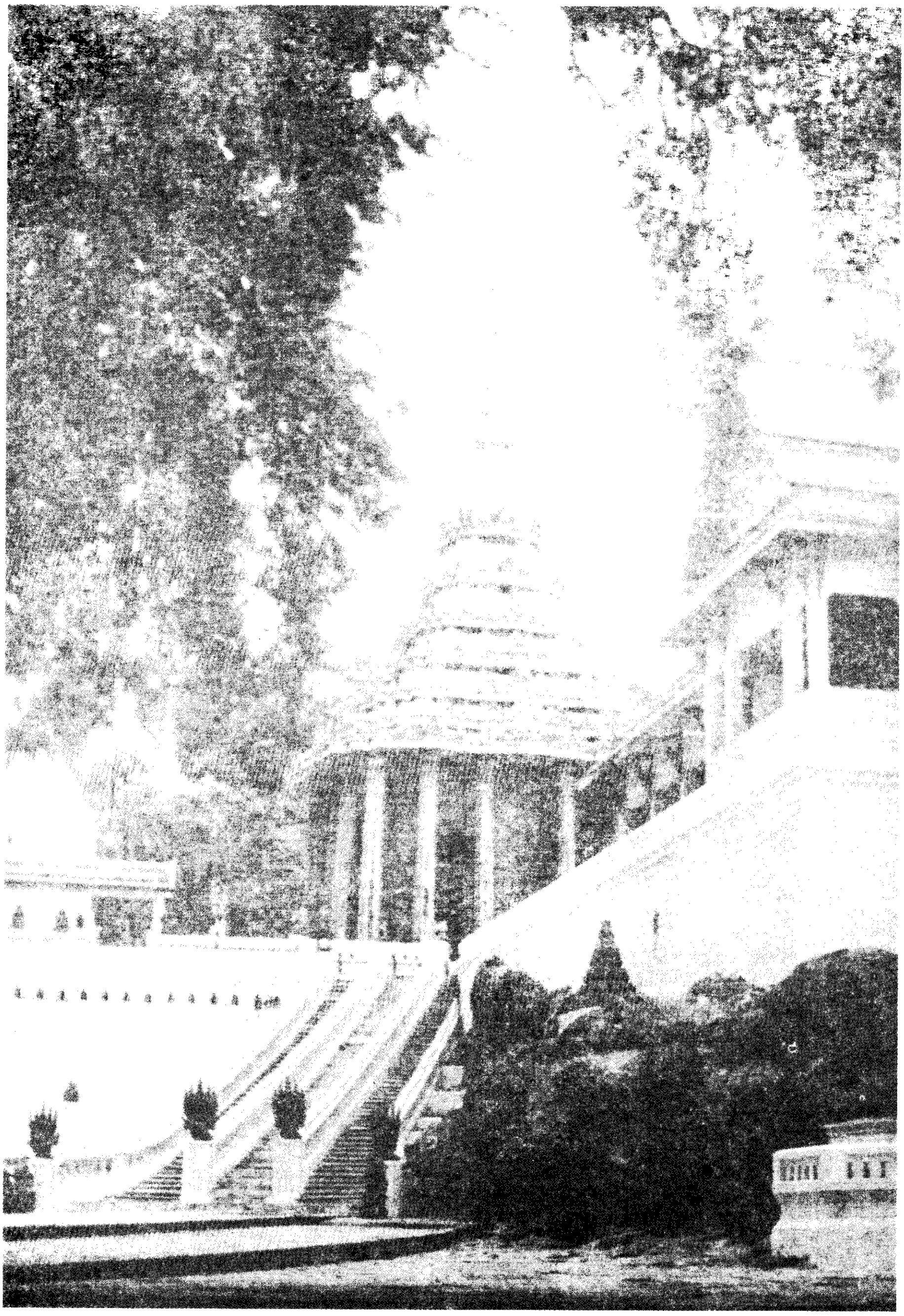
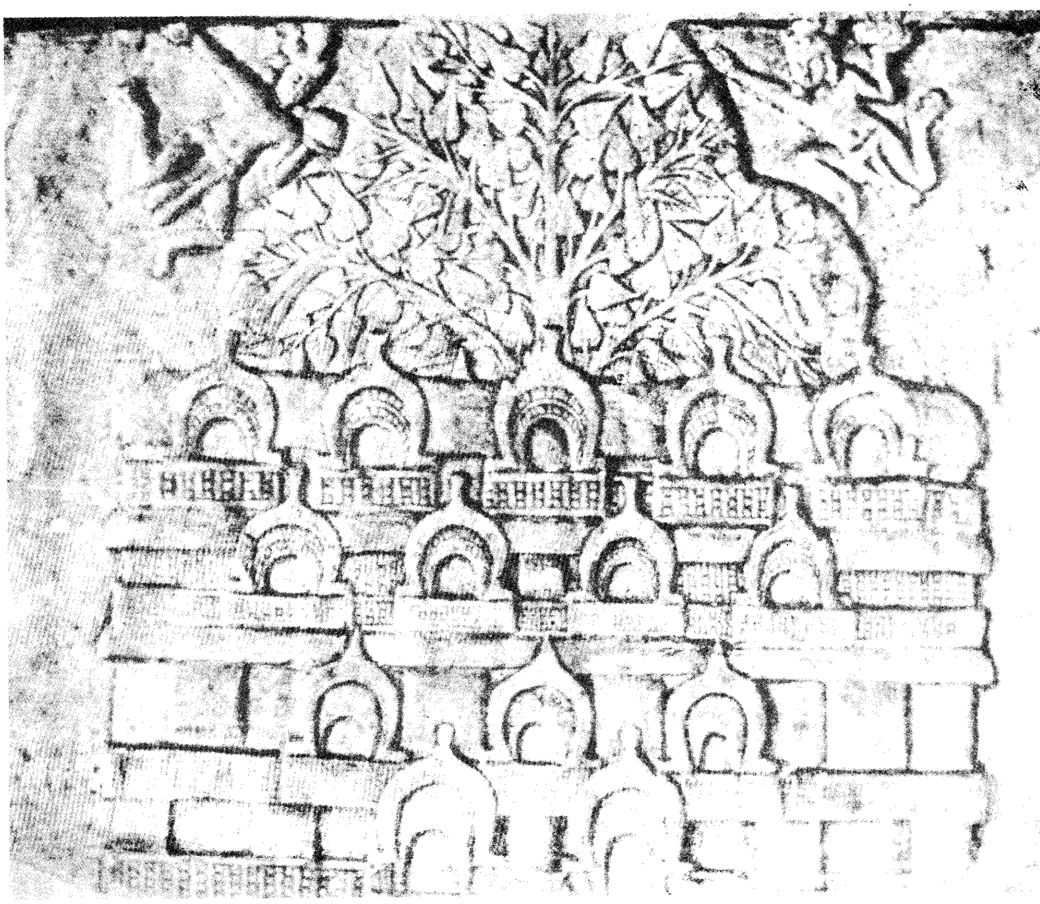


Fig. 2— **Reclining Buddha**
Buddhists in New China, Peking, 1956.

Postures of the Buddha



The shrine of Phra Buddhabād in the Sarapuri Province, Thailand



The Mahābodhi Temple at Buddhagayā as depicted in a bas-relief at Amāravatī, India.

Louis Frederic, *L'Inde ses Temples ses Sculptures*, Paris, 1959.

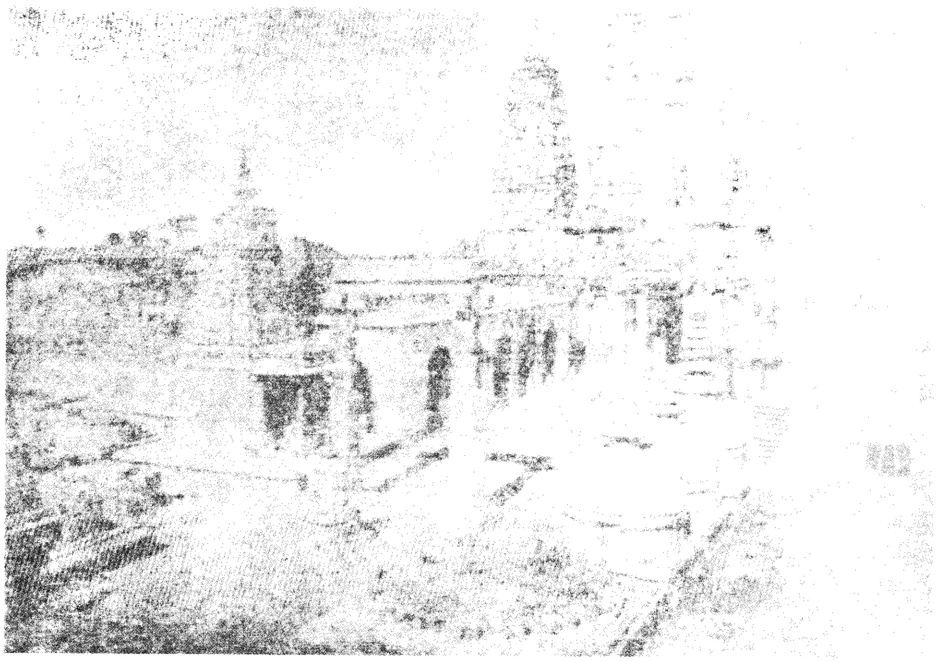


Fig. 1— **Mahābodhi Temple**—The Toraṇa gateway.
A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 1892.

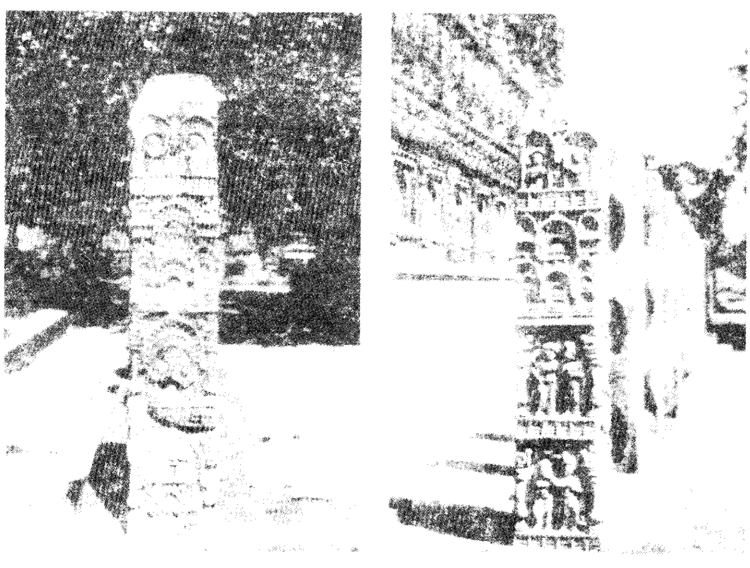
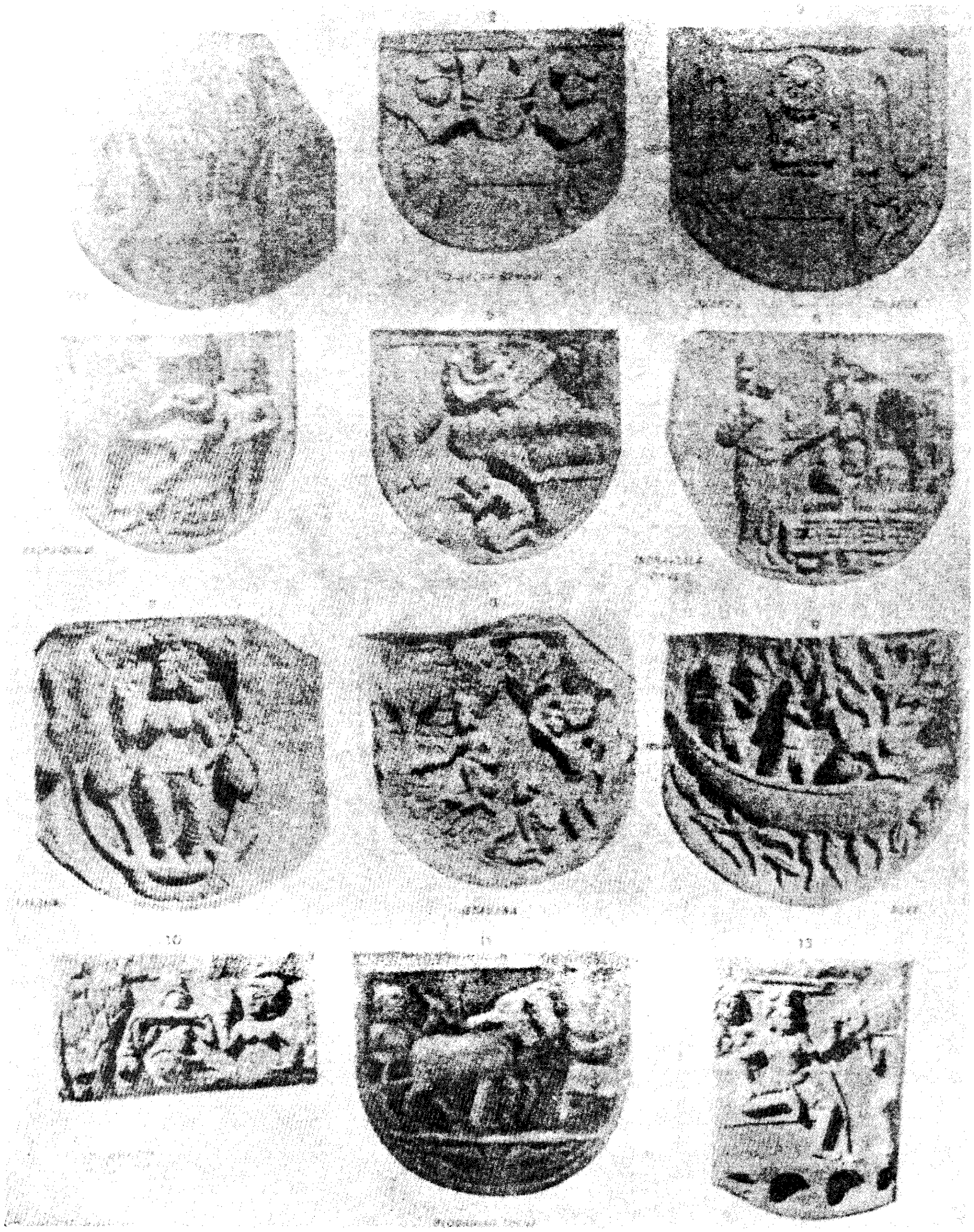
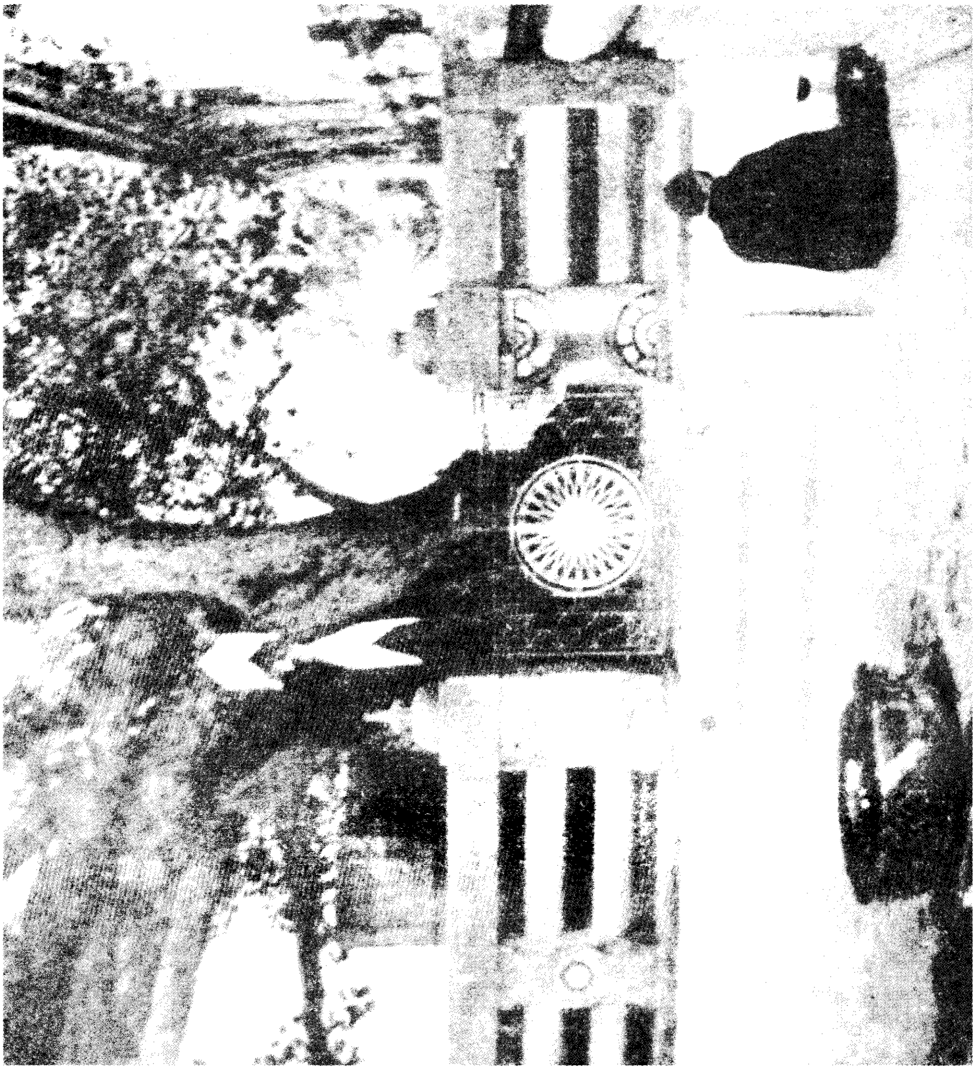


Fig. 2— **Mahābodhi Temple**—Remains of the ancient sculptured railing.
Ludwig, *Early Indian Sculpture*.



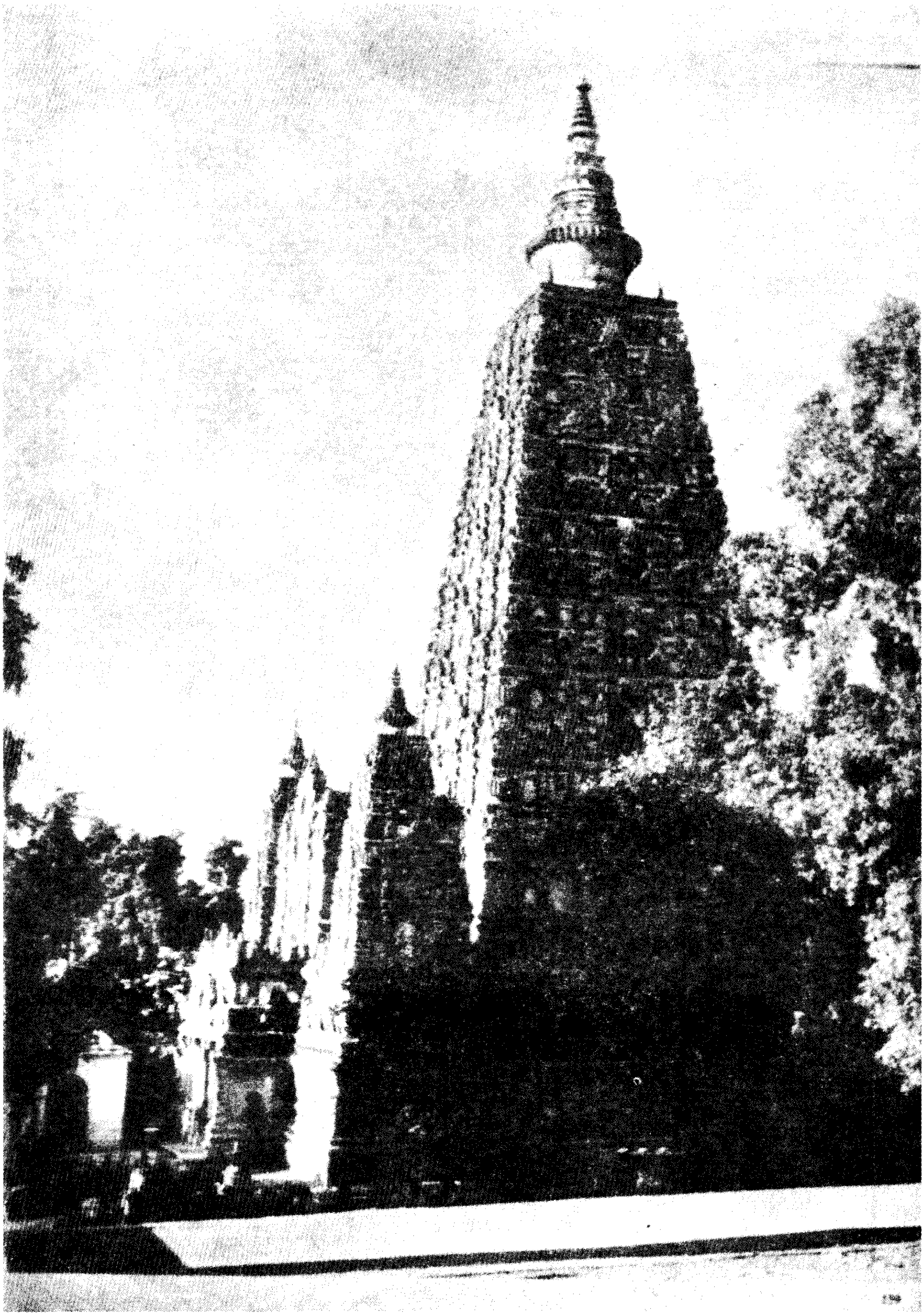
Mahābodhi Temple—Medallions on pillars.

A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi,* 1892.



Bodhi-Tree at the Mahābodhi Temple, Buddhagayā, with railing and side-view of the temple

William Macquitty, *Buddha*, London. 1969.



Mahābodhi Temple at Buddhagayā—the modern shrine.
Louis Frederic, *L'Inde ses Temple ses Sculptures,* Paris, 1959.



Buddhaghosa submitting the Visuddhimagga to the Saṅgha at the Mahāvihāra, Anurādhapura: a modern painting at the Kälani-vihāra, Ceylon.

W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956.

BUDDHAKAPĀLA

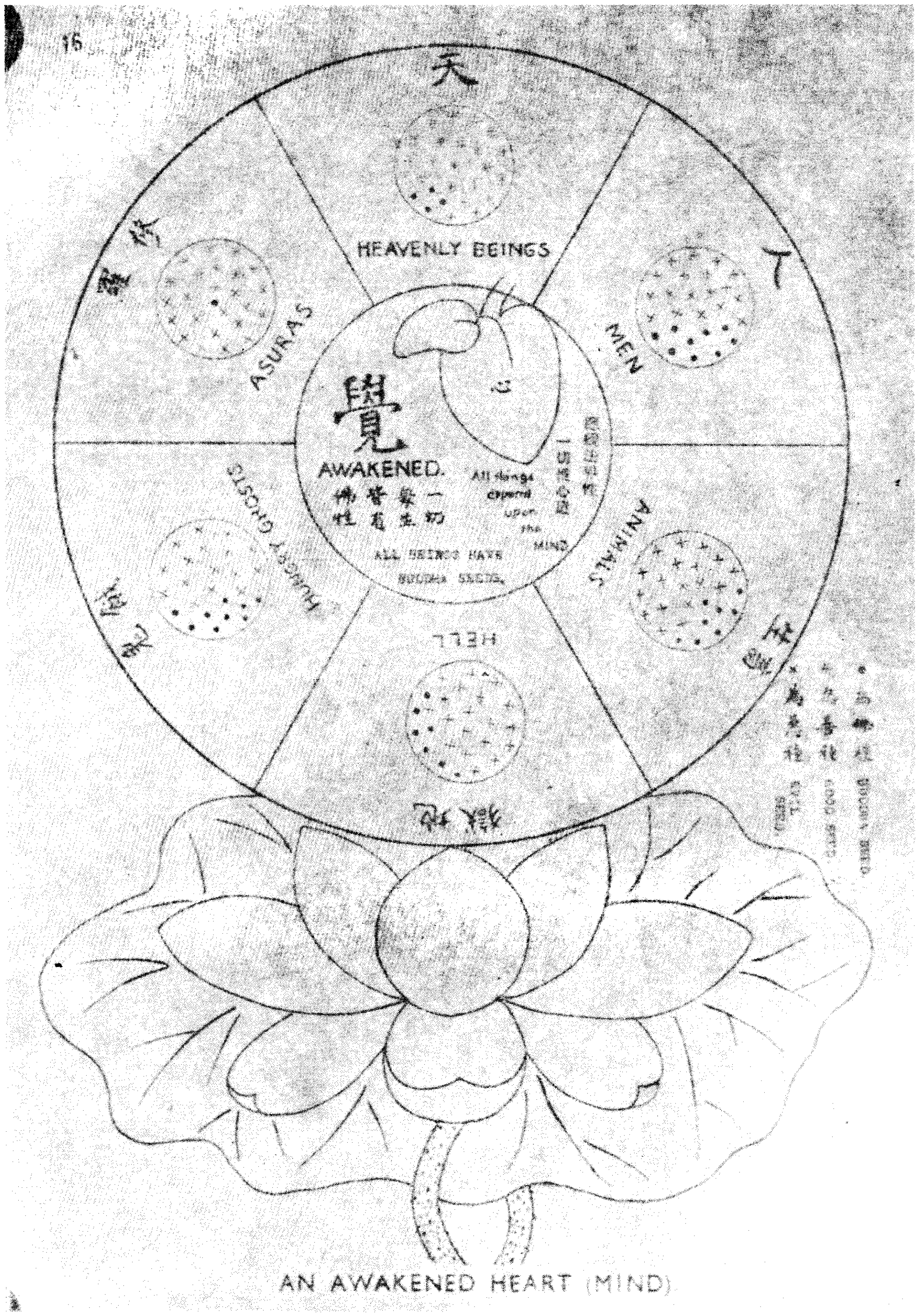


Fig. 1— **Buddhakapāla**
W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Vol. II, Harvard University Press, 1937.

BUDDHALOCANĀ



Fig. 2— **Buddhalocanā**
W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Vol. II, Harvard University Press, 1937.



Buddha Nature present in all different realms of existence (*gati*) of sentient beings

Lim Teong Aik, *A Glossary of Buddhist Terms*, Penang. 1960.



The Foot-Prints of the Buddha in natural style, beautifully carved on a stone slab, at Buddhagayā, India.
William Macquitty, *Buddha*, London, 1969.

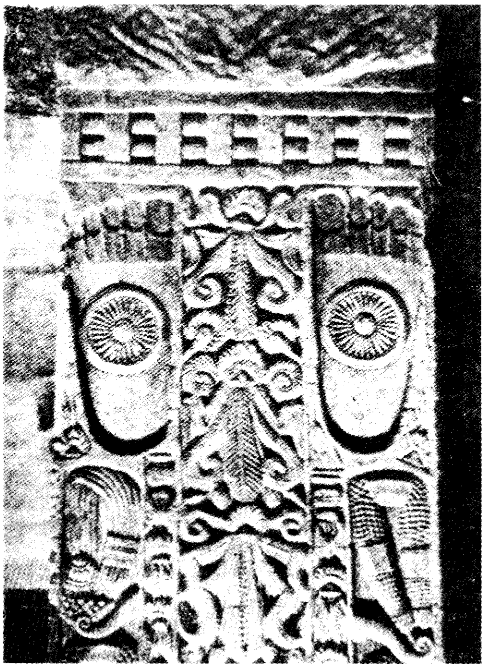


Fig. 1— **Sāñci**

Louis Frederic, *L'Inde ses Temples ses Sculpturcs.* Paris, 1959.

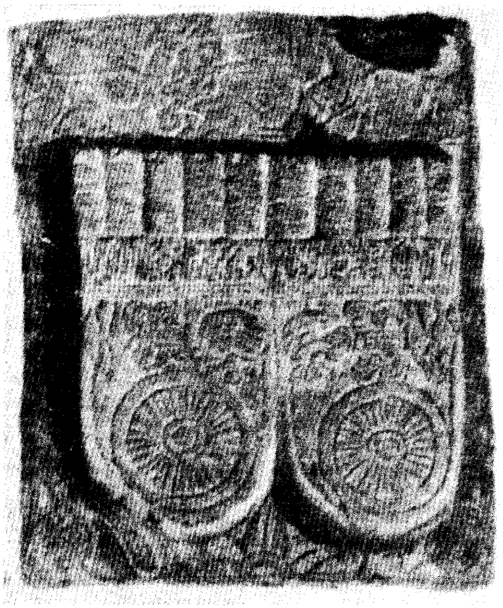


Fig. 2 - **Nāgarjunakoṇḍa**

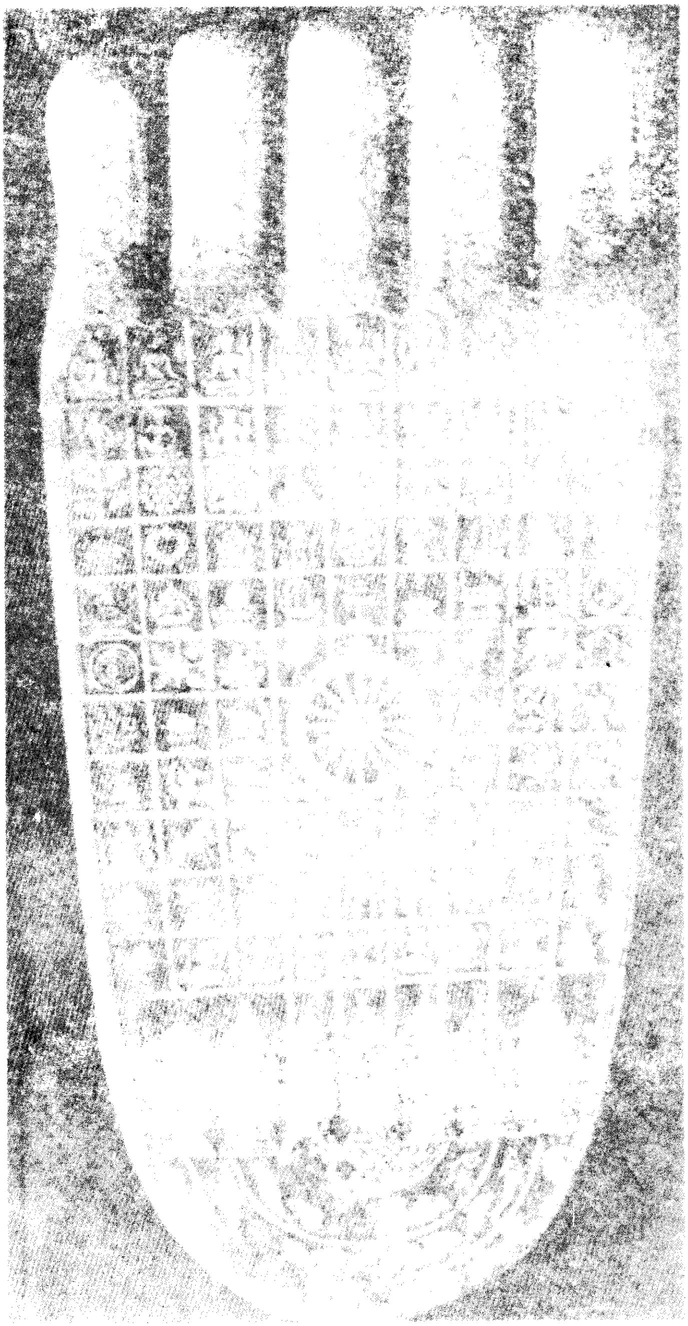
ASIAR. 1930 - 4.



Fig. 3—**Tirat**

ASIMem. No. 42.

Buddhapāda in Early Indian Sculpture



Buddhapāda, a stone sculpture from Angkor Vat, Cambodia, 12th century, carved with the sacred symbols including the Wheel at the centre

The Unesco Courier, Special Issue, June, 1956.

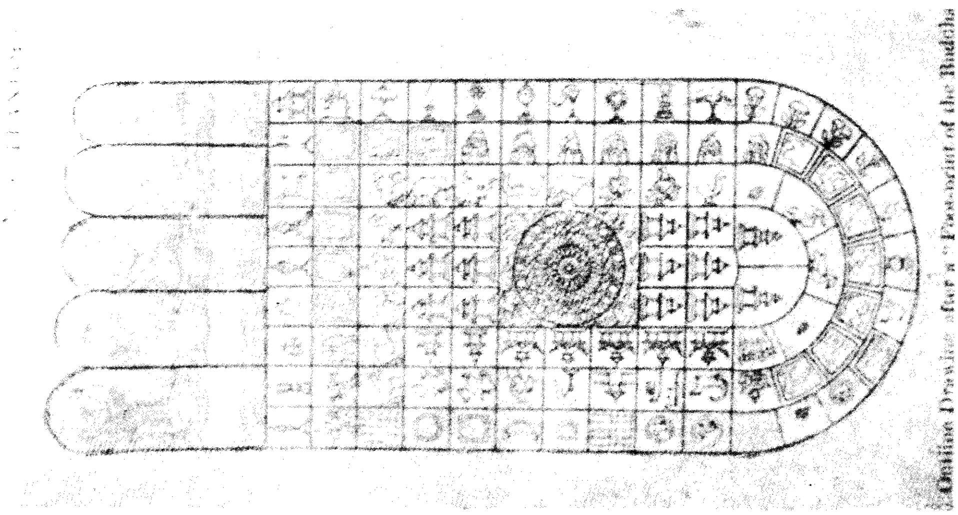


Fig. 2— **Buddhapāda**
Shewezigon Pagoda. Burma *ASIAR* 1930-4.

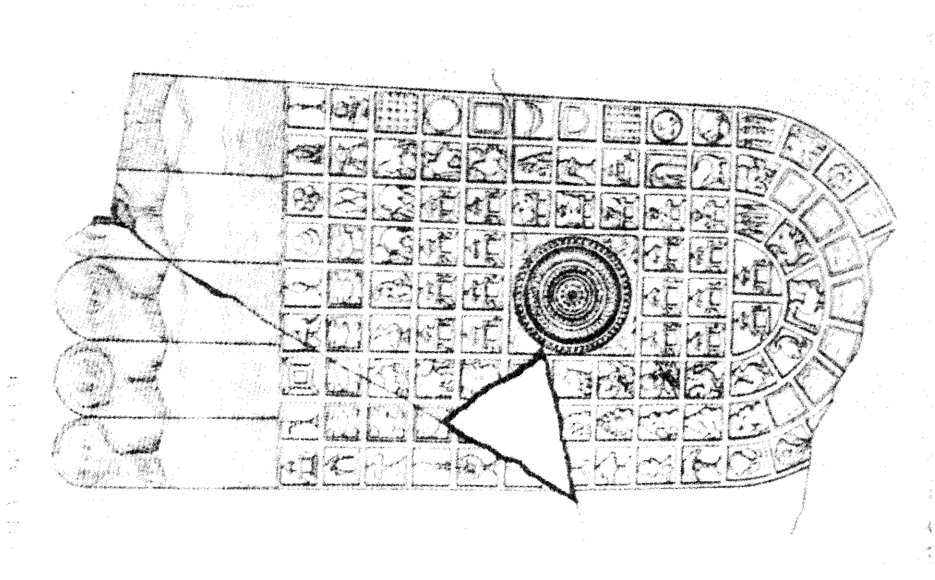
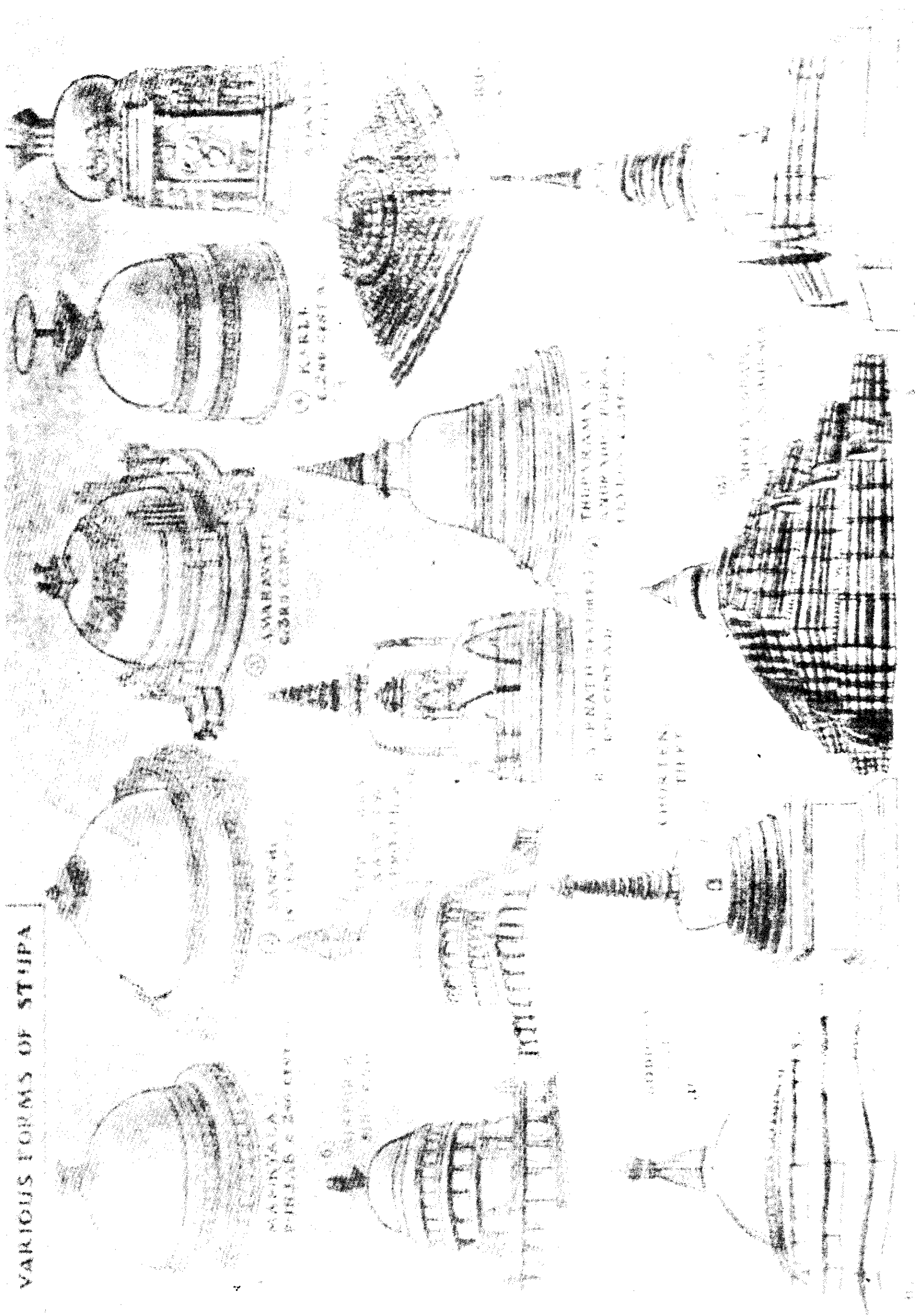
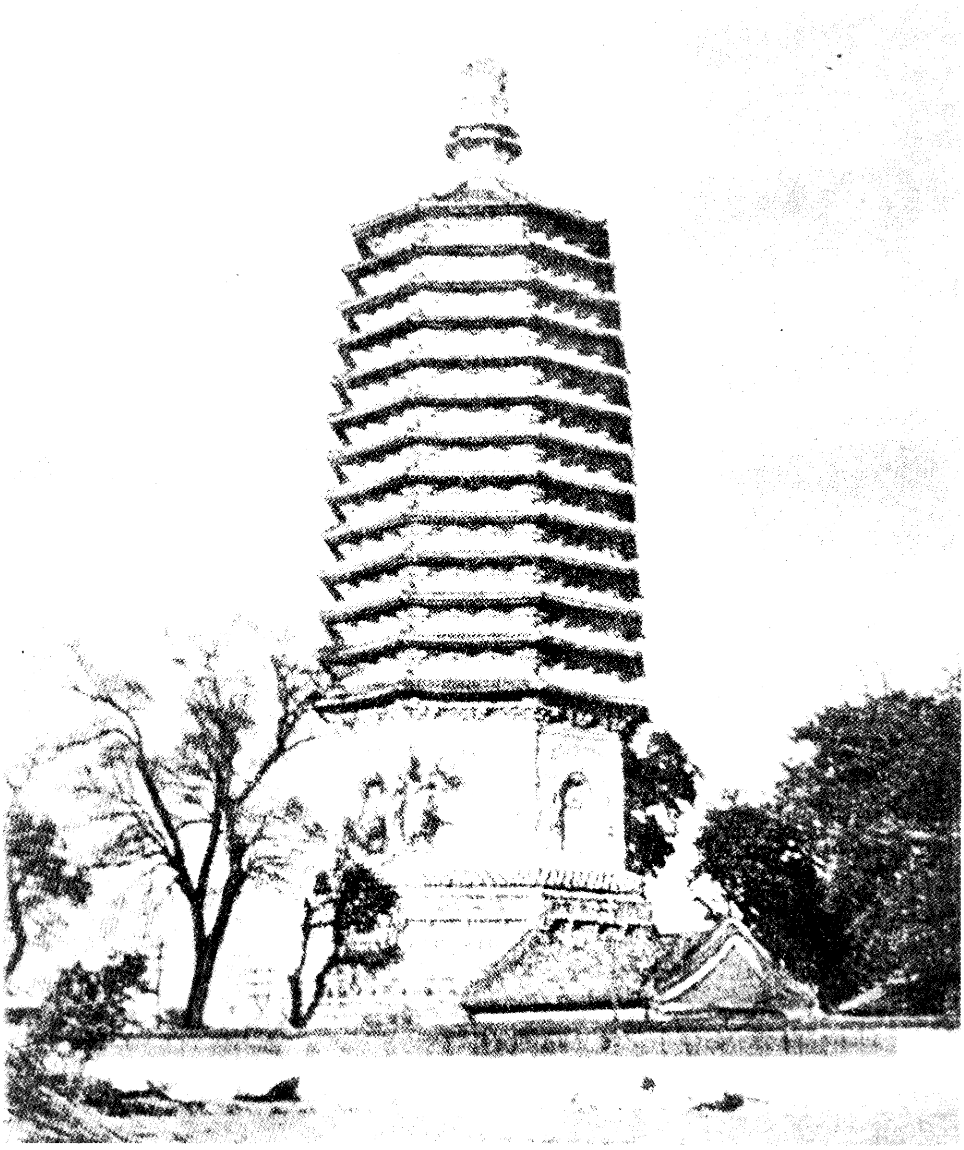


Fig. 1— **Buddhapāda**
Lokānanda Pagoda. Burma. *ASIAR* 1930-4.



Forms of Stūpa
Percy Brown. *Indian Architecture, Bombay* 1965.

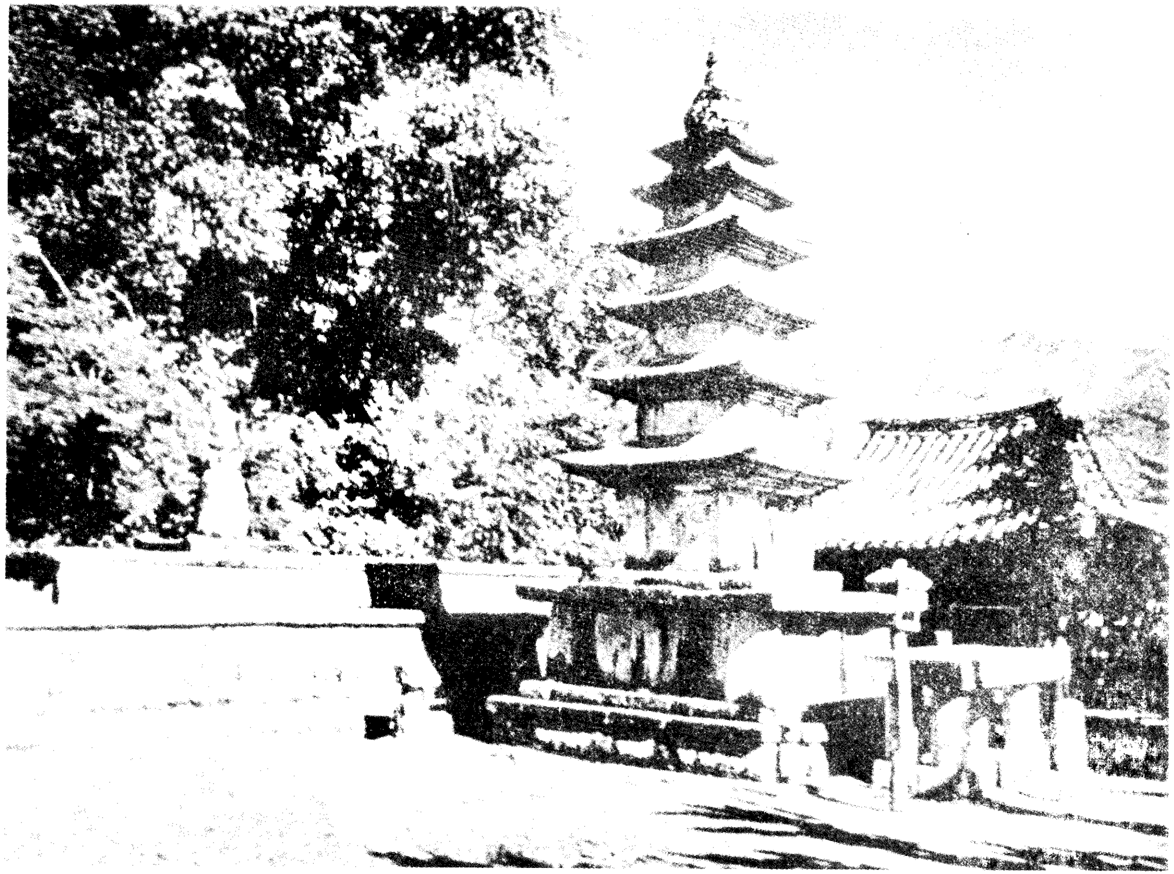


China— Pagoda of T'ien-ning-ssu, Peking, circa 1100 A. C. This octagonal building of thirteen storeys with a sanctuary on the first floor is constructed of brick and decorated with stucco and terracotta. Roof-tiles are glazed yellow and green. Height 58 m.

D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.



Japan— Five-storeyed Buddhist Pagoda at Daigoji Temple, Kyoto. This 22 Meter high structure, originally built in A. D. 951, was completely restored fairly recently. This pagoda is a good example of the solid buildings of the religious orders in the early Heian period.



Korea— Kumsan-sa Pagoda, south-western Korea. Stone. Height approximately 10 m. The pagoda stands on a broad base and has five (or six) cubic storeys, each of them with a projecting roof. On top is a hemispherical structure reminiscent of the dome of the Indian stūpa.

D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.

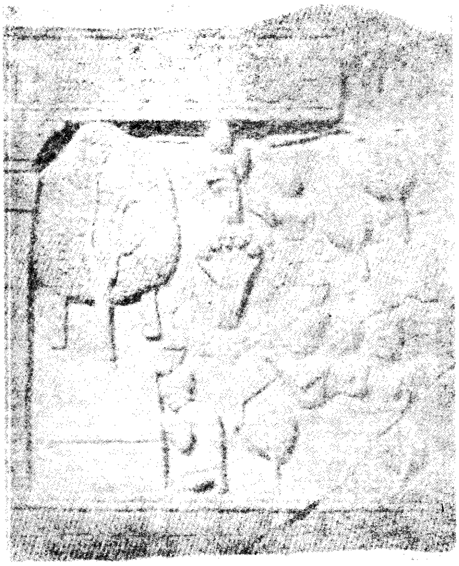


Fig. 1— **Bodhi Tree**
A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879.

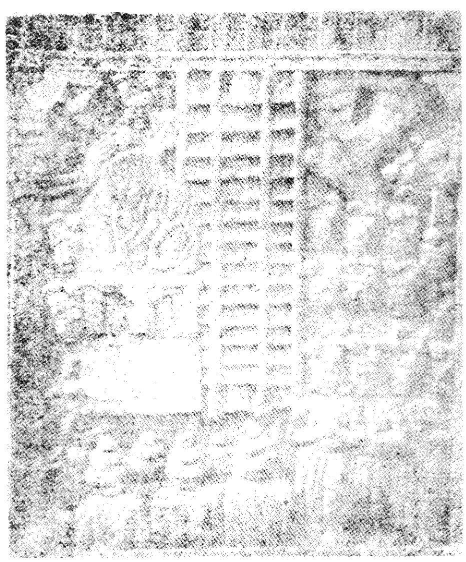


Fig. 2— **Footprint**
A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879.

Symbols representing the Buddha in early Indian Sculpture.

(See also *EncyBsm.* Vol. II. PL. LXXVIII)

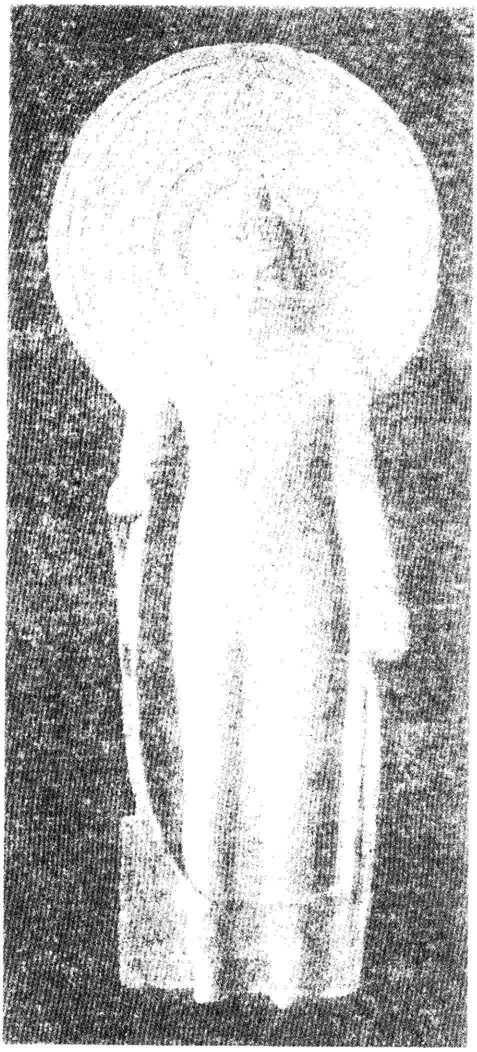


Fig. 1— **Mathura**
The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.



Fig. 2— **Sāranāth**
Anil de Silva-Vigier, *The Life of the Buddha*, Phaidon Press, London, 1955.



Fig. 3— **Gandhara**
D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.

Buddha Image - Different Indian Types

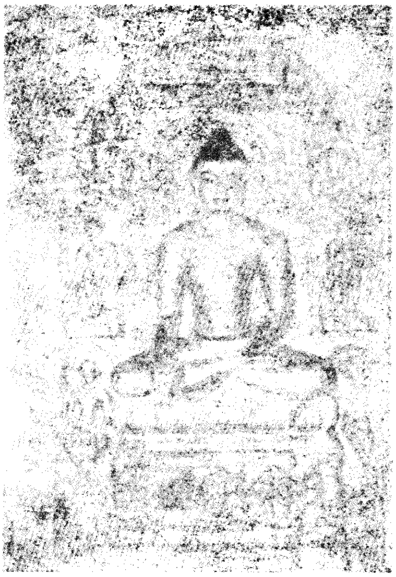


Fig. 1— **Buddhagayā**



Fig. 2— **Nālandā**

The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

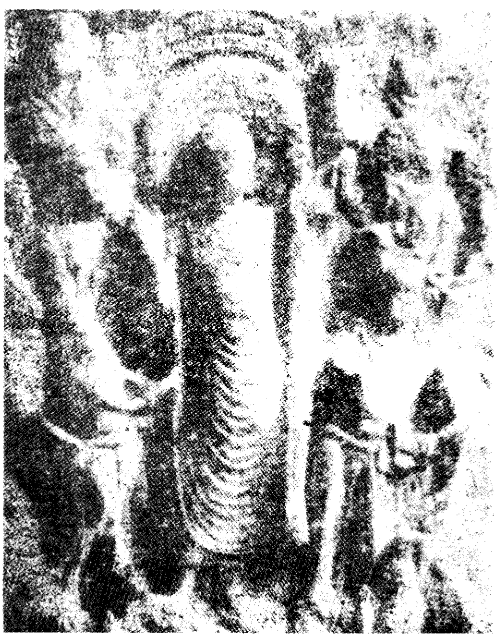


Fig. 3— **Amarāvati**

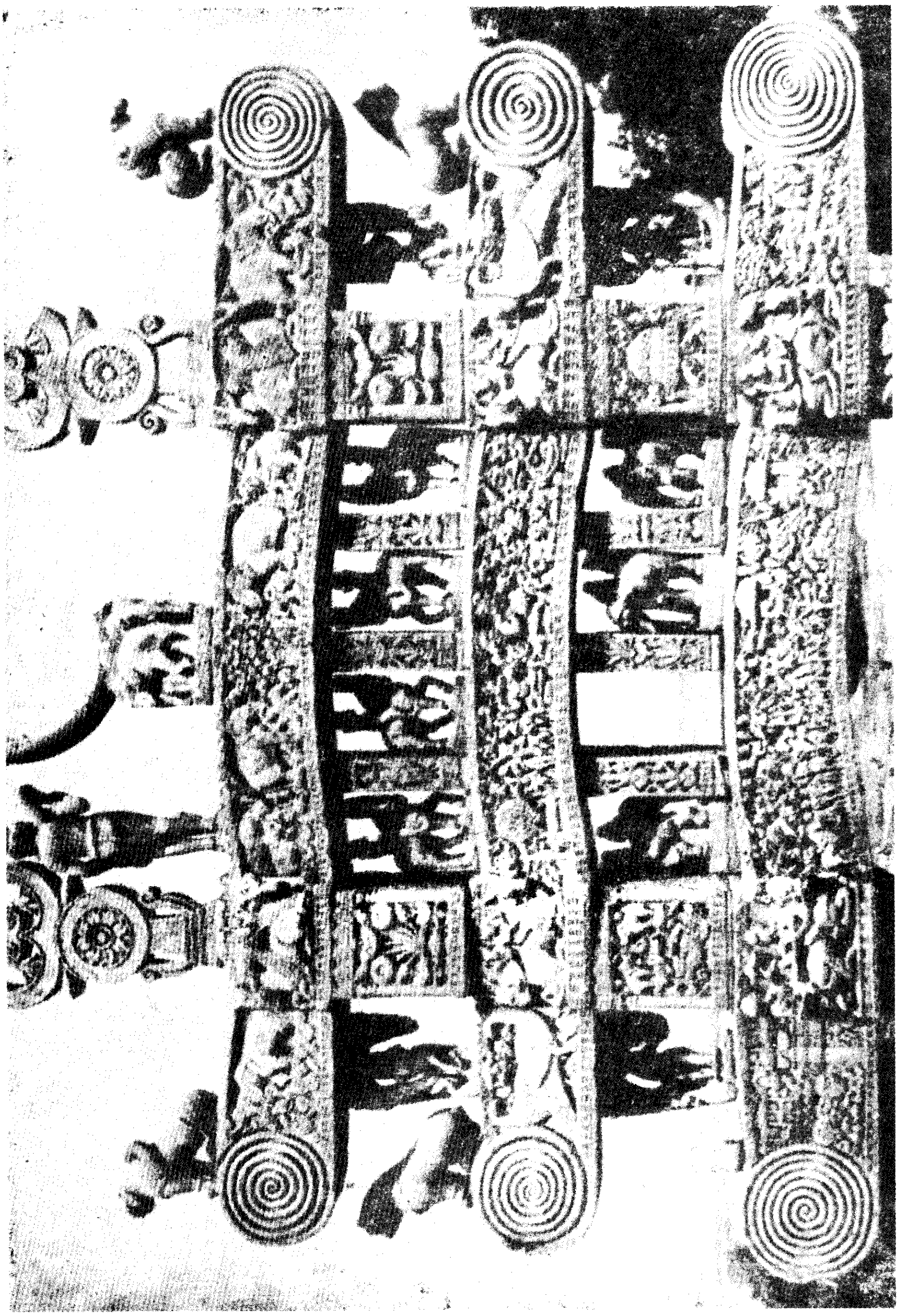
The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.



Fig. 4— **Nāgarjunakoṇḍa**

The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

Buddha Image - Different Indian Types



Sāñcī, rear View of the northern gate to the Great Stūpa. The lively decorative appearance of the bas-reliefs showing elephants adoring the Buddha symbolized by the tree, Māra and his host, and the Vessantara Jātaka is reminiscent of the golden period of early Indian Buddhist sculpture

Hallade, *The Gandharan Style*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1968.



Head of a Crowned Buddha. Bronze, gilded. Thailand, Ayuthia period, 15th-16th century A. C. Height 34.5 cm. *Museum fur Völkerkunde*, Munich.

D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series. London, 1964.



Buddha in princely attire. Bronze with green patina. Thailand, Ayuthia style, 15th-16th centuries or later.

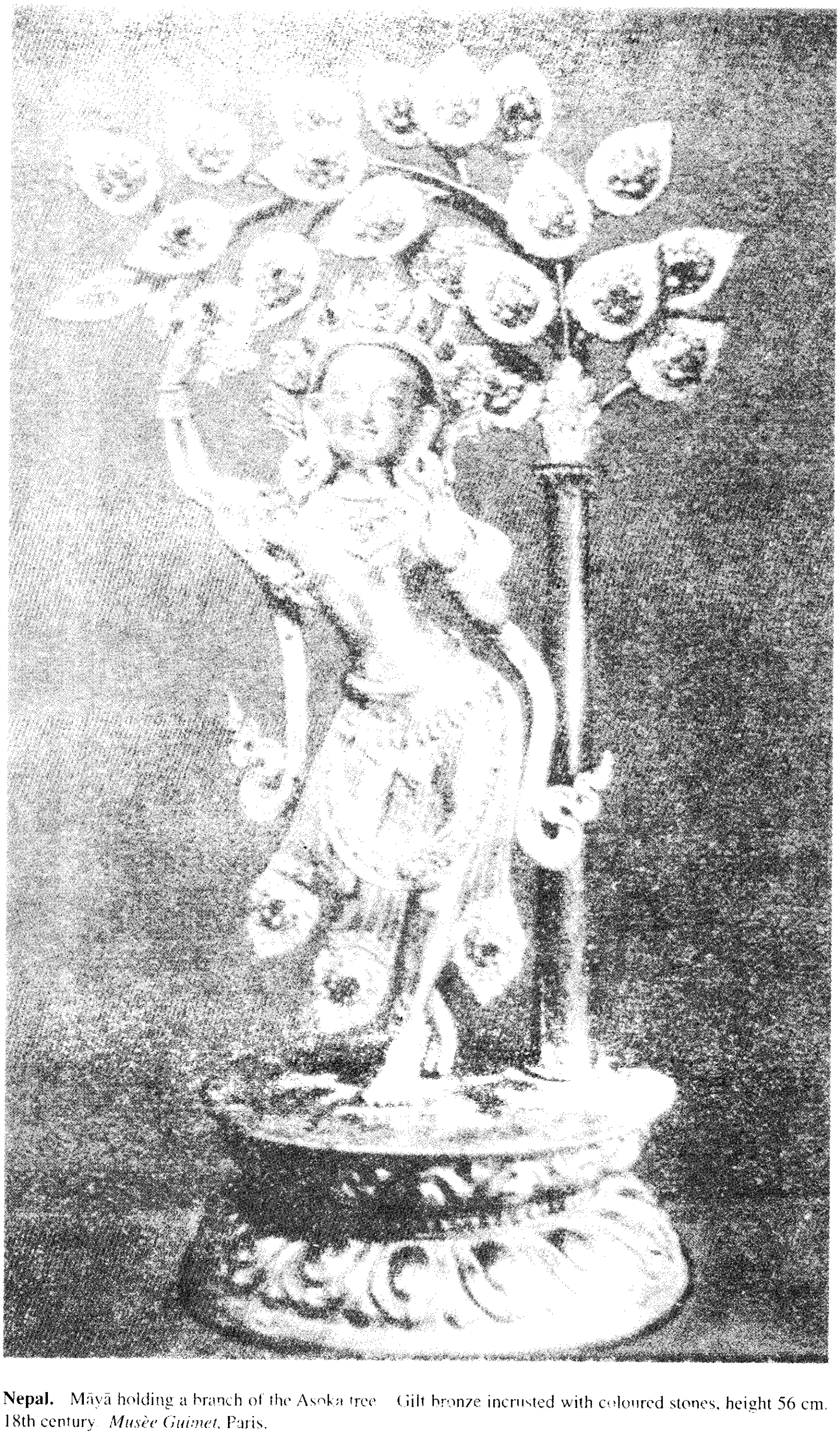
D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*. Art of the World Series, London, 1964.



Fondukistan. Maitreya holding a blue lotus—detail of a wall painting, circa 7th century. Kabul Museum.
Hallade, *The Gandharan Style*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1968.



Kyzyl. Seven jewels of the Universal King—wall-painting from the Cave of Pigeons, *Museum fur Indische Künst,* Berlin.
Hallade, *The Gandharan Style,* Thames & Hudson, London, 1968.



Nepal. Māyā holding a branch of the Asoka tree Gilt bronze incrusted with coloured stones, height 56 cm. 18th century *Musèe Guimet*, Paris.

Hallade. *The Gandharan Style*. Thames & Hudson London. 1968.



Bodhisattva Padmapāni, fresco in the Nandamannya Temple, Pagan, Burma.

Swann, *Lost Cities of Asia.*



Celestial Spirits, in devotional attitude, fresco from Pagan, Burma.

Swann, *Lost Cities of Asia.*



Monk, telling rosary beads, fresco in the Kyanzittha Cave, Pagan, Burma.

Swann, *Lost Cities of Asia.*

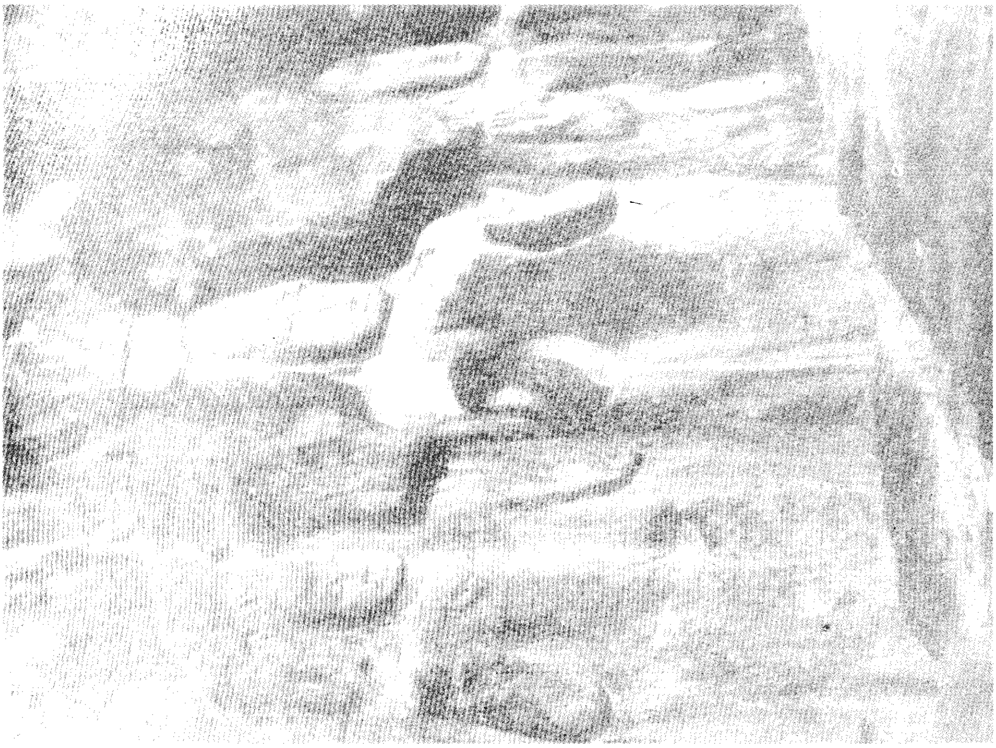


Gold Reliquary, set with rubies, from stūpa at Bīmarān in Afghanistan. Probably latter half of 2nd century or beginning of 3rd century A. C., British Museum. Height 7 cm. This work of Gandhāran Buddhist art depicts the Buddha with *uṣṇīṣa* and in the *abhaya-mudrā*. He is flanked by two gods, Indra and Brahmā, who are worshipping him.

D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.



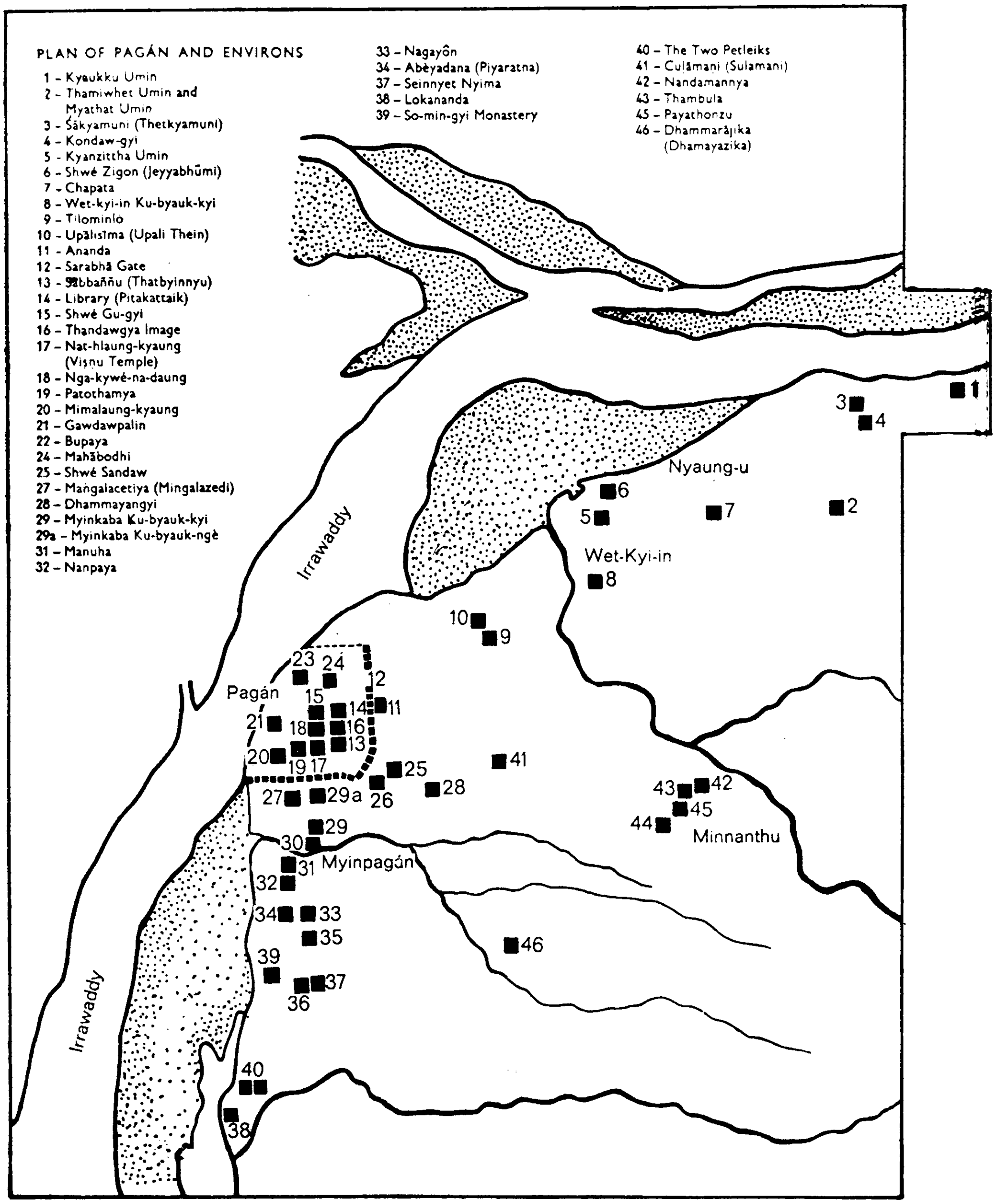
Buduruvegala— General view of the east face of the rock. 305 ft. long and 70 ft. high at its highest point.



Buduruvegala— Relief of Trio to left of the Buddha.

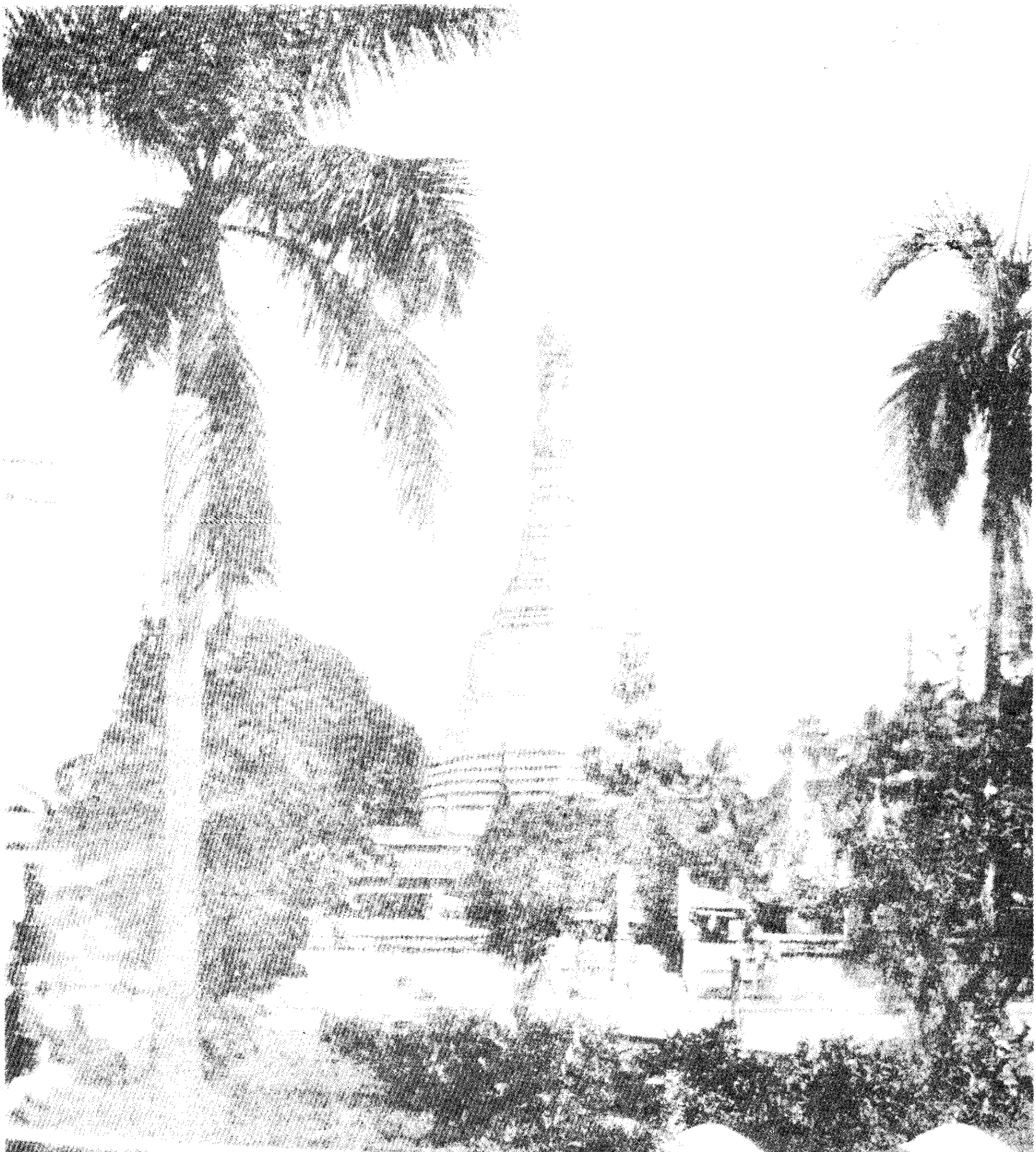


Buduruvegala— Colossal Buddha in low relief (Height 42 ft. 8 ins.)

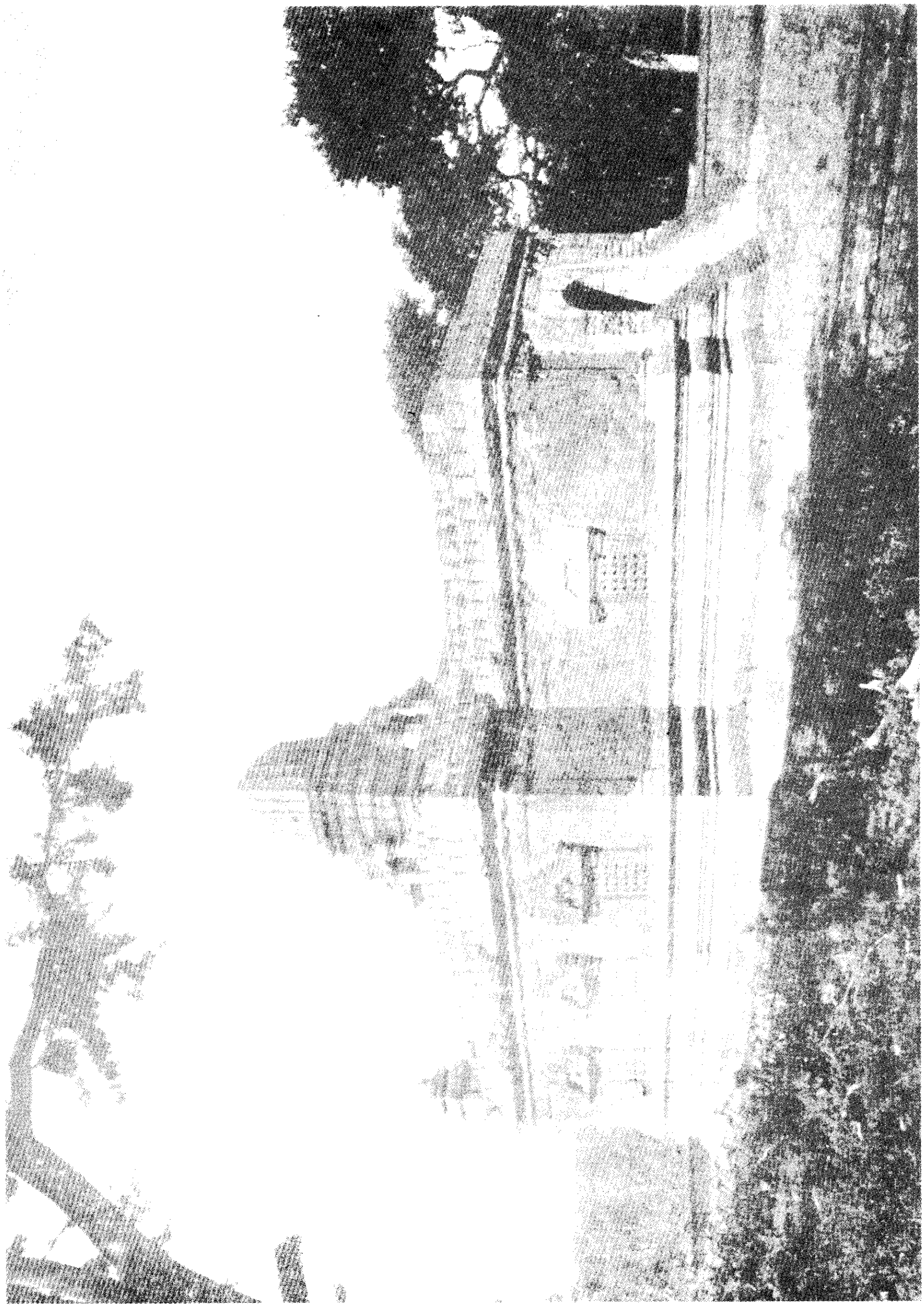


PLAN OF PAGÁN AND ENVIRONS

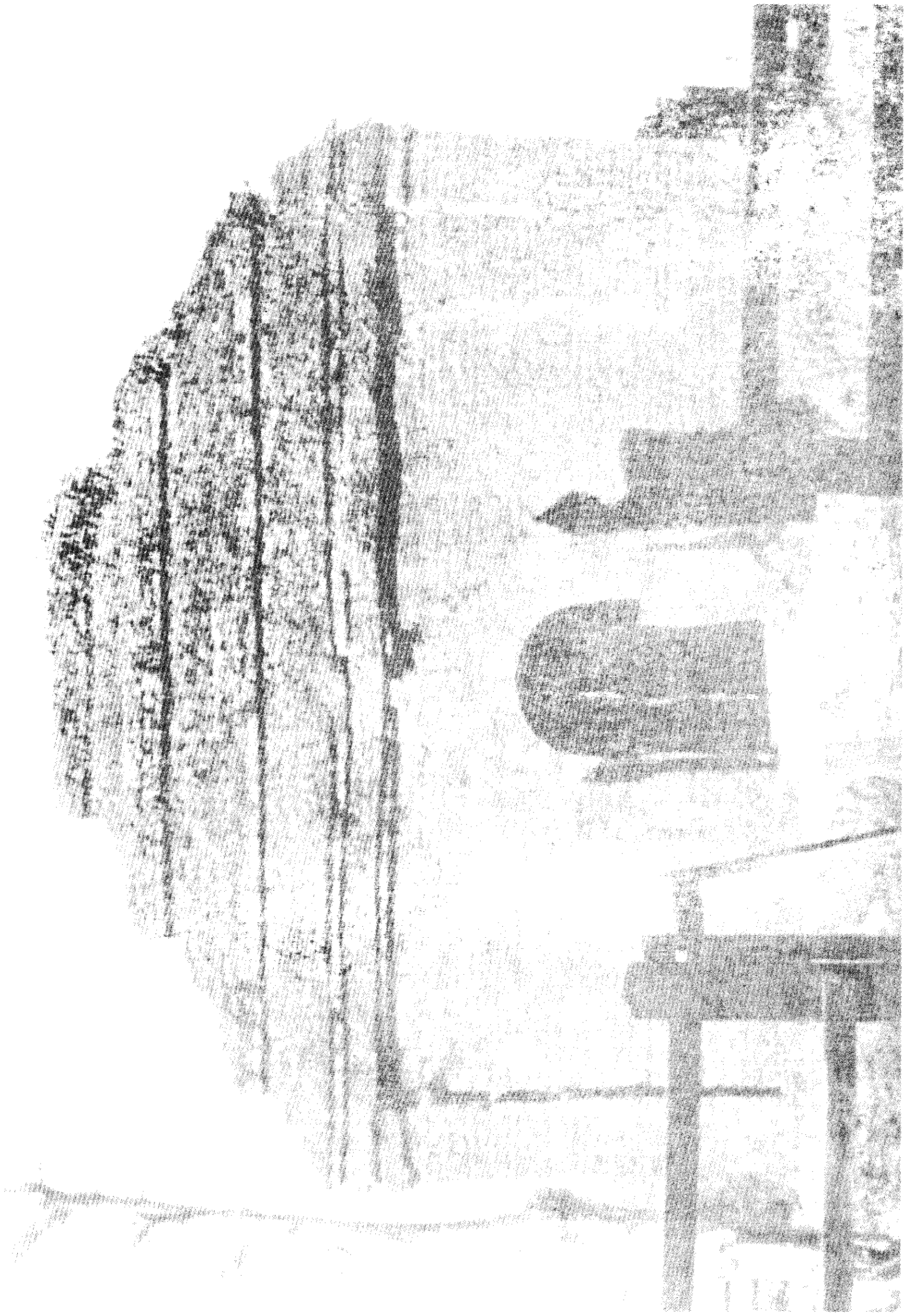
A. B. Griswold, Chewon Kim, P. H. Pott, *Burma Korea Tibet*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.



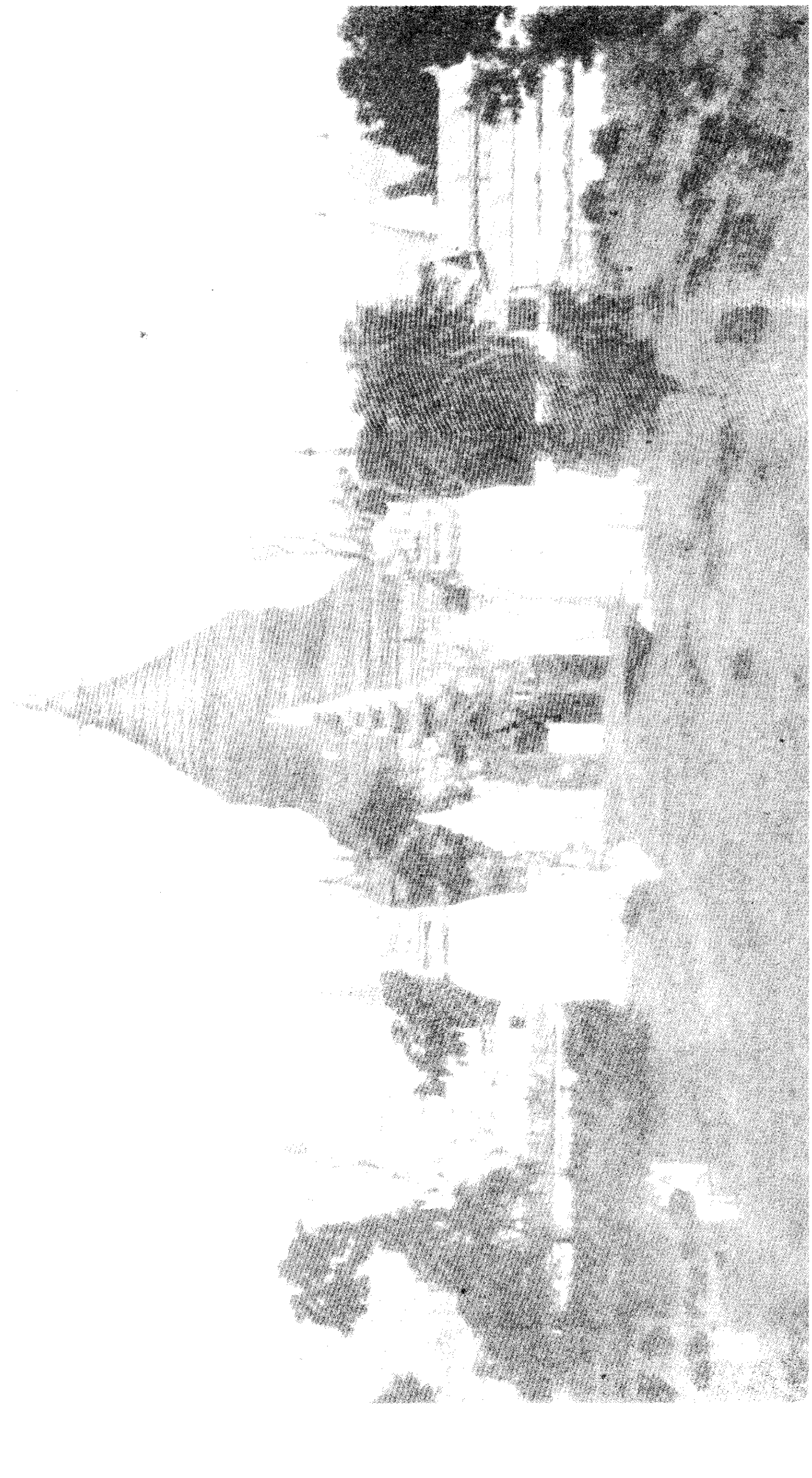
Sule Pagoda, Rangoon, Burma, believed to be originally built by Sihadipa, king of Thaton, in 326 B. C.



Nanpaya Temple, Pagan, Burma. One of the early temples at Pagan built of brick and mortar



Lemyethna Temple, Sriksetra, Burma. A brick-built monument.

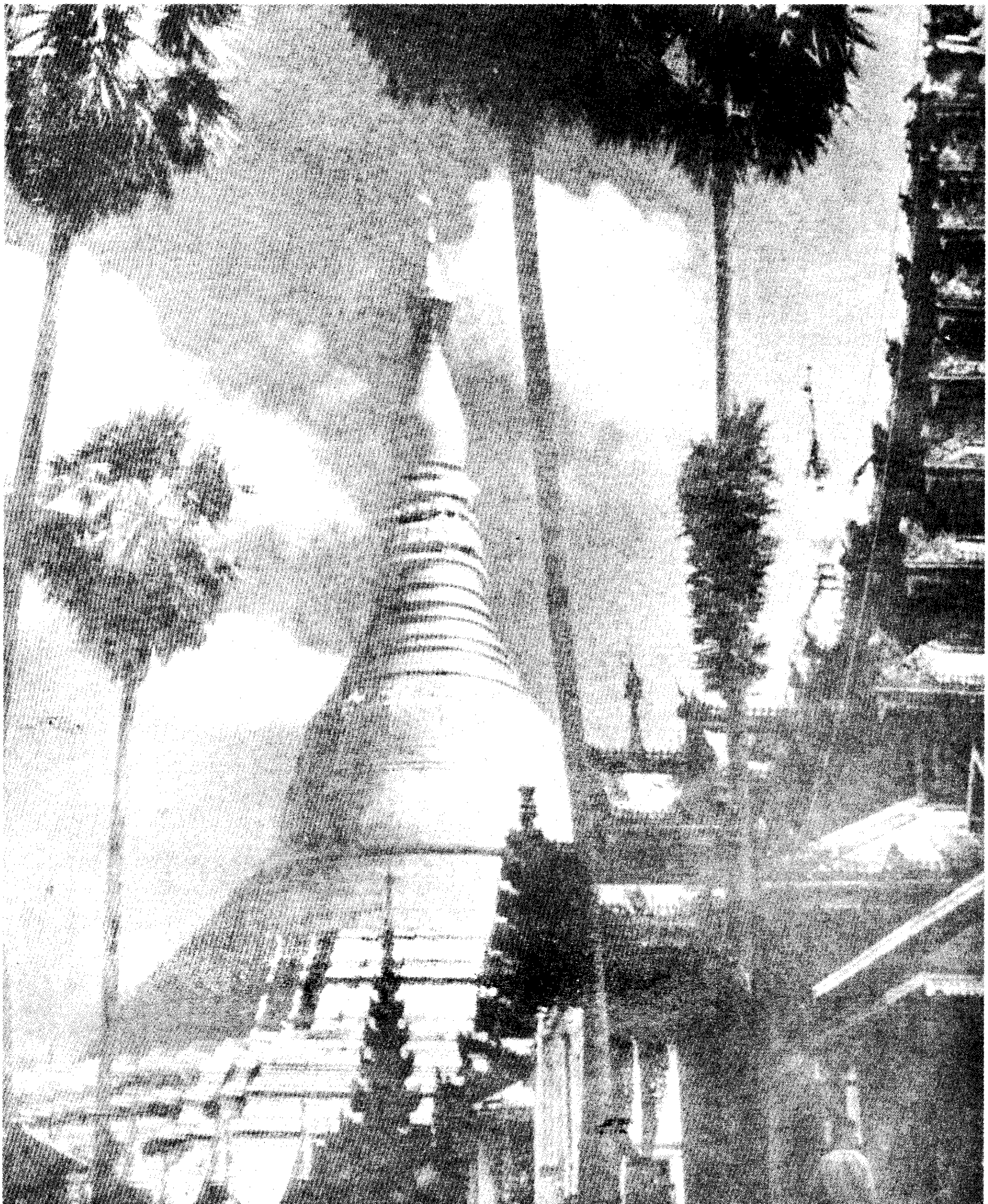


Copyright : Archaeological Department of Burma.

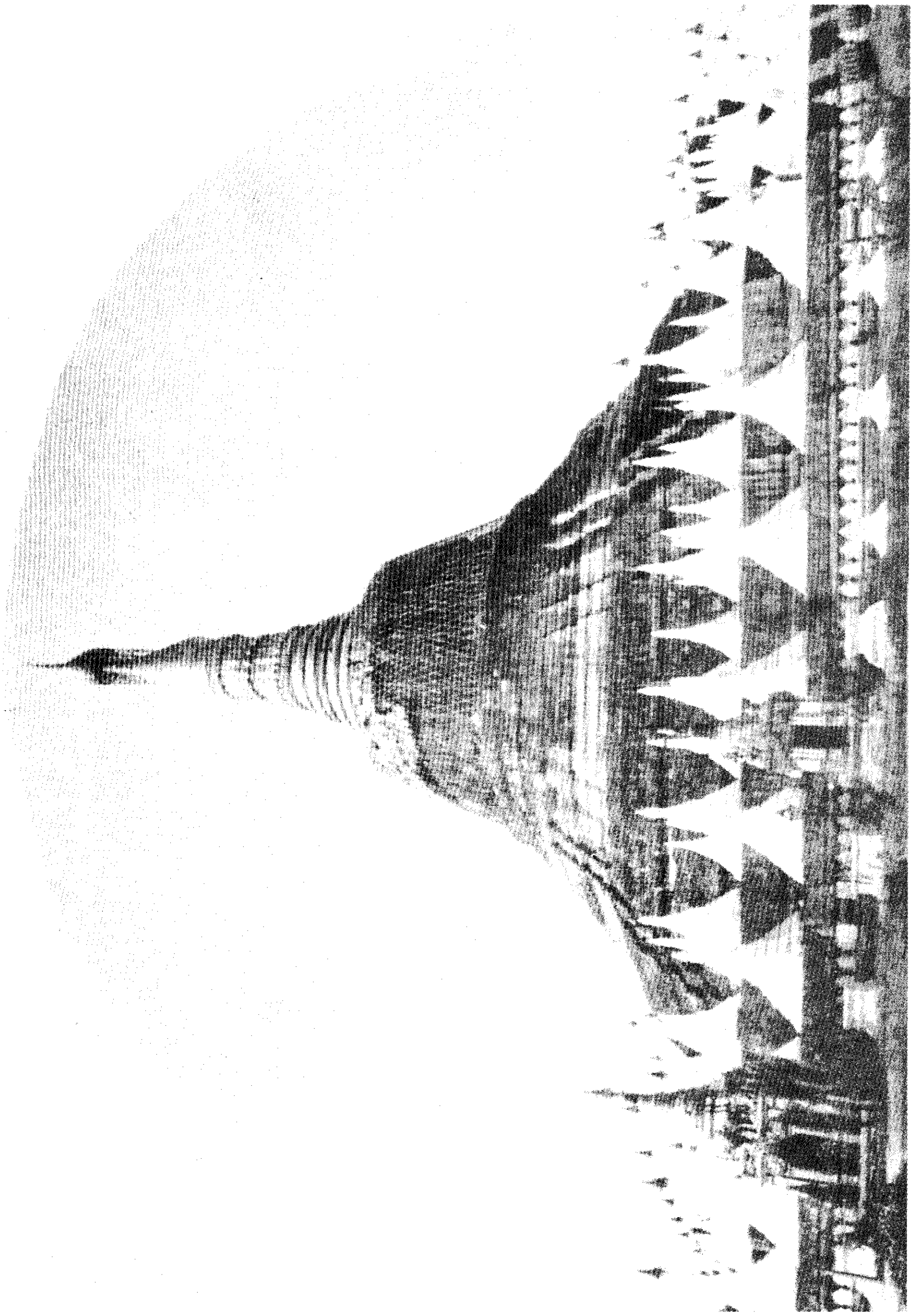
Shwezigon Pagoda, Pagan, Burma. Construction originally begun by King Anawrahta (11th century) and completed by King Kyanzittha (12th century.)



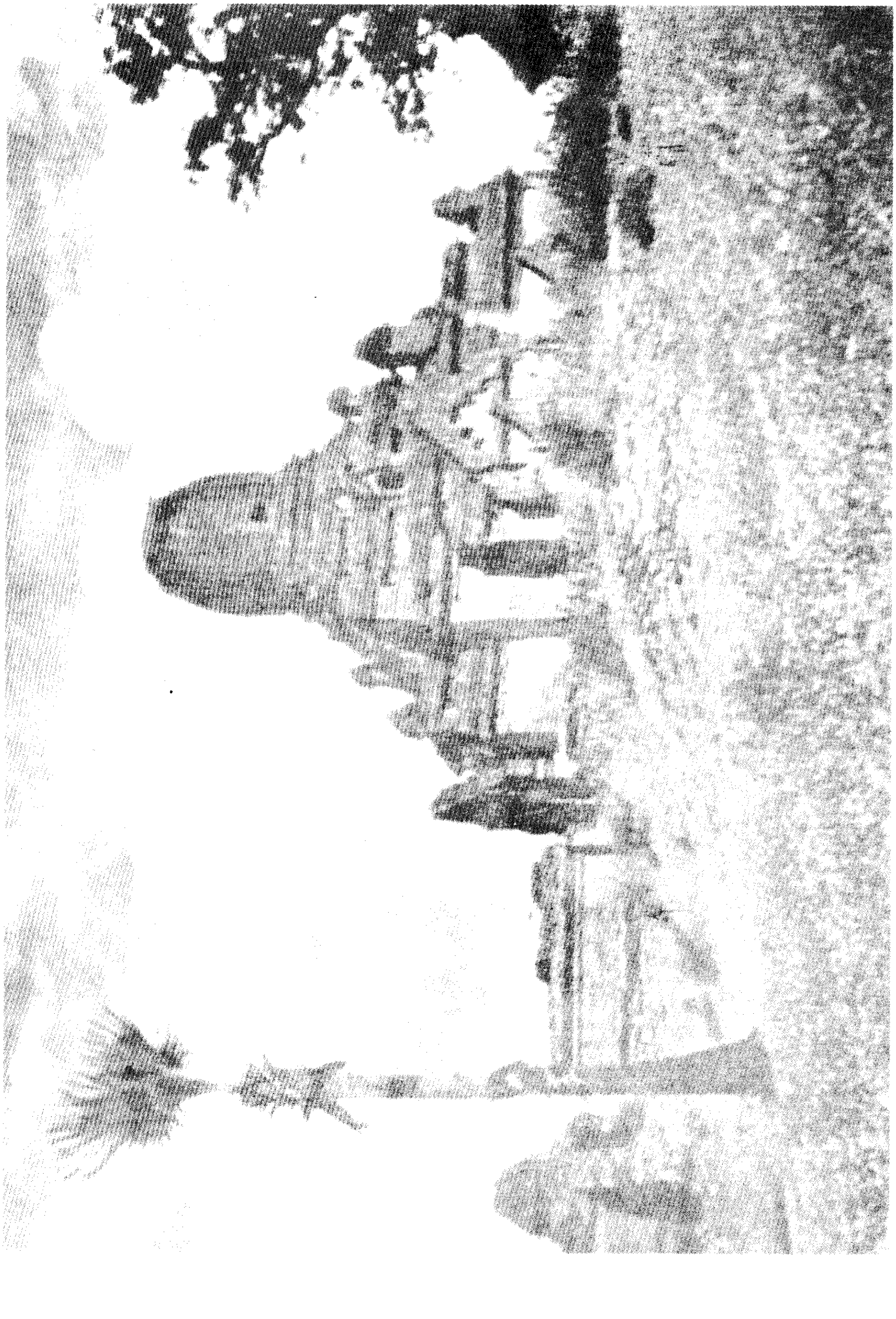
Lokānanda Pagoda Pagan, Burma, built by King Anawrahta in 1059 A. C.



Shwedagon Pagoda, Rangoon, Burma.



Shwemadaw Pagoda, Pegu, Burma (11th century).



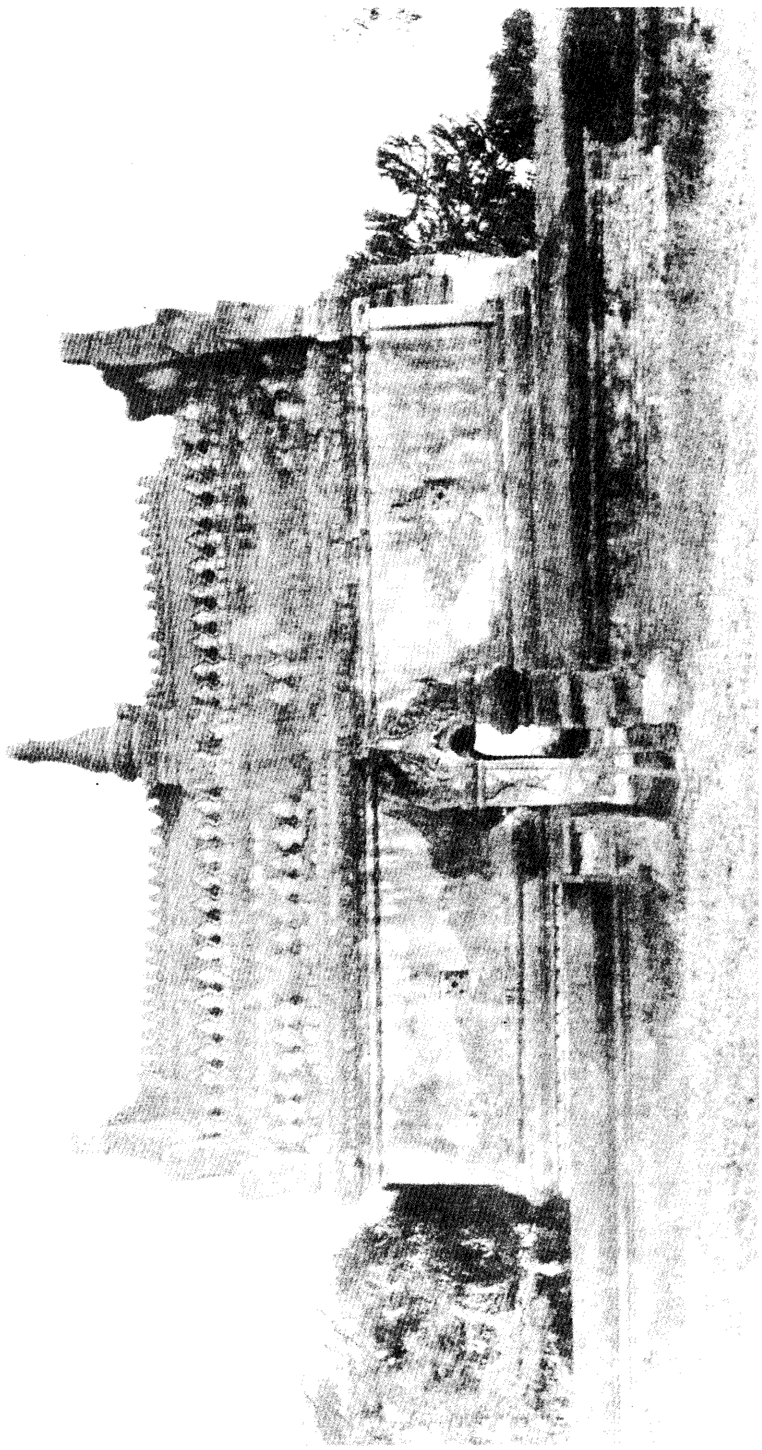
Myinkaba Kubyauk-ngé, Burma (early 13th century).

A. B. Griswold, Chewon Kim, P. H. Pott, *Burma Korea Tibet*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.

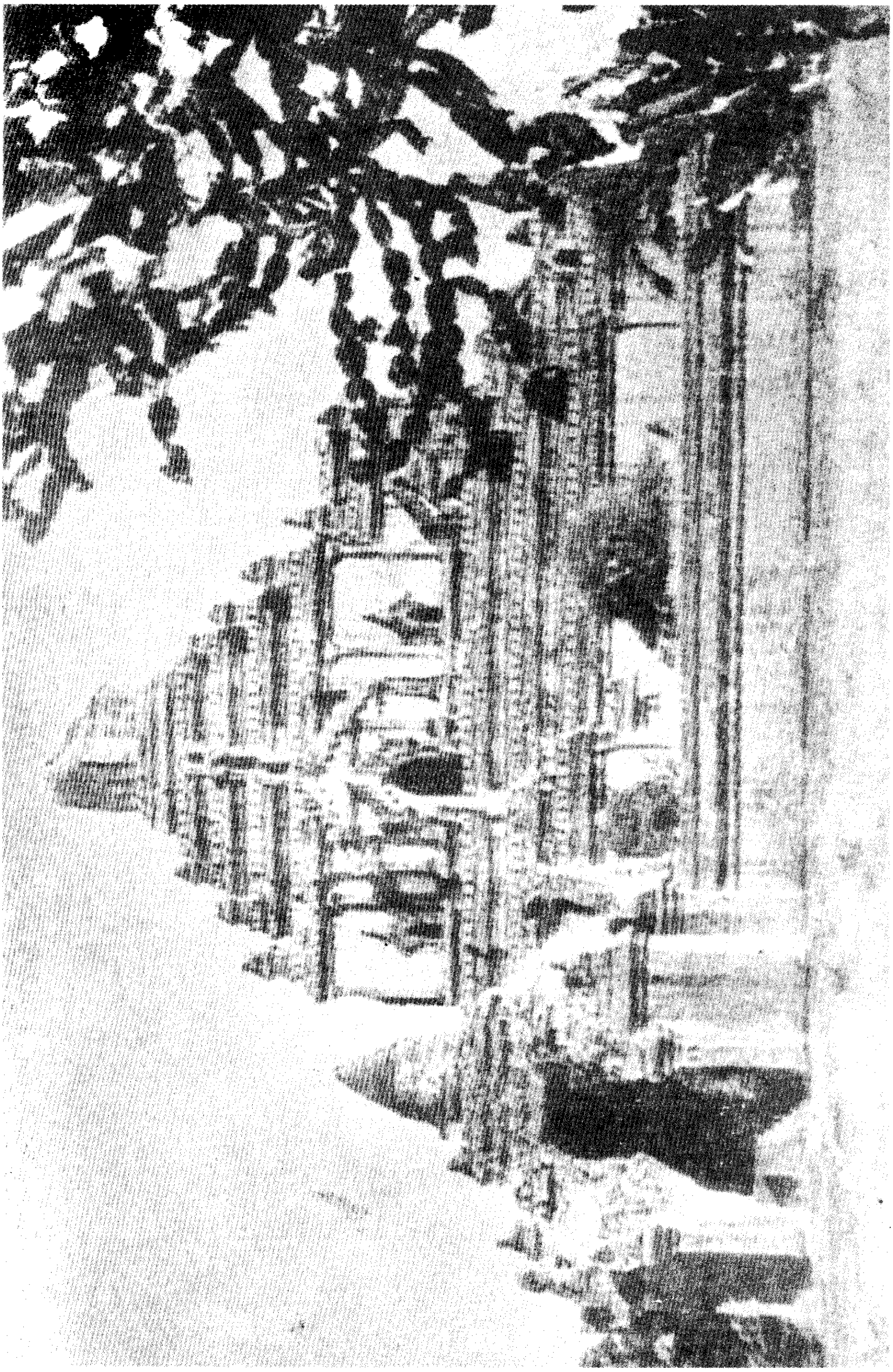


Copyright : Archaeological Department of Burma.

Thatbyinnyu (var. Sabbaññu) Temple. A gigantic brick temple of the mid-twelfth century.

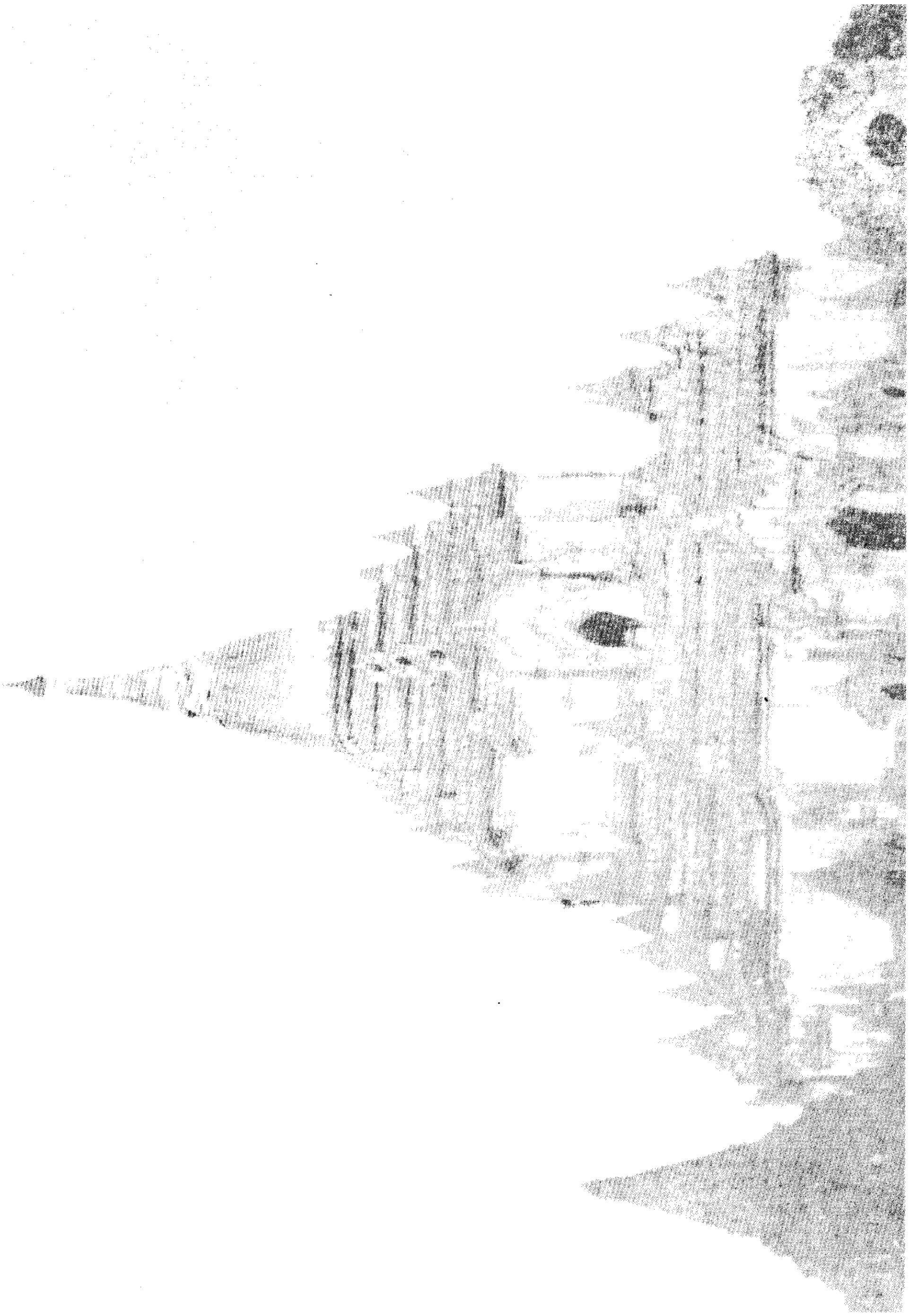


Upālisīmā (Upali Thein), Pagan, Burma. An elaborate ordination hall, a copy of a wooden structure.



Wim Swann, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966.

Sulamani Temple, Pagan, Burma, built by King Narapatisithu (1171-1210 A. C.).



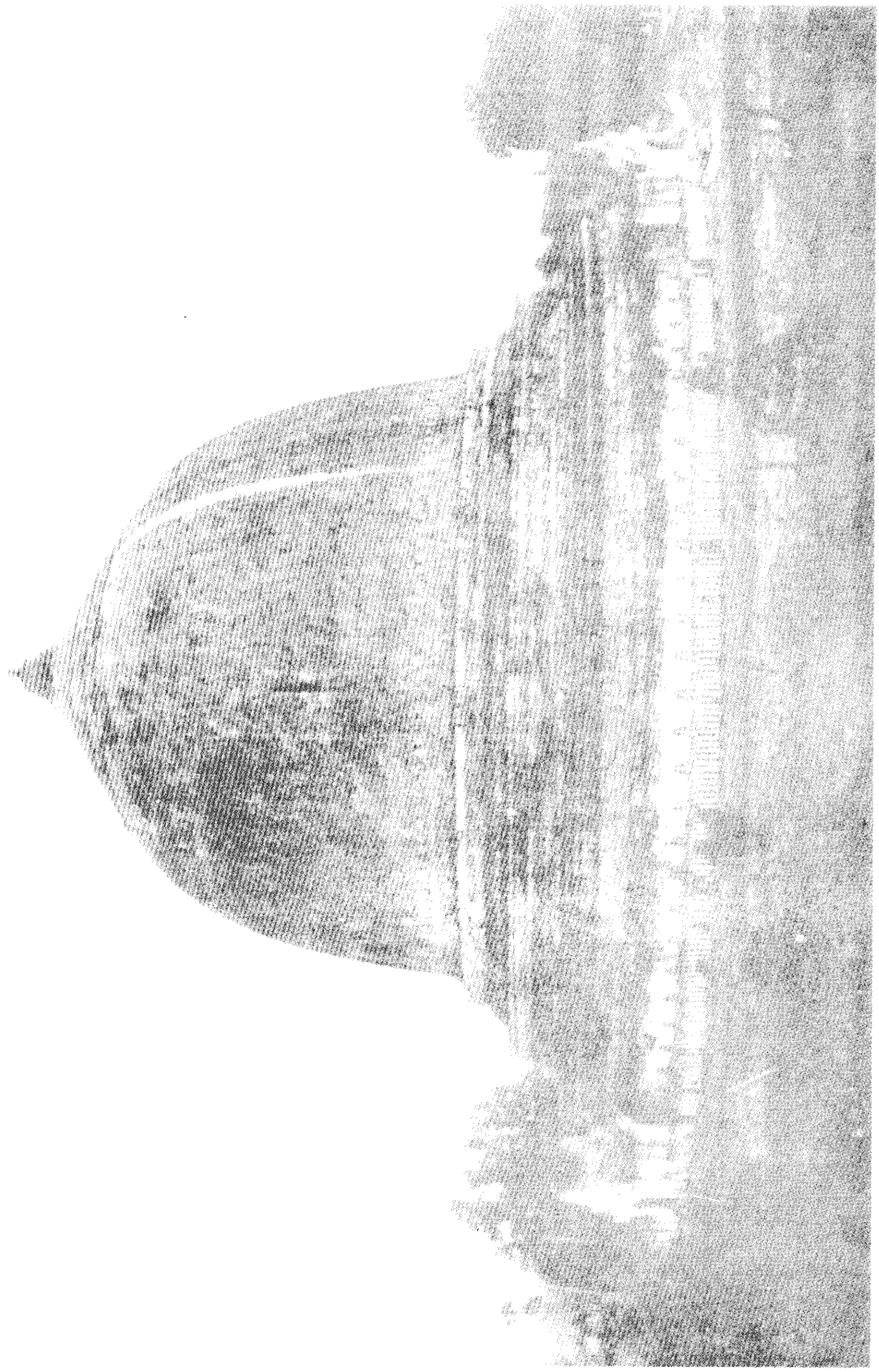
Gawdawpalin Temple, Pagan, Burma, built by King-Narapatisithu (1171-1210 A. C.).



Kuthodow Pagoda, Mandalay, Burma.



Mingalazedi Pagoda, Pagan, Burma (13th century). Noted for its terracotta tiles with Burmese legends set in the panels round the terraces.



Kaunghmudaw Pagoda, Sagaing, Burma, built by King Thalun in 1636 A. C. on the model of the Mahāćetiya of Sri Lanka.



Wim Swann, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966

Mahābodhi Temple of Pagan, Burma, built by King Nantaungmya on the model of the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gaya in Bihar.



Copyright : Archaeological Department of Burma

Fig. 1. A fresco from the Upāli Sīmā, Pagan, Burma, depicting the renunciation of Prince Siddhārtha (18th century).



Copyright : Archaeological Department of Burma

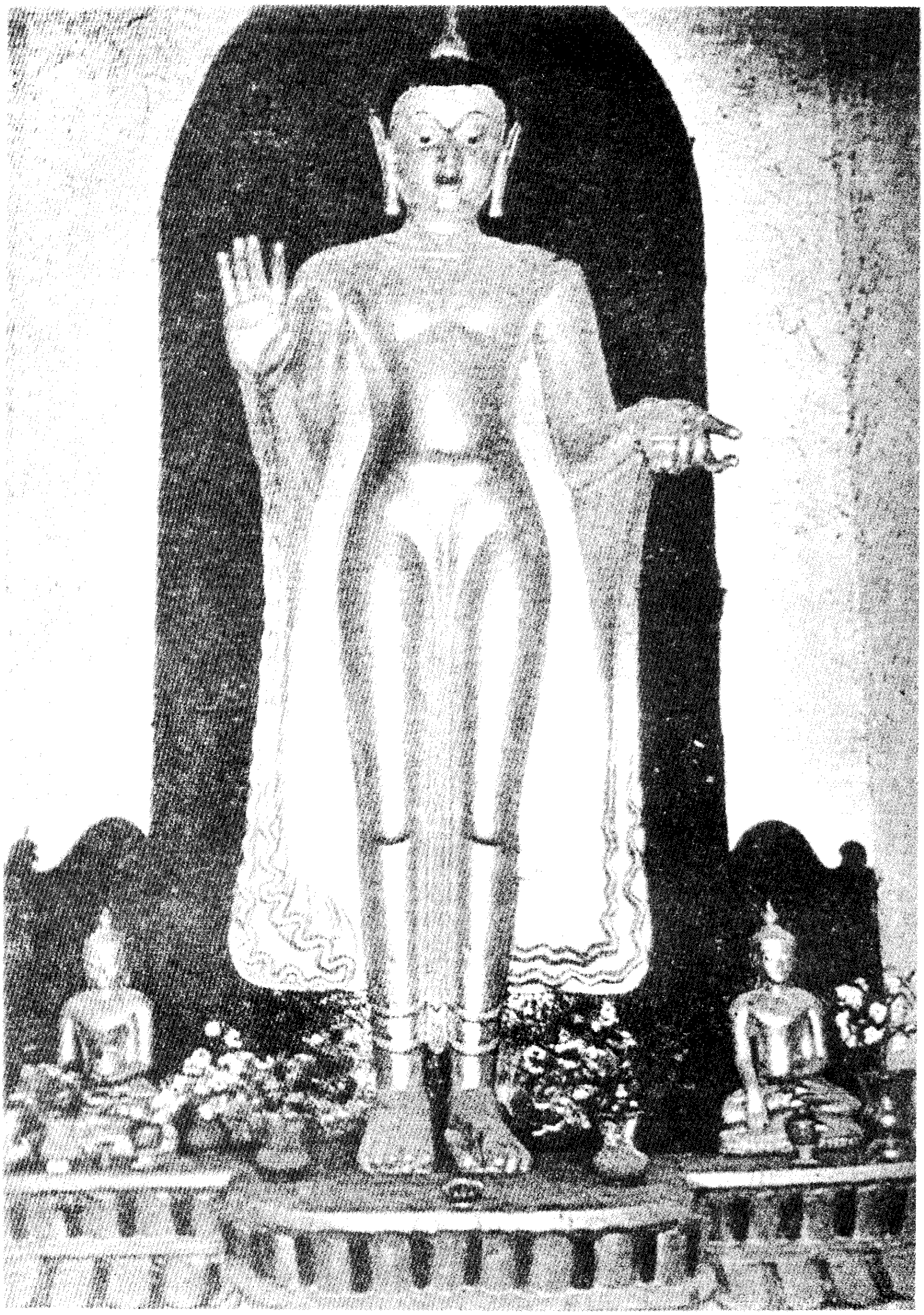
Fig. 2. A fresco from the Upāli Sīmā Pagan, Burma, depicting the rehabilitation of a monk (18th century).



Birth of Prince Siddhārtha. A fresco at the Nandapannye pagoda, Pagan, Burma.



A Nat (spirit) with four eyes. A fresco at the Thein-ma-si Pagoda, Pagan, Burma



Wim Swaan, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966.

Gilded votive Buddha image in the Shwezigon Pagoda, Pagan, Burma.

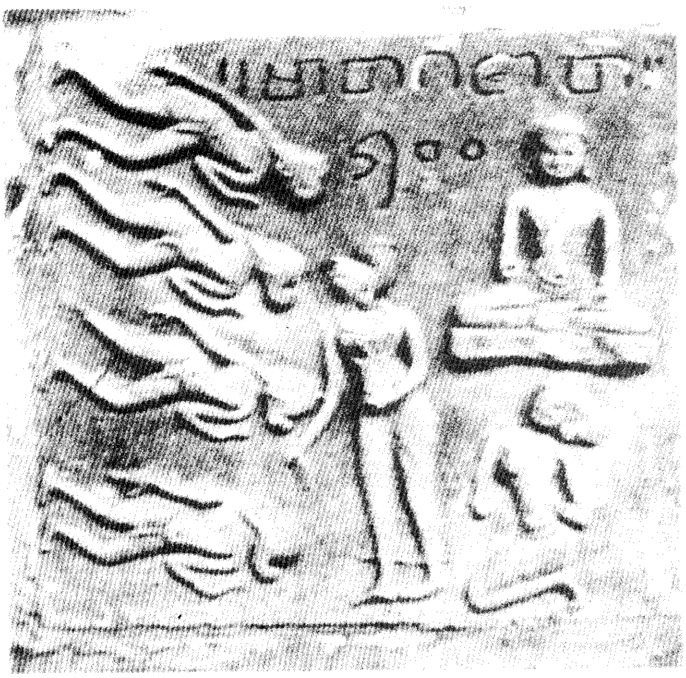


Fig. 1. Mātaṅga-jātaka. Terracotta plaque at the Petleik Pagoda, Burma (latter half of the eleventh century).



Fig. 2. Vinīlaka-jātaka. Glazed ornamental plaque from the Ānanda Temple, Burma (early twelfth century).

A. B. Griswold, Chewon Kim, P. H. Pott, *Burma Korea Tibet*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.



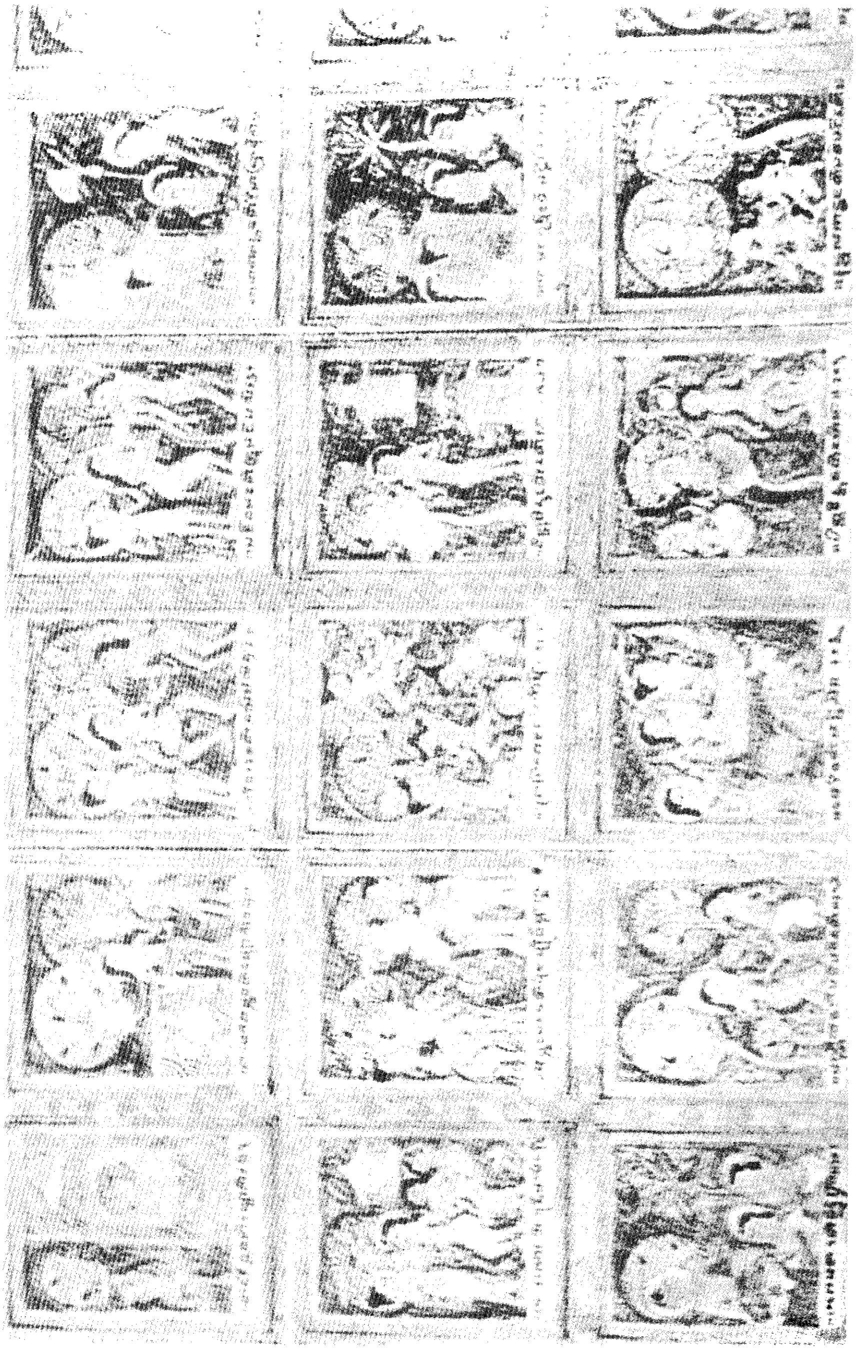
A. B. Griswold, Chewon Kim, P. H. Pott, *Burma Korea Tibet,* Art of the World Series. London. 1964.

Fresco with two preaching scenes from the Myinkaba Ku-byauk-kyi, Burma, circa 1113 A. C.



A. B. Griswold, Chewon Kim, P. H. Pott, *Burma Korea Tibet*, Art of the World Series, London, 1964.

Fresco in the Wet-kyi-in Ku-byauk-kyi (early thirteenth century).



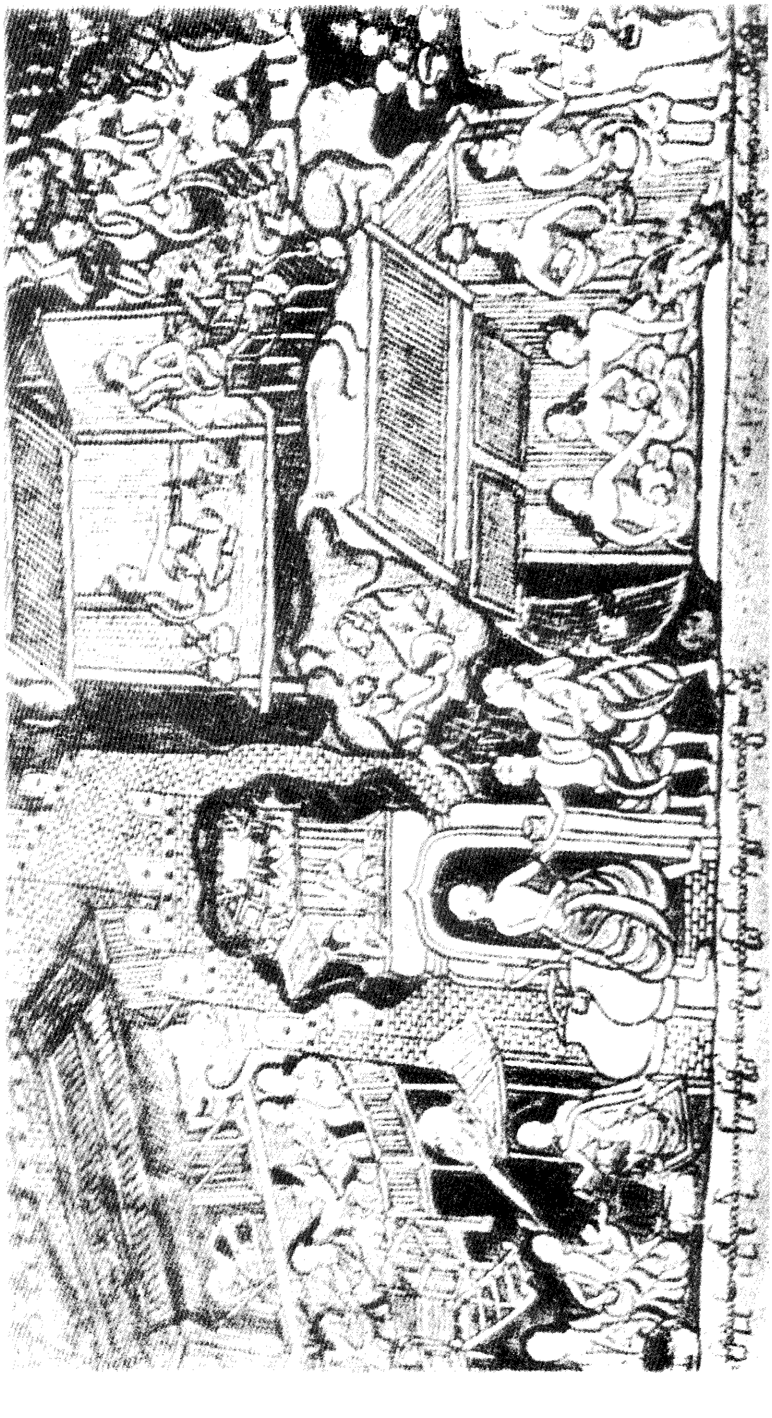
Fresco cycle in the Wekyi-in Temple, Pagan, Burma, illustrating incidents from previous births of the Buddha.

Wim Swaan, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966.



Glazed terracotta plaque from a terrace of the Mingalazedi Pagoda, Pagan, Burma, illustrating a scene from a previous life of the Buddha.

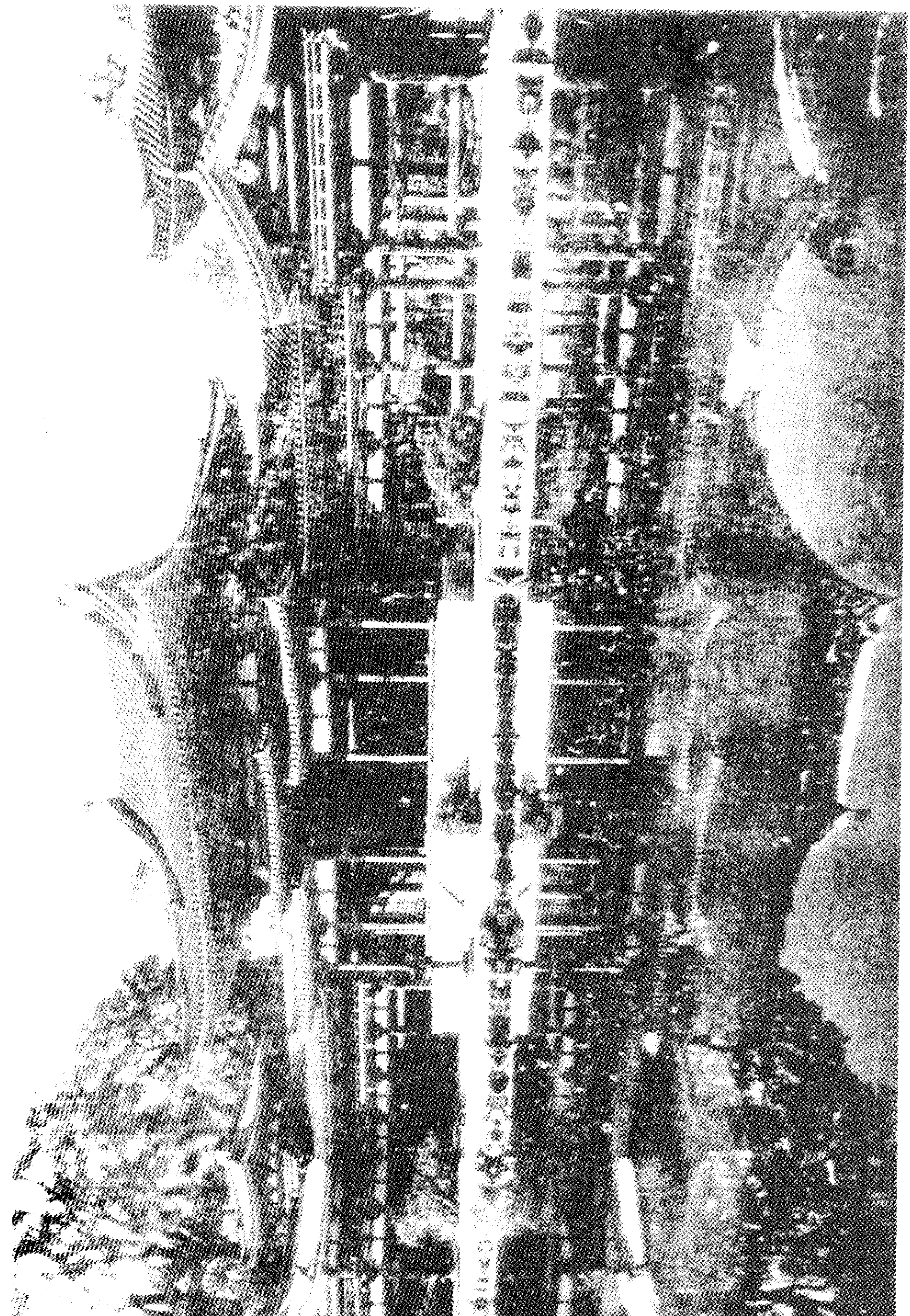
Wim Swaan, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966.



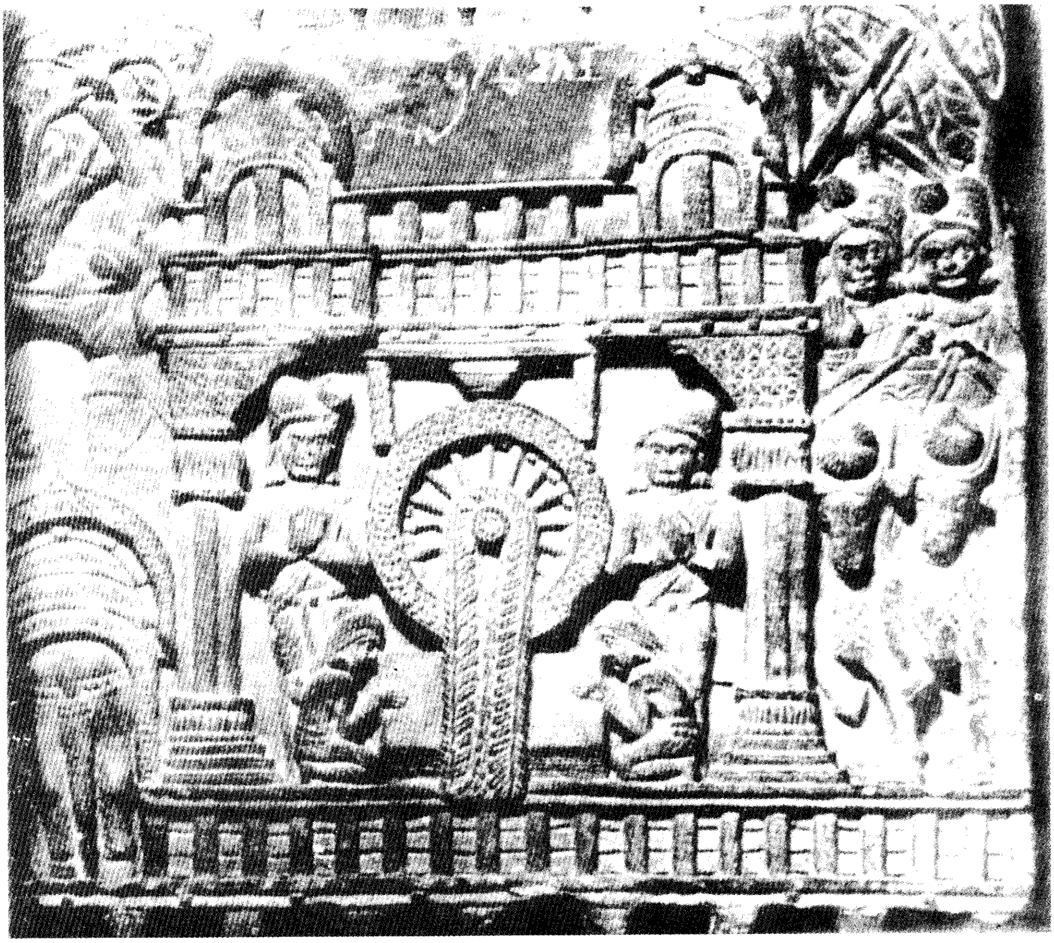
Wim Swaan, *Lost Cities of Asia*, London, 1966.

An Ava period fresco in the Ananda Temple, Pagan, Burma, depicting Burmese town life.

(For more illustrations on Burma see Ency. Bsm. Vol. I, PLs. XLVI, XLVIII; Vol. II, PLs. I, II, III, VII, LVIII, LXI, LXVIII; Vol. III, PLs. XI, LXXIX, LXXX, CXXVIII)

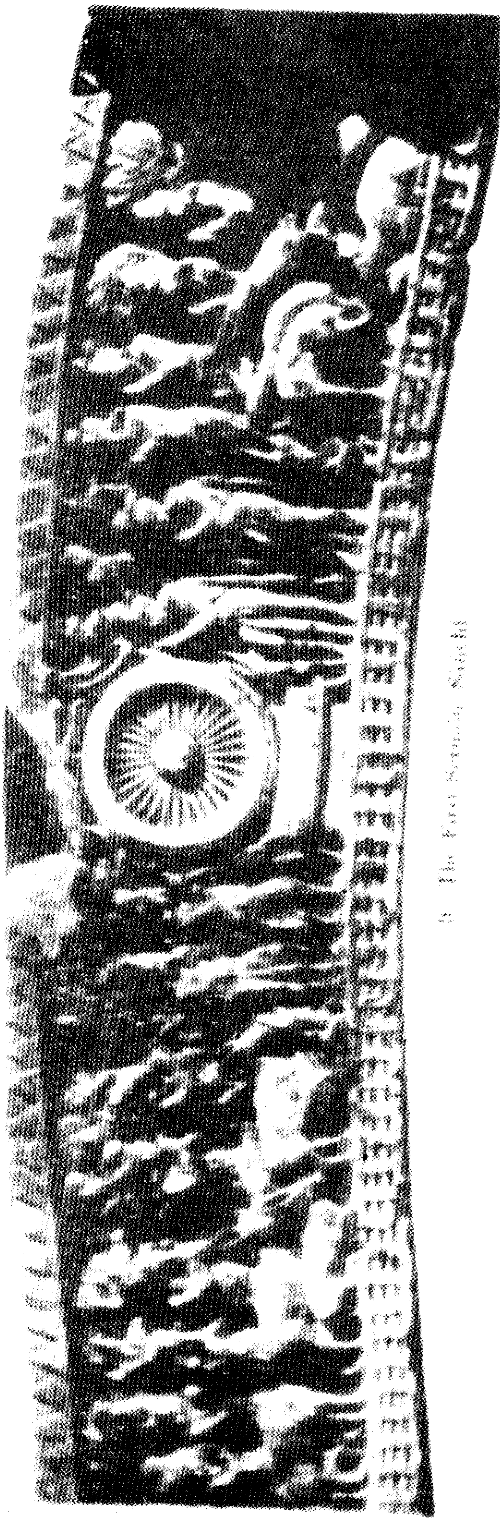


Amida-do, popularly known as Ho-o-do (Phoenix Hall), of Byodo-in Temple, Kyoto, Japan. This luxuriously decorated building, symbolizing a palace in the Buddhist Paradise of Sukhāvati was built by a nobleman who wished to be reborn there. (See also *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. I PL. XLIII)



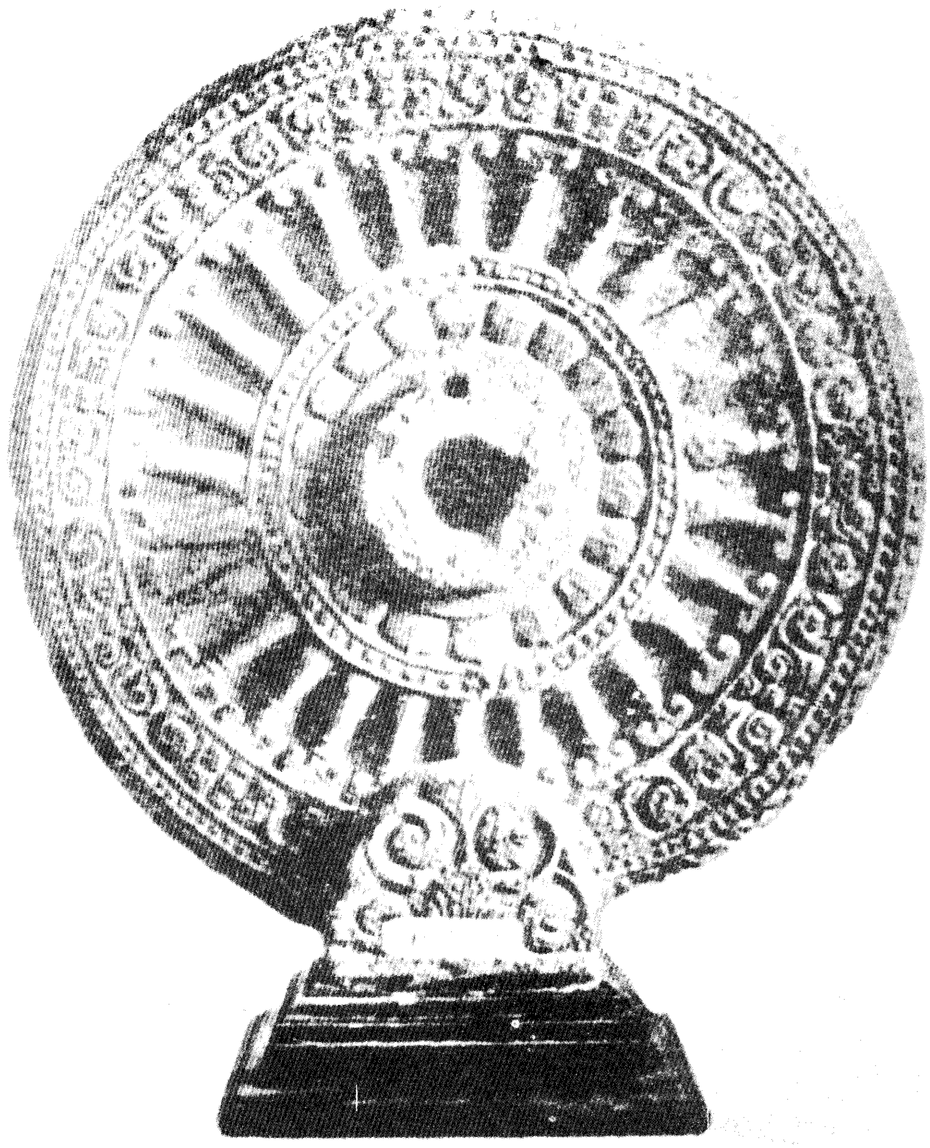
R. C. Craven, *A Concise History of Indian Art,* London, 1976.

Cakra, a symbol representing the Buddha in early sculpture. From a Bhārut stūpa railing, 2nd century B. C.



The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

Cakra, representing the preaching of the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta, the first sermon of the Buddha, in the Deer Park at Isipatana. A Sāñci sculpture, 1st century B. C.



A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927.

Dharma-cakra, Prapatom, Thailand (5th-6th century A. C).

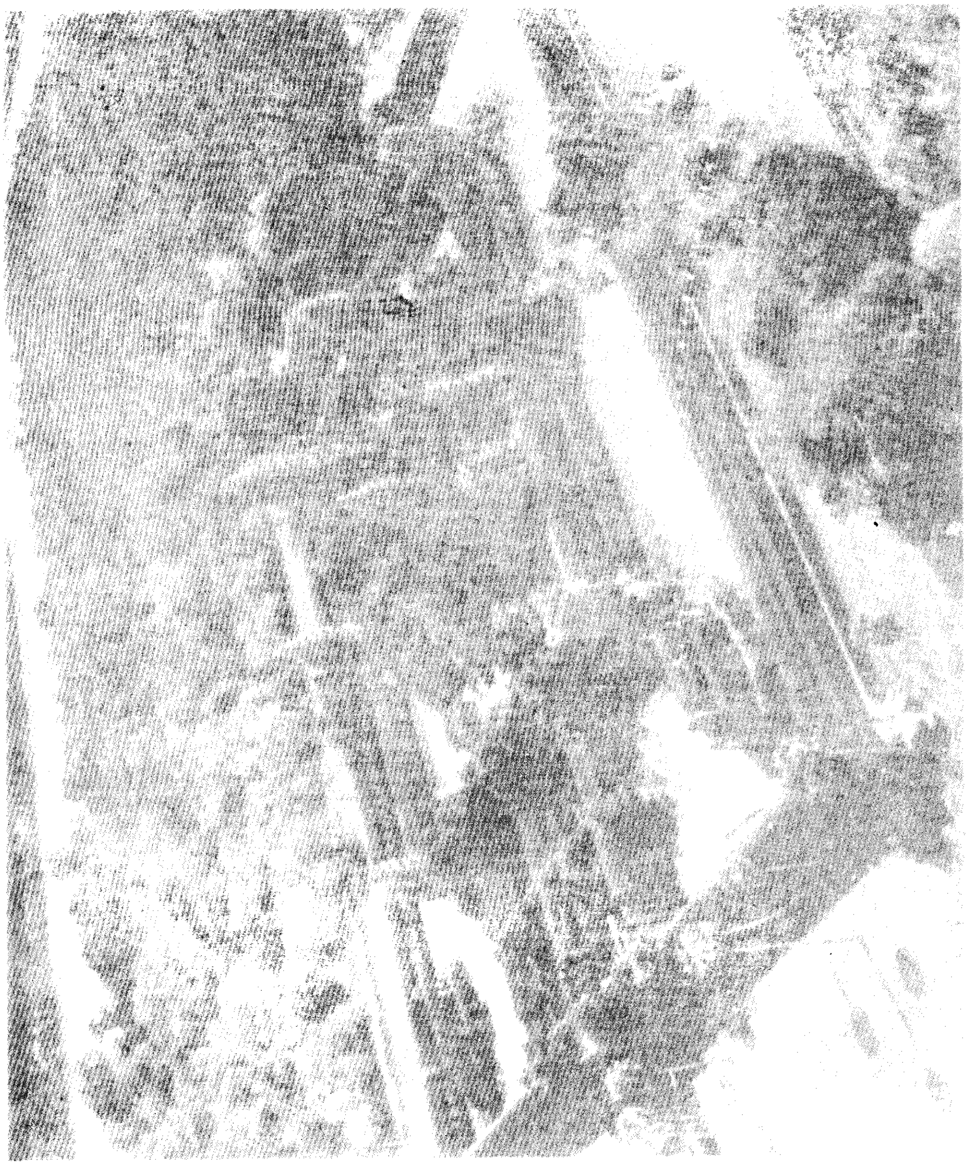
(For more illustrations on Cakra see *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. I. PL. XXXIV; Vol. II. PL. XVI; Vol. III. PLs. LXIII—LXV)



The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

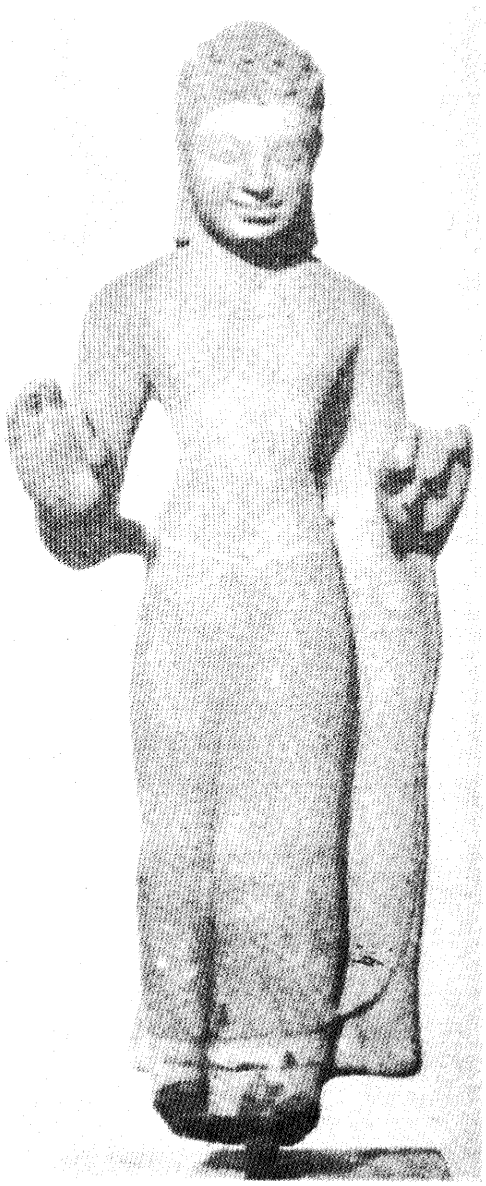
Cakravartin, the Universal Monarch with his seven treasares, from the stūpa of Jaggayyapeta. Fragment of the panelling, marble, height 51". Andhra period, circa 1st century B. C.

(See also *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. III. PL. LXXVII)



Rangoon, *Introducing Oriental Art*, London, 1973.

Angkor Wat, the largest and most imposing religious structure in Cambodia (12th century A. C.). The Monument is profusely decorated with stone sculpture of the Hindu pantheon, but is believed to have been originally Buddhist.



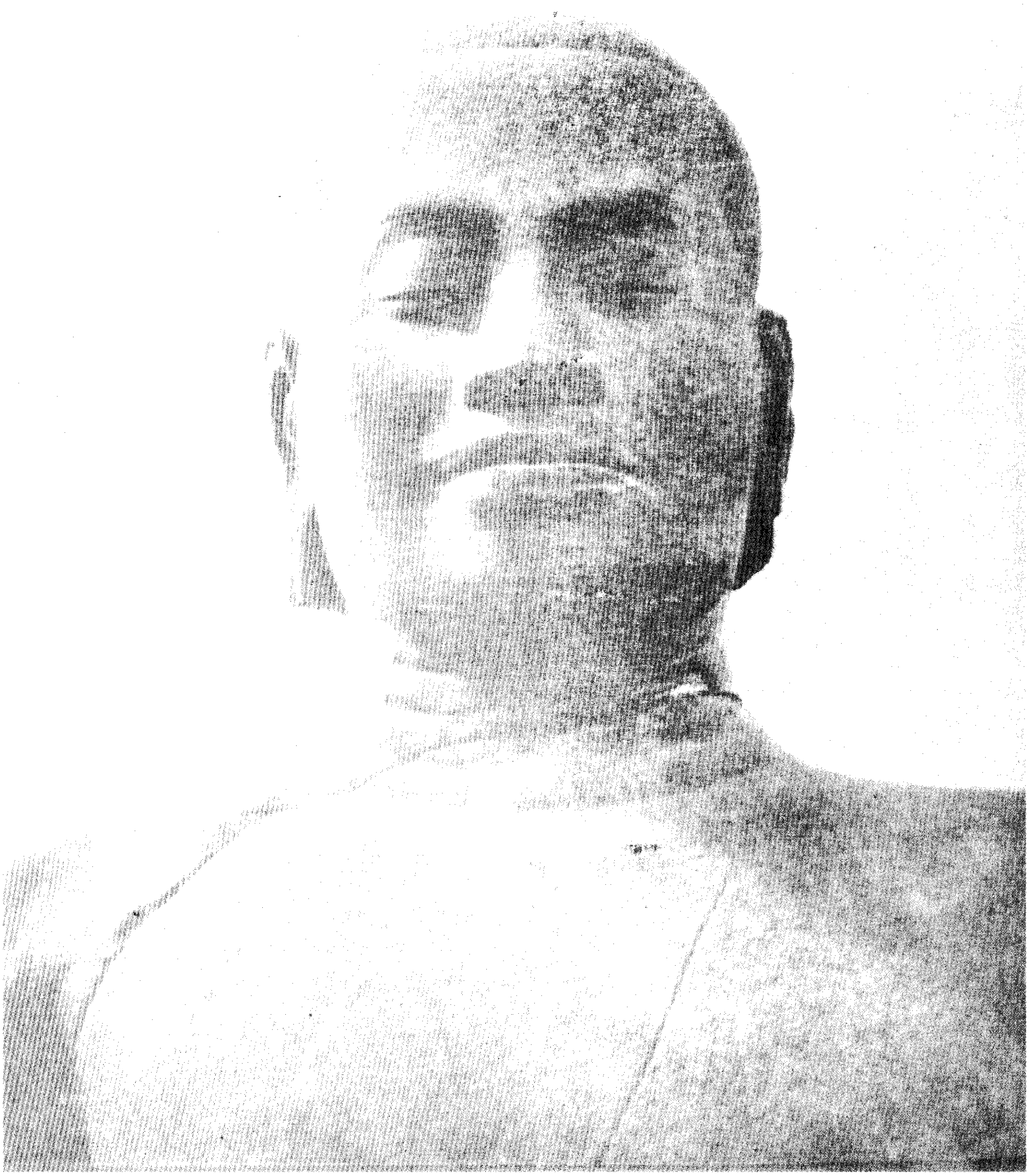
Standing Buddha, stone, Cambodia.

P. Dupont, *La Statuaire Pre Angkorienne*, Ascona, Suisse, 1955.



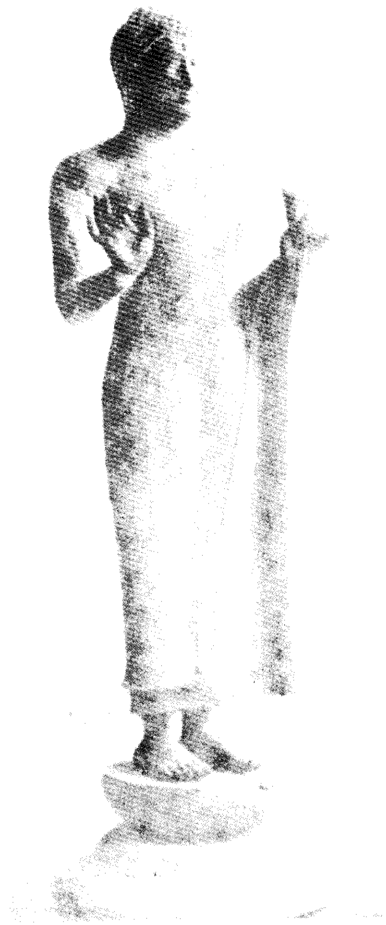
Groslier & J. Arthaud. *Angkor: Art and Civilization*. London. 1957.

Avalokiteśvara. Preah Khan. Cambodia. Grey sandstone, total height 0.90 meters. Some deified person is probably represented in the guise of the bodhisattva.



Groslier & J. Arthaud. *Angkor; Art and Civilization*, London, 1957.

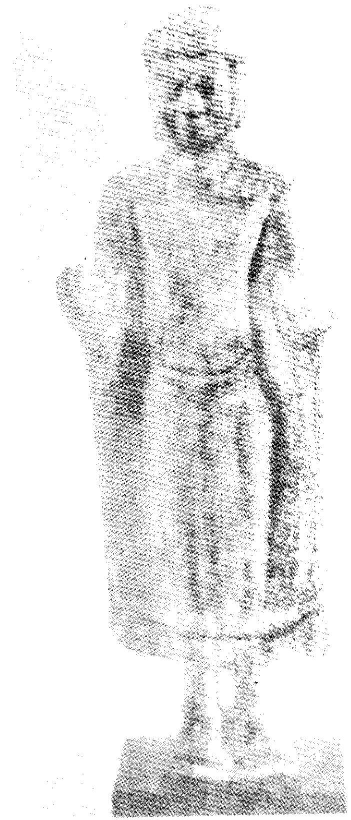
Statue, Cambodia, believed to be the portrait of King Jayavarman VII, 1181-1218 A. C.
(For more illustrations on Cambodia see *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. II, PLs IV, LIX, LX)



The Way of the Buddha. Government of India. 1956.

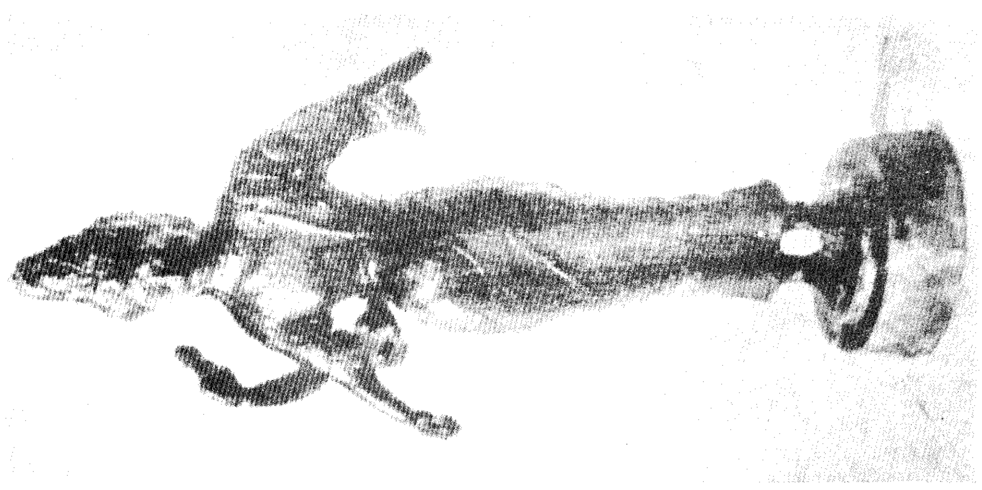
Fig. 1. Buddha (bronze) Dong-duong, Campā. 3rd century A. C.



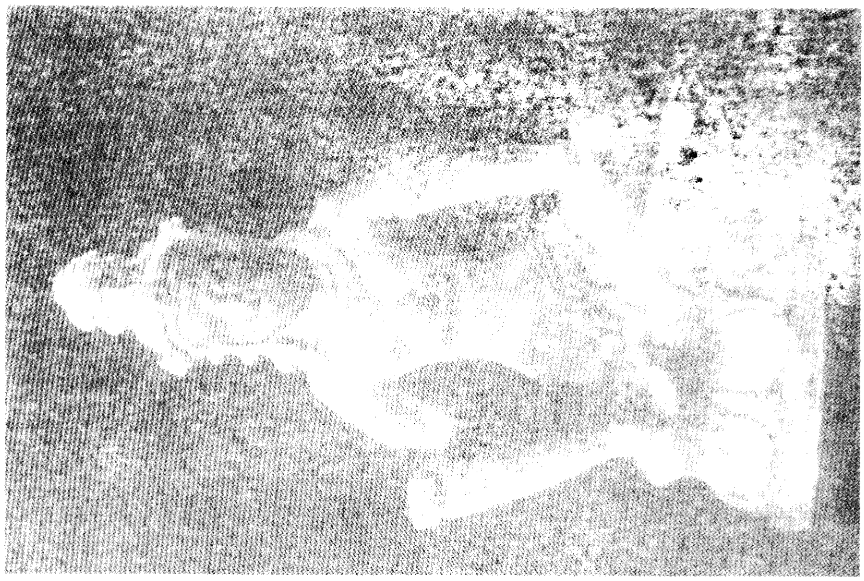


Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire Du Champa*. Paris, 1963.

Fig. 2. and 3. Two Buddha Images from Dong-duong, Campā, in the Pala style.



Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire Du Champa*, Paris, 1963.
Fig. 1. Avalokiteśvara (bronze), Dang-binh, Campā.

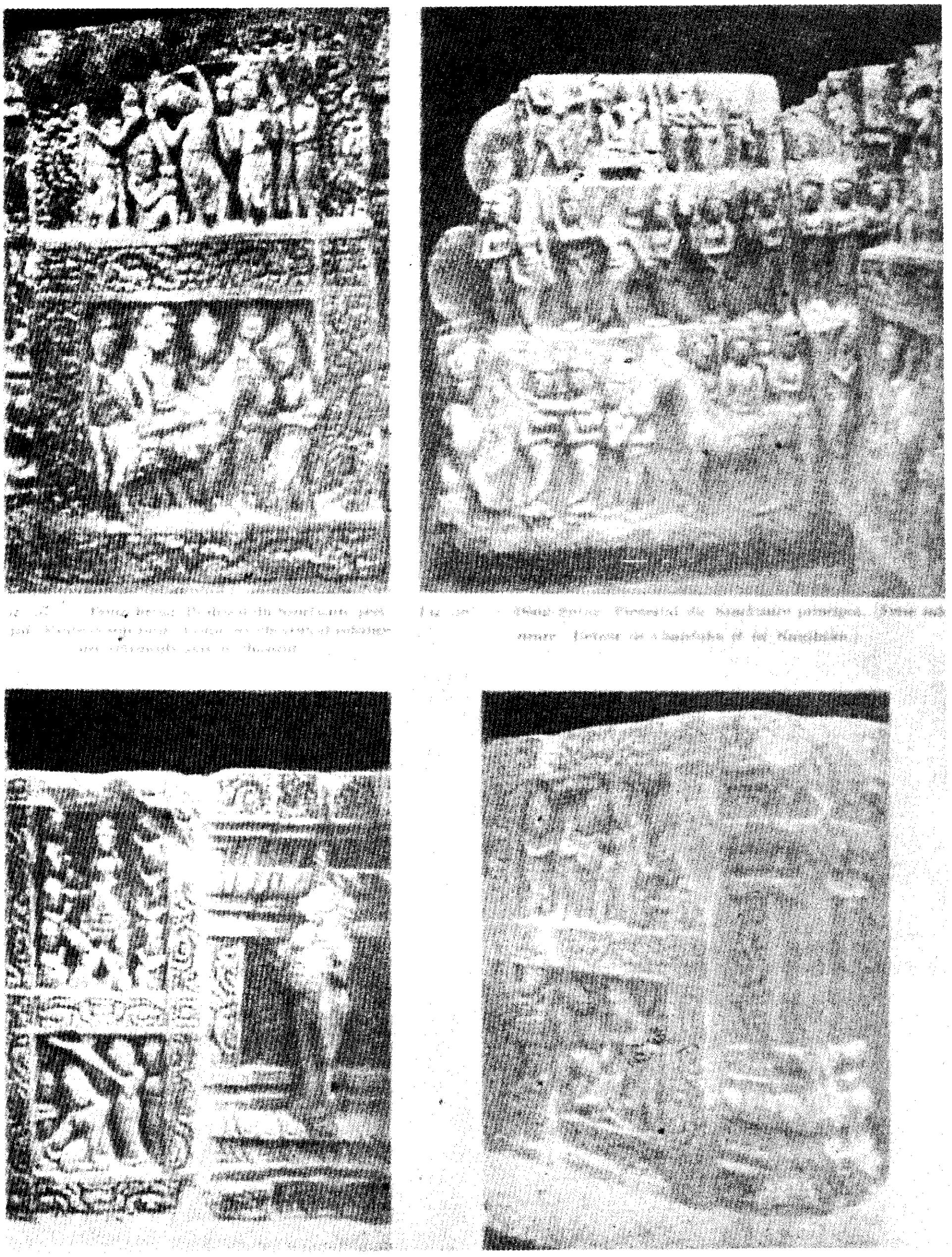


Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire Du Champa*, Paris, 1963.
Fig. 2. Avalokiteśvara (bronze), Mi-duc, Campā.



Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire Du Champa*, Paris, 1963.

Miniature seated figures in the Rājalīlāsana pose, Campā.



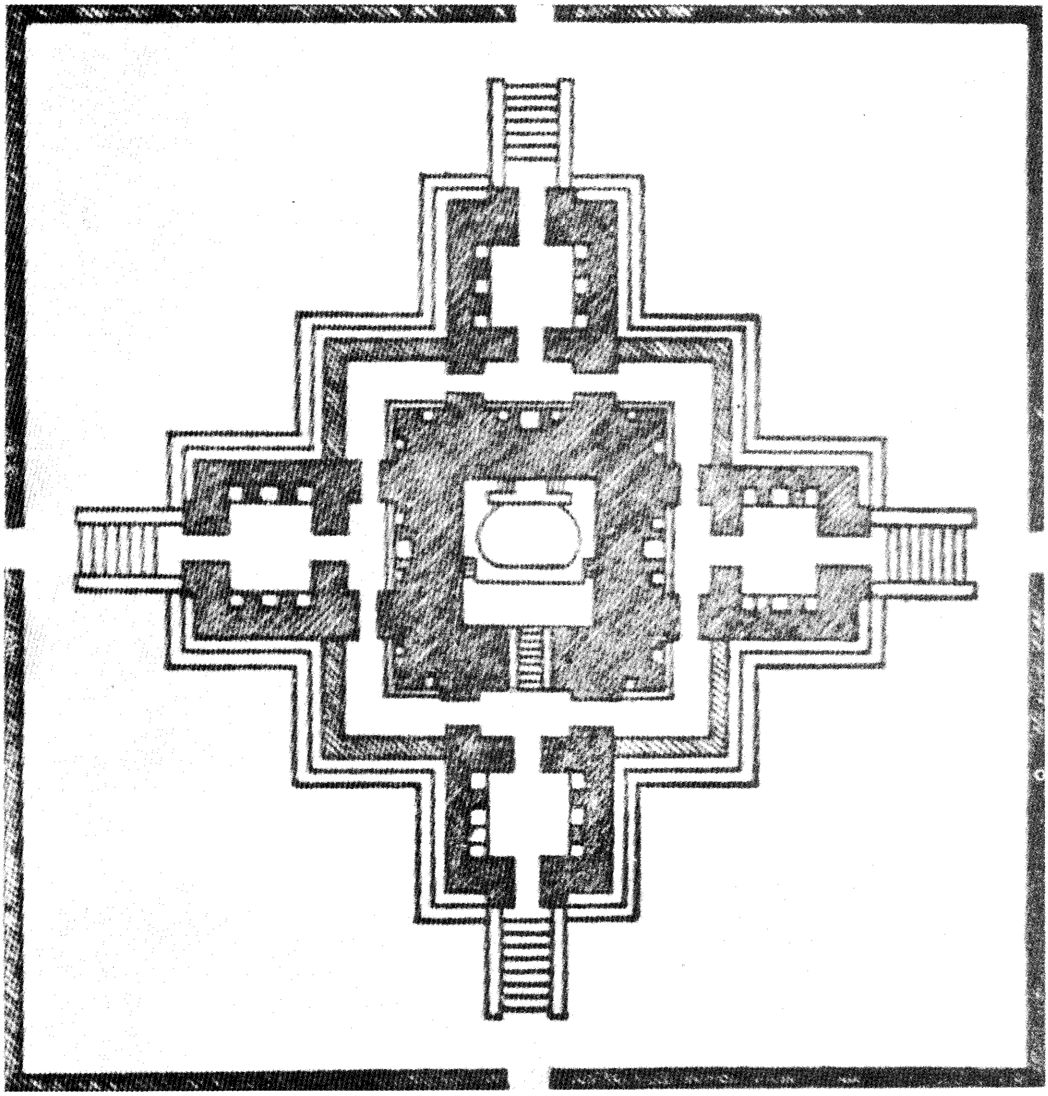
Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire Du Champa,* Paris, 1963.

Sculptured panels from pedestal of vihāra, Dong-duong, Campā.



The Way of the Buddha, Government of India, 1956.

Candi Mendut, Java, eighth century.
(See also *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. II, PL. VIII)



D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, Methuen, London, 1964.

Ground-plan of Candi Sevu.



D. Seckel. *The Art of Buddhism.* Methuen, London, 1964.

Statue of Prajñāpāramitā (Candi Singhasāri), circa 1300 A. C.
Height 126 cm. Considered to be a masterpiece of Buddhist Art.